

Vol. 20. No. 10 | July 26, 1975 | Cents 75

TRIBUNE



EARTH MOVERS

For Jungle Clearing
And Other Earth Work

in the

VAVUNIYA DISTRICT

Contact :

G & S

128th Mile Kandy - Jaffna Road,

PULIYANKULAM.

TRIBUNE

CEYLON NEWS REVIEW

Founded In 1954

A Journal of Ceylon and
World Affairs

Editor. S. P. Amarasingam

Every Saturday

July 26, 1975

Vol. 20, No. 10

TRIBUNE.

43, DAWSON STREET,
COLOMBO - 2.

Telephone: 33172

CONTENTS

EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

—Colombo South p. 2

POINT OF VIEW

—Nonalignment and China p. 3

CHRONICLE

—July 8 — July 16 p. 6

KATARAGAMA

—Sacred Mystery p. 10

INDIRA GANDHI

—Dilemma Before Congress p. 12

VILLAGE HOUSE—42

—All Honourable Men p. 13

KAZI—15

—In a Coconut Estate p. 15

SRI LANKA RAILWAYS

—Canadian Connections p. 16

INANIA

—Bus! Bus! p. 18

LETTER

—Tamil Buddhists p. 19

CONFIDENTIALLY

—Muslim World p. 20

Letter From The Editor

TRIBUNE WAS IN THE NEWS last week. On Thursday, July 17, Mr. Prins Gunasekera (MP for Habaraduwa) had asked a number of questions in the National State Assembly about the nonaligned summit to be held in Colombo in August 1976. His questions had been partly based on queries raised in the *Tribune* of June 21 and partly on the editorial comments the *Aththa* had made on the same subject. In fact, the *Aththa* had editorialised on one or two of the matters raised by *Tribune* with the punch and bias which is part of *Aththa's* political and journalistic tradition. Why Mr. Gunasekera should have chosen to bracket the factual queries raised by *Tribune* and the inner-UF sermonising of the *Aththa* is a matter which only Mr. Gunasekera alone can answer, but the Prime Minister in answering the question made a distinction between the two papers. The *Observer* (18/7/75) report of the PM's answer in the NSA stated as follows: *The Prime Minister said the questions raised by the Member for Habaraduwa arose from certain news items which appeared in the Tribune and the Aththa newspapers and added that she did not consider those two newspapers to be pro-government.*

"The *Aththa* newspaper, I am sorry to say has continuously pursued an attitude against the Non-aligned Conference to be held here next year" she said. The *Daily Mirror* report of July 18 had one extra sentence about the *Aththa*. "...As far as we are concerned we don't consider *Aththa* as one of our papers" Mrs. Bandaranaike said. While the *Aththa* is a journal published by one of constituent parties of the United Front, the Communist Party, the *Tribune* has always been outside the pale of party politics. For a very long time now, *Tribune* has been neither pro-government nor anti-Government. This was so during the UNP regime between 1965-70 and in that period it had paid a heavy price for not co-operating with the Government. In the current period, *Tribune* has continued to maintain the same independence. Mr. Prins Gunasekera had tried to needle the Prime Minister by suggesting that two "pro-government" papers had raised critical questions of propriety in regard the nonaligned summit, and she had stated that she did not consider the two papers as being "pro-government". *Tribune* has no quarrel with the statement that the paper is "not pro-government", but it would not give a true picture unless it was amplified to say that it was not an "anti-government paper" either. In the light of *Tribune's* own political understanding it has supported the actions of the Government on many matters and it has also by the same yardstick been critical of much the government has done. *Tribune* has been cited frequently and commented upon by nearly all newspapers while only a few still do not acknowledge the existence of *Tribune*. But most politically-oriented papers have quoted *Tribune* either with approval or with bitter words of criticism on many occasions in the recent past. *The Journal*, *the Sutaniran*, *The Nation*, *The Aththa* are among the papers that have reacted strongly to *Tribune*, one way or the other. Our current queries regarding the nonaligned summit were spotlighted by *The Journal* including some of the comments of the *Aththa*. Though Mr. Prins Gunasekera's questions could be regarded as tendentious because he posed the question of expenditure for the summit in a way *Tribune* had never formulated, the Prime Minister did not provide a reply to the point. She said that the greatest care was exercised about every single cent spent and also said that very rigorous regulations were being drawn up in regard to the disbursements of all monies in connection with the summit. But she had stated that "information to permit a comprehensive reply to be given (to Mr. Gunasekera's queries) is being presently collated. As soon as it is done it will be made available to the Assembly". If such a reply is given in the NSA it will answer to Mr. Gunasekera's questions, and it will probably cover the sum and purport of the questions we had raised. *Tribune* had only wanted, in the best interests of the nation, that the system of expenditure and accounting streamlined and regularised so that no embarrassing problems arise after the Conference. We had seen certain danger signals and warning lights and we had thought that early alerting (in this era of Watergates) would be useful.

ON THE COVER we have a picture of the historic Yapahuwa lion. We have in Sri Lanka many representations of the lion in stone, wood and paint. But among them, the Polonnaruwa lion and the Yapahuwa lion stand out as outstanding examples of stone carving. Both these lions have a surrealist existentialist touch about them (to use modern jargon). The Yapahuwa Lion is on the formal staircase leading up to the Palace and was done during the thirteenth century during the reign of one of the Bhuvenaka Bahus.

EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

○ Colombo South ○ IMF
○ Space Detente

MR. J. R. JAYEWARDENE won the Colombo South by-election with a comfortable majority of 25,801 votes. But the majority was not as big as his supporters had hoped it would be—the more sanguine among them had thought it would be in the region of 40,000. But the voting showed that J. R. did not poll as much as many thought he would. Even more surprising was that the number of votes polled by ex-UNPer, J. R. Suriyapperuma, was far more than what many had ever imagined that he would get. JR's 36,919 was certainly not the highest possible in a 73,037 electorate—even with a single vote this time. The total poll on the July 18 by-election was 50,264 and the percentage polled was just about 70 percent of the electorate—a very low percentage in a country where the average poll in general elections and by-elections has always been between 85 to 90 percent. This means that nearly 30 percent of the electorate had kept away from the poll's. It also means that a section of the supporters of the UF had indeed voted—and their votes seem to have gone to Suriyapperuma whose 11,119 votes had come as a major surprise to a very large number (including many of us on the *Tribune*). In fact, many of us had thought Suriyapperuma would find it hard to save his deposit, but his performance was outlandishly memorable.

It must be remembered that UF parties had refused to support the anti-JR candidate with the biggest popular appeal—J. R. P. Suriyapperuma. Significantly, the *Janadina* and *Janasakthi* had, at one stage, written editorials suggesting that Suriyapperuma's votes should bolstered in order to reduce JR's majority. This had led to an official repudiation by the LSSP and the two editors were even "suspended" for this indiscretion. In spite of this official refusal by the UF parties to help Suriyapperuma, it is likely that he was able to get a number of UF adherents to vote for him—otherwise his 11,119 votes cannot be explained. Moreover a section of the UNP had come

out openly in favour of Suriyapperuma and this was reflected by UNPers like Niyathapala appearing openly on Suriyapperuma's platform (risking expulsion at the hands of a victorious JR). Rukman Senanayake, who was believed to be one of the "leaders" of the dissident UNP group, in the best Botale Senanayake tradition, had gone on a "holiday" for the duration of the election campaign. Evidently Dudley's heir did not want to risk an expulsion although he is obviously fed up with the leadership of JR.

The Colombo South by-election has failed to achieve anything. It did not induce a mass upsurge of popular support for JR's call for a demonstration that the people were interested in the "right to vote" in 1975. JR's majority had increased by 5000 votes compared to the 1970 results although he polled 20,000 votes less than in 1970—but these numerical totals are undoubtedly influenced by the fact that in 1970 every voter had two votes (compared to the single vote at this by-election).

The UF decision to ignore this by-election which JR had induced in order to demonstrate, at least symbolically, the validity of his demand for a 1975 general elections, has paid ample political dividends for the Government. JR was hamstringed by defections and dissidents in his own party. The innerparty squabbles within the UNP surfaced in a manner that a new dissident UNP political party has become inevitable. The UNP movement is now split into two, and even though JR's faction may seem the dominant factor at the moment, it is likely that two UNP trends will emerge in the coming months.

Although JR had tried hard to draw the UF into the fray, he had failed. Apart from lambasting the government over high prices, he was not able to make an impression on the country in any major political sense, either positively to help the UNP image to grow or negatively to undermine the UF image among the voters. It does not seem that a major by-election has taken place at all. This is only a further example of the moribund politics which JR insists on playing at the moment.

THE BLACKING OUT or the playing down of important news continues in Sri Lanka. Although there was newspaper headline hullabaloo about the World Bank and the IMF and the heroic role our Minister of Finance had played in the deliberations of these two bodies at various capitals, the news regarding Sri Lanka's relations with the IMF was not correctly or adequately represented in our media that the IMF had wanted either further devaluation or an increased cut in the food subsidies. This was heard only in whispers in the corridors or in vague hints in other places.

But this news had appeared in papers outside Sri Lanka. It would be enough to cite a UNI datelined from Colombo July 16 and published under the heading SRI LANKA GOVT'S "NO" TO IMF. The report sets out the story:

The Sri Lanka Government has refused to do away with the free rice ration or make another indirect devaluation of the rupee as demanded by the International Monetary Fund as a precondition for further standby credit facilities according to authoritative sources. The free weekly rice ration, which stood at two lbs per person since 1970, was slashed to one lb. in 1973 following the global food crisis. Since withdrawal of this free quantity as well would cause further hardship to the people, the Government has been compelled to say "No" to the IMF, the sources said. The indirect devaluation has been sought by granting the bonus payment of 65 per cent over the official rate of exchange earnings to proceeds from tea, rubber, and coconut exports, as well. The three traditional exports were deliberately left out of the bonus scheme because the impact on the economy might not have been favourable. The sources said Sri Lanka had sought the immediate release of 24.5 million Special Drawing Rights (SDRs) from the standby facilities and 43.5 million SDRs on a previous standby to which Sri Lanka is eligible. These monies have been sought to finance the current year's import programme. The Government's reaction to the IMF, proposals was conveyed to a mission from the IMF which visited Sri Lanka last week.

For weeks, political circles in Colombo had been buzzing with

the news that the IMF had wanted either devaluation (of at least another 50 to 60 percent) or a further cut in the subsidies. It was also known that the Government was not willing to agree to either. While it was known that some circles were willing to concede devaluation, they were not willing to cut the subsidies. And vice-versa. Between the two divergent views in the ruling circles it had to be a no to the IMF.

What next?

THE APOLLO-SOYUZ RENDEZ-VOUS in space was no doubt a remarkable achievement and it held the headlines of the world for a week. Much was written about it and much more will be written in the coming weeks. This space venture was one of the products of US-USSR detente and it no doubt ushers in a new era of sophisticated detente.

What will be interesting will be the further political (and philosophical) implications of the increased detente between the USA and the USSR.

The philosophy of history is really the most fascinating part of history and very soon academicians will write about the philosophy of detente.

POINT OF VIEW

Nonalignment And China

By Lankaputra

HECTIC PREPARATIONS are going in Colombo for the Non-Aligned Summit scheduled to meet in Colombo in August 1976. At Lima in Peru, on August 25, 1975, will begin the conference of the Foreign Ministers of the nonaligned powers to finalise the agenda for the Colombo Summit. The Lima meeting will, among other matters, consider the applications of a number of countries for admission to the Summit either as full members or as Observers.

News reports have already appeared that Romania and Australia have applied for Observer status. North Korea wants to be a full member and Chairman Kim Ill Sung has indicated a desire to attend the conference himself. North Vietnam is a likely participant

and there should be no difficulty about the PRG (and South Vietnam) getting accreditation. It is also known that the Philippines and South Korea have also sounded the nonaligned secretariat for accreditation as members. Both these countries, like Australia and Romania, are members of military blocs or have military alliances which take them out of the concept of non-aligned countries as understood so far. South Korea and the Philippines have military agreements with the USA which enables the Americans to have military bases and troops on the territory of the two countries. Whilst the Philippines has indicated some desire to break its military commitments with the USA, South Korea has not given any such indication. The Philippines have also established diplomatic relations with Moscow and Peking—something which South Korea has not yet done.

In the case of Australia, although Premier Whitlam had adopted non-aligned postures and adopted independent foreign policy imperatives, the country has a number of military commitments under ANZUS and other military pacts. US and Britain still have military and other facilities on Australian territory. In the case of Romania, she is a member of the Warsaw Pact, but the Romanians have been anxious to display a degree of independence that has embarrassed the members the Pact and surprised the rest of the world. It will be recalled that President Nixon had gone to Romania even before he embarked on his detente with the Soviet Union. How the nonaligned secretariat and the foreign ministers' conference at Lima will view these applications is difficult to say, but circles knowledgeable in foreign affairs in Colombo say that Romania's application has substantial backing among a large number of nonaligned member states.

It is also believed that if either Australia or Romania secured admission even as Observers, Pakistan would be tempted to renew her application for membership. She had been unsuccessful earlier, at Algiers and Cairo, but since that time she has broken away from SEATO while still being an active member of the recently revitalised CENTO. An even more significant whisper that has begun to circulate in the diplomatic and poli-

tical circles in Colombo is that China has sounded ruling circles in a number of nonaligned capitals about the possibilities of China attending the Colombo summit. If China is able to attend the 1976 Colombo summit in any capacity, —she had attended the Bandung Conference in 1955—it will be regarded by many as a stepping stone towards her joining the ranks of the nonaligned. If the story about China's desire to attend the Colombo summit is correct, (and there is no reason why the information should be regarded as incorrect) it will open up a whole host of tricky questions for the nonaligned. If China can be admitted into the ranks of the nonaligned, there is no reason why countries like the USA, the USSR, Britain and France cannot be brought into the nonaligned movement.

FOR THE PRESENT, it is only China's feelers about attending the Colombo nonaligned summit that have surfaced sufficiently to draw attention: and it would be a useful exercise—academic if not interpretative analysis—to examine the implications of a possible Chinese participation in the nonaligned movement. The USA, USSR, Britain, France, and other countries have so far not indicated any desire to become involved in the non-aligned movement.

In the first place, it will be necessary to see if the Chinese approach to international affairs tallies with the attitudes of the traditional nonaligned countries. Furthermore, what is the real Peking view about nonalignment in the contemporary world? For one thing, Peking seems to be convinced that the Third World should not be interested in the lessening of tension or in detente. The Chinese view is that it would be in the interest of the Third World if tensions were aggravated to the point at which an all-out world war would be triggered. This in China's view would bring into being a worldwide revolution. At the Tenth Congress of the Chinese Communist Party, Premier Chou En-lai had stated: "Detente is a temporary and perfunctory phenomenon, and tremendous upheavals will continue in the future; however, for the peoples such upheavals are not a bad thing but a good thing..." In pursuance of this axiom the Chinese delegation at the United Nations had declined to

participate in the efforts to formulate a declaration to strengthen international security. However such a Declaration was adopted at the XXVth session of the UN, and China now makes it a point to ignore all debates at the General Assembly and in its Committees in regard to all matters connected with this Declaration.

Chou En-lai's statement was given top billing in the Chinese press and radio, and was also given worldwide media coverage by *Hsinhua*, the New China News Agency. There is no doubt that China had wanted this view of the detente to influence thinking in the nonaligned countries, but this did not take place. The Algiers Summit of the nonaligned countries in September 1973, strongly supported detente and regarded its growing acceptance and success as a measure of the strength of the international desire for peace.

The Declaration adopted at the Algiers Summit had stressed: "... The current strengthening of detente in East-West relations, and the successes achieved in Europe in the solution of problems inherited from World War II, are an especially valuable achievement of the forces of peace throughout the world... The non-aligned countries which have constantly been striving for peace and the elimination of the causes of tension by means of negotiation and appeals to international bodies, express satisfaction in connection with all these efforts and measures, and view them as a positive stage on the road to the establishment of peace."

It will be seen that the non-aligned summit thus reflected the sentiments of the governments of the Third World which are aware that economic development, political integrity and cultural advancement were possible only under conditions of stable peace. It is also significant that at the XXVth Session of UN General Assembly, eighty one developing and non-aligned states supported a resolution which a group of twenty-five socialist and nonaligned countries had brought forward to promote, world peace, and ensure international security. The resolution had specially called for a widening of the zones of detente "so as to spread it to include the whole world" and also to encourage "the amplifying of political detente with military detente, the restriction of

the arms race, and the reduction of armaments." China had raised several objections to the adoption of this pro-detente resolution in the UN, but this did not prevent the Resolution being adopted.

ON DISARMAMENT there is an even wider gulf between the views of China and the nonaligned nations. China is against the stage-by-stage Disarmament which other countries desire to bring about. Peking is committed to the doctrine that disarmament to be valid must be total and complete and that partial and stage-by-stage measures to reduce armaments and armed forces served merely "to deceive the people." China, therefore does not support any attempts to achieve immediately realisable measures of disarmament and propounds the thesis that until there is total and complete disarmament even developing nations should be up to date in weaponry and keep improving their arms and armies—as China herself is doing.

It must be said to China's credit that she is consistent in the way she pursues this policy. She refused to be a signatory to ban nuclear tests in the atmosphere, outer space and under water—(82 developing countries had subscribed to this Treaty). China has also refused to sign the Treaty banning the use of celestial bodies for military purposes and for purposes which may be aid to be against the interests of mankind—(65 developing countries have already signed this Treaty). Seventy two developing countries have signed the nuclear non-proliferation treaty, but China has refused to touch it. Furthermore, China has not subscribed to the Convention to ban bacteriological weapons and toxins and to destroy them—(and this has been supported by 74 developing countries). With China's unrelenting antagonism to anything Russian, her opposition to the Russian proposal to have a 10% levy in the military budgets of the permanent members of the Security Council was understandable even if part of the money so saved was to render aid to the developing countries. Ninety nine countries, including seventy seven developing and nonaligned nations, had voted for the resolution, but that did not matter so far as China, was concerned. It is equally understandable that China has stoutly

and consistently opposed the proposal to convene a World Disarmament Conference.

But in spite of China's efforts to convince nonaligned and third world countries that for all purposes the Disarmament Conference was a sham, most countries in the UN and elsewhere have shown that they are in favour of every measure reaching out to even partial disarmament. The Algiers Declaration had stated "The Conference comes out for general and complete disarmament, and especially for a ban on the use of nuclear weapons, for banning the production of nuclear weapons and vehicles for their delivery, for the destruction of all existing stocks of nuclear weapons, for the prohibition of nuclear tests in all media and in all areas."

Algiers had also wanted the convening "in the shortest possible time a World Disarmament Conference with the participation of all states..." This is also another matter on which China stands apart from the mainstream of nonaligned opinion. In the same way, China differs from nonaligned

SUBSCRIPTION RATES

— Inclusive of Postage —

LOCAL:

SRI LANKA: 1 Year Rs. 37.50
3 Years Rs. 87.50

FOREIGN:

INDIA, PAKISTAN:

Air Mail 1 Year Rs. 100.00
Surface Mail 1 Year Rs. 55.00

SINGAPORE, MALAYSIA,

THAILAND:

Air Mail 1 Year Rs. 115.00
Surface Mail 1 Year Rs. 55.00

U.K., AUSTRALIA, AFRICAN COUNTRIES

Air Mail 1 Year Rs. 125.00
Surface Mail 1 Year Rs. 55.00

AMERICA, USSR, WEST-GERMANY, GDR:

Air Mail 1 Year Rs. 140.00
Surface Mail 1 Year Rs. 55.00

TRIBUNE

43, Dawson Street,
Colombo 2.

Tel. 33172

opinion in regard to their attitude to military blocs and security conferences. Peking has not disguised its support for NATO and CENTO. Nonaligned countries, on the other hand, are opposed to all military blocs and bases on foreign soil. The nonaligned also want the creation of zones free of nuclear and other weapons. The rejection of military alliances which reflect the rivalry between the great powers and the dismantling of the military bases on which they lean for support has formed one of the basic principles of nonalignment. This stand has been reiterated over and over again at several nonaligned conferences and summits.

China however continues to voice its opposition to all forms of detente in no unmistakable way. A Reuter message from Peking dated July 16 summed up China's opposition to the forthcoming Helsinki summit thus: "China has reacted sharply to the European Security Conference, now likely to meet by July end at Helsinki in a summit session, to conclude its labours. In three separate commentaries, the New China News Agency has attacked the Soviet Union and warned the West Europeans against the Soviets, attacked the U.S. and Soviet stands on the Maltese proposal for reduction of forces in the Mediterranean, and also over Cyprus. On the Security Conference and detente, the news agency spoke of Soviet military menace in West Europe and warned the West Europeans not to be "fooled" by detente, disarmament and friendship and other words. It asked Britain, in particular, not to reduce defence spending because of economic difficulties but make common cause with other West Europeans. On the Maltese proposal, opposed by the U.S. and Russia, the news agency said reduction of the military forces of the Super Powers in the Mediterranean would impede their expansion and struggle for hegemony. On the Cyprus issue, it said if the obstacles placed by Super Powers were removed, the Greek and Turkish communities in Cyprus could resolve the dispute in a reasonable way. Though it criticised both the Super Powers, the three articles had their sharpest words for the Soviet Union."

Reuter reporting from Washington on the same day had this to say: "In Washington the White House spokesman, Mr. Nessen told reporters that President Ford would certainly attend an East-West sum-

mit meeting in Helsinki this month if the European Security Conference agreed to hold it. Mr. Nessen noted reports that the holding of a summit in July depended on whether all issues still blocking the security conference negotiations in Geneva would be cleared up quickly. Yesterday delegation heads attending the Geneva session of the European Security Conference agreed in principle to a summit on July 30, subject to the resolution of some relatively minor issues."

It is not only the Chinese who attack detente. Solzhenitsyn in a recent speech at New York at a banquet given in his honour by the CFL-CIO had criticised American foreign policy towards the Soviet Union. "The US, he said," according to a report in the Time of July 14, "should never have co-operated with the Russians in any way, not even forming the alliance against Hitler during World War II, and he implied that the US should still be fighting Communism in Indochina...."

But the Time dismissed Solzhenitsyn's intrusion into current politics thus "...Solzhenitsyn's apocalyptic vision cannot be a guide to practical policy. Both the US and the Soviet Union have good reason to pursue detente: the hope of reducing, if only a little and very gradually, the danger of war that could end civilization. True, detente is risky. But the U.S. is not so weak that it need be afraid of dealing with a powerful and wily adversary..."

The vast majority, if not all, nonaligned countries favour detente and disarmament (even if gradual and step-by-step). It is not merely on these two questions of detente and disarmament on which China holds views very different from the majority of the nonaligned.

Take the problem of West Asia, Israel and the Arabs. China does not view the Arab-Israeli conflict or any of the other current conflicts in the way nonaligned countries do. In every one of them, China is only anxious to portray Russia as the culprit and the enemy of the countries which have suffered from aggression. And inhibited by this logic, China has refused to participate in any of the efforts to resolve these conflicts through international action. This has been especially so in the case of the Middle East problem.

Nonaligned countries have consistently placed the responsibility for the continuing Middle East crisis on Israel and the support the USA has extended to it, and have welcomed the assistance rendered to the Arab cause by Russia and other East European countries. But China does not see it in this light. The Algiers nonaligned Summit had set out in its Declaration:

"Both the October 1973 war and the preceding wars are the inevitable result of the policy pursued by Israel in defiance of the principles and decisions of international bodies and the arms of international law; since the days of the plundering of the Palestinian people and their expulsion from their native soil, Israel has been persistently following the road of territorial expansion, with the active complicity and economic, technical and military support of the imperialist powers, primarily the United States of America"

Even in regard to the problems of apartheid and aid to developing nations there are fundamental diff-

SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY

THE Kularatne report states that on an examination of the evidence given by student leaders and members of the academic community and others, the Commission was strongly of the view that sociological economic and psychological factors come into play in student indiscipline and more specifically in a rag which sometimes begin in a mild manner and ends up in sadistic, indecent and inhuman acts.

"It is high time that a deep and penetrating survey and analysis of these aspects are undertaken without delay by the authorities. This is a very serious long-term remedial measure and I recommend that the authorities lose no time in a continuous study of these aspects which, according to me, are major contributory factors accentuating, student indiscipline. The valuable evidence given before this commission running into over a thousand pages could, in my view, be a base for a study of the aspects referred to by an expert body" the report recommended.

—Daily News,
3/7/75.

ferences between the way the non-aligned countries and China view them. Peking looks at everything in the light of the struggle between the "super powers" whilst the nonaligned countries see them in more realistic terms.

The Algiers Declaration had, for instance, condemned the economic and military aid rendered to these racist regimes by "the NATO member-states, first and foremost by the United States, Britain, the FRG and France" and had urged nonaligned countries to take all possible measures, political as well (where possible) economic, to compel countries which had invested capital in South Africa to withdraw their capital from this state which practised in apartheid. But China saw the aid given by these western countries to South Africa and Rhodesia as just another aspect of the struggle between the "super-powers." In an article on Mozambique on February 20, 1975, Peking's *People's Daily* stated "...Special attention must be paid to the fact that the super-powers are stepping up their confrontation in southern Africa and are resorting to every possible means in an effort to get a firm foothold in this area." Furthermore, what

has perturbed many nonaligned countries is that China continues to obtain, through indirect trade channels strategic raw materials from Rhodesia and South Africa.

The central crux of differences between the nonaligned countries and China revolve round Peking's theories based on the oversimplified division of the world into "rich and poor nations" irrespective of the social systems they belong to. With such a "division", the richer countries of the socialist group are classified with the capitalist countries of the west. But the nonaligned countries draw a clear distinction between the "imperialist powers" and the "socialist powers" and the non-aligned countries have shown no inhibitions about leaning on the latter to emancipate the developing countries from the exploitative tendencies of the former.

But China does not agree with this. Even on economic matters like aid and assistance, Peking is very critical of the aid extended by the socialist bloc of countries in spite of the Declaration of the Group of 77 Conference held in Algiers in February 1975 which had said, *inter alia*, that "...aid to the developing nations is a legitimate

necessity. And neither its volume nor its present form can compensate these countries for the profits derived by the developed states from the exploitation of the natural wealth of the former colonies.."

China no doubt does everything possible to woo the nonaligned countries through every means possible, trade, aid and military assistance however dubious and controversial such trade and aid have turned out to be. But more than all this it is the propaganda about the political logic which Peking currently pursues—that the struggle of the super-powers overshadows and influences every single matter in the national and international aspect of world affairs. China wants this thesis accepted by all the nonaligned, but this has certainly not found favour with them. This can be seen in the differences which have arisen vis a vis developments in Chile and Cyprus.

In the circumstances, it is difficult to see how China can fit into the scheme of things nonaligned within the ambit of the ideological frontiers which the movement has developed so far.

CHRONICLE

July 8 — July 16

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

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

TUESDAY, JULY 8: Government action on sterling companies that have failed to incorporate their firms locally will be announced this week: the deadline for converting sterling companies into rupee companies expired on June 30 this year—CDN. When the Supreme Court assembled yesterday for a reference to the late Sir Alan Rose, a former Chief Justice, Mr. Victor Tennekoon, Chief Justice, questioned Mr. Nihal Jayawickrema, Secretary to the Ministry of Justice, as to why he was seated in the first row where he had no business to be and ordered Mr. Jayawickrema to sit elsewhere: Mr. Jayawickrema who was seated with Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Justice, then occupied a seat in the second row behind the Minister—CDM. The World Bank team of experts which studied the country's hotels in connection with the third development project of the Development Finance Corpora-

tion of Ceylon in its report said that new hotel projects have been approved for foreign exchange credit without proper attention to zoning, building standards, design, interior decor, or managerial expertise: the team blamed the Tourist Board for the prevailing deficiencies as it did not possess adequate expertise in hotel development and management—CDN. It is estimated that the income tax earnings by the Government for the current financial year will increase to Rs. 555 million an increase of Rs. 88 million compared to last year—LD. According to the Chairman of the Mahaweli Development Board, the waters of Mahaweli will be released through the giant Bowatenne tunnel to the North Central Province on November 30—TOC. The Department for the Registration of Persons has issued Identity Cards to over 96 per cent of the applicants—CO. The *Janadina* editorially said that unless Government took concrete steps to grant the assurance it had given to the JCTUO on January 29 this year over the Council's 28 demands it will not get the people's sympathy. Speakers at yesterday's University Student Council meeting held at the Colombo campus said that the LSSP leaders in the UF will oppose any move by the Government to ban the rights of the university students who laboured so much opposing the UNP to bring this government to power—VK. US Senate investigators began questioning Kennedy administration officials in an effort to establish the chain of command in alleged CIA assassination plots. The *Washington Post* said yesterday that the CIA encouraged a plan stage a coup in Chile in 1970, but it proved

abortive and resulted in the death of Chilean army commander-in-chief. Israeli air and sea forces attacked Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon in retaliation for four commando attacks since December.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 9: The University will suspend some of the 34 undergraduates of the Vidyalkara Campus who forcibly occupied the administrative block of the Campus last year soon after the incidents of ragging: some others who had left the Campus after completing the examination are to be punished by withholding the results: meanwhile the Minister of Education, Dr. Badiuddin Mahmud, is exploring the possibility of arranging treatment abroad for Miss Rupa Ratnaseeli who fell from the fourth floor of a hall of residence during the ragging incidents at the Peradeniya Campus—CDN. Following a story that appeared in the *Aththa* of July 2 which referred to a statement made by Mr. J. R. P. Suriyapperuma, ex-Member of the UNP, where he alleged that there is a secret defence organisation within the UNP headed by Mr. J.R. Jayewardene and Mr. Cyril Mathew, the Government instructed the Police to investigate into this matter—ATH. The eighth regional conference of the International Labour Organisation (ILO) will be held in Colombo in September—JD. Following a call by the Prime Minister that all students of school going age must be brought under good discipline, the Ministry of Education is drawing up a scheme to have a Board of Discipline in every school in the island—CDM. The Customs barred a racket which had been going on for the past few years by which several hard-to-get and banned items are imported into the country using forged import licences—TOC. Dr. W. Dahanayake, Independent MP for Galle has appealed to the Prime Minister to appoint a Commission to probe the alleged misuse of PL 480 funds by the US Embassy in Colombo—CO. A Magistrate in Nuwara Eliya fined a trader Rs.15,000 and sentenced him to six months imprisonment for selling a tetron mixed cotton shirt for Rs. 48.50 when the controlled price of same was Rs. 35.00—ATH. Election of members to the newly formed Credit Councils will be held in August—CDN. According to the *Newsweek* a behind the-scenes debate is now raging in Switzerland over the question of abolishing the system of maintaining accounts in Swiss banks by using numbers instead of names of the account holders. Mr. Narain, the arrested Socialist leader of India, who brought charges of electoral mal-practice against the Indian Prime Minister has filed a cross appeal in the Supreme Court: the hearing of both appeals are expected to be taken up together on July 14.

THURSDAY, JULY 10: Following representations made by several individuals and institutions against standardisation of marks at examinations, the Sectoral Committee on Social Overheads and Education headed by Mr. Pieter Keuneman, Minister of Housing and Construction has reported that the practice of standardisation of marks at examinations was an accepted practice in all developed countries: it was the claim of several Tamil members of Parliament as well as organisations and individuals that standardisation medium wise acted against the interests of the Tamil community—CDM. In keeping with the policy of not increasing the number of foreign-owned banks in the country, the government has declined to grant permission to a leading American bank which has branch offices all over

Asia to open an office here—CDN. No more extension of time will be granted to foreign companies to incorporate in Sri Lanka under the Companies Specio Provisions Act—CDN. Government will soon open a special food production fund utilising the gifts from abroad—JD. The annual Kataragama festival commenced yesterday with the flag hoisting ceremony and the final ceremony will take place on July 25—VK. The LSSP MP for Kiriella, Mr. Vasudeva Nanayakkara, in a statement to *Virakesari* has criticised the refusal of rights to the university students for the misdoings of a few students: Mr. L. H. Sumanadasa, Vice Chancellor of the University, in a statement has issued stern warning to staff and teachers of the University not to instigate the students for any outside activity other than the duties of the students. A popular youth league leader of the UNP is expected to bring a no-confidence motion against the President of the party, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, at today's meeting of the Executive Council and soon after this meeting this leader is expected to address an election meeting of Mr. J. R. P. Suriyapperuma against Mr. Jayewardene—LD. Authorities of the Vidyalkara Campus of the University are investigating a complaint by a fresher undergraduate that he was yesterday ragged by three senior students: according to university circles stern action will be taken against those found guilty—DM. It has been found that the cement produced at Puttalam and Galle factories are of very low quality and unfit for construction works: meanwhile Puttalam and Galle cement used in the construction of the Bowatenne tunnel in the Mahaveli diversion scheme is reported to be falling away from the walls of the tunnel—ATH. China and Iraq have signed agreements for the development of trade and for economic and technical co-operation. The Indian President summoned the national Parliament to meet on July 21. US Senate investigators have learned that the CIA secretly paid nearly 100,000 dollars to the Ashland Oil Company: the reasons for the payment was not disclosed.

FRIDAY, JULY 11: Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Public Administration, Home Affairs, Local Government and Justice in a statement to the *Daily News* said that the declaration of assets and liabilities will be a simple procedure and public servants from the Prime Minister downwards will be called upon to declare their assets: the Minister said no one would be asked to declare the assets with retrospective effect—CDN. Minister Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike told a public rally in his electorate that all company owned estates whether foreign or local would be nationalised—CDN. Mr. Pieter Keuneman, Minister of Housing and Construction and Chairman of the Sectoral Committee on Social Overheads and Education, in a letter to the *Daily Mirror* said that the Sectoral Committee has still not made any report on the standardisation of marks and the reform a story to this effect in yesterday's *Daily Mirror* is incorrect: in a note by editor the paper has apologised to the Minister for the incorrect reportage. The Board of Discipline of the Vidyalkara University meets today to mete out punishment to four Buddhist monks who were reported for ragging a fresher monk—CDM. The Government decided to exempt the International Business Machine Company, an American firm, from the Companies Special Provisions Act: this firm which deals with computer programming threatened to quit if it was regis-

tered in Sri Lanka under the above Act—ATH. The *Janadina* editorially criticised the attitude of the Central Bank for recommending to the Government the opening of a branch in the country of New York First City National Bank, an American Bank; the Government rejected this recommendation of the Central Bank and did not give permission for a branch office to be opened here. Government will import 461 brand new motor cars from Australia and France for the use of delegates attending the 1976 non-aligned summit conference to be held in Colombo—DM. The Madras High Court ordered the release on bail of a lawyer held under emergency powers in India: Mrs. Gandhi, the Prime Minister, made her first public appearance since the declaration of the emergency and blamed the Opposition for the situation prevailing in India. Ugandan President Idi Amin released British lecturer Dennis Hills held in prison in Uganda on a charge of treason: Mr. Hills will fly back to Britain with British Foreign Secretary James Callaghan who was in Uganda for talks with General Idi Amin. The joint space test project of America and Russia with Apollo and Soyuz spacecraft is scheduled to take place on July 14.

SATURDAY, JULY 12: At a top level meeting held at the University Senate yesterday it was decided not to permit any meetings during lecture hours: according to a spokesman of the University this decision had been made in the interest of the students—CDN. At the Vidyalandara Campus students are not permitted to enter the Campus premises between 7 p.m. and 6 a.m.—LD. The CJC (Exchange Frauds) held yesterday that it had powers and jurisdiction to inquire into offences committed outside the country—CDM. Public servants owe the Government Rs. 100 million by way of loans given to them by various sectors of the Government—CDM. The All Ceylon UNP Youth League in an appeal to the voters of Colombo South electorate requested them to vote for Mr. J. R. Jayewardene for his keeping with his promise of allowing the people to exercise the voting rights at the end of 5 years since the 1970 general elections—LD. The Secretary of the UNP told that Mr. Jayewardene will not hold any big rallies in the course of his election campaigns instead concentration will be on a number of small meetings—DM. Following the arrest of two Tamil youths in Jaffna who earlier escaped from the prison the Police are investigating to find out whether the activities of a break-away group of a political organisation in the North was financed by a gang of jail-breakers including the two arrested—CDN. A grant of Rs. 1 million will be made available for rural community projects in the country by West Germany: an agreement to this aid which will be in foreign currency will be signed on July 14—CDN. Nearly 15,000 applications for telephone connections, some being over 7 years old, are not taken for consideration by the Postal Department owing to lethargy on the part of some high officials of the Department—JD. Cuban Prime Minister, Fidel Castro, has said there have been as many as 60 plots to assassinate him by the American CIA. Philippines announced that it want to take control of all American bases in the country but would allow the US continue use of them for the preservation of stability in this part of the world. Tanzanian Government owned newspaper *Daily News* asked all progressive forces in the world to sympathise with the Indian Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, in the face of the West's attack on her latest political measures.

SUNDAY, JULY 13: Mr. Anura Bandaranaike, Chief Organiser of the SLFP Youth Leagues, who returned from a trip in America said that there is no truth in the UNP cries that they would supply the masses with 8 lbs of grain per week from the US when they are returned to power: Mr. Bandaranaike said that his inquiries regarding this from the US Government hierarchy revealed that there is no truth in the UNP's utterances—ST. The condition of Miss Rupa Ratnaseli, the undergraduate ward in the hospital after incidents of ragging at the Peradeniya Campus of the University, is reported to be grave following a kidney infection—CD. Sri Lanka will sign an agreement with the European Economic Community in Brussels on July 22 whereby the country will get 'most-favoured nation' treatment: among other benefits the agreement will provide Sri Lanka with a high degree of liberation of import and export trade—CO. The August Madhu festival scheduled to start on August 6 has been cancelled owing to the severe drought—ST. Mr. Jinadasa Niyathapala, former UNP Youth leader, addressing an election meeting in support of Mr. J. R. Jayewardene's main opponent, said that there was a plot by the CIA to kill the former UNP Prime Minister, Mr. Dudley Senanayake—ST. Seven Sri Lanka students who demonstrated carrying banners at the recently concluded World Cup cricket match held in England were bound over by a Manchester magistrate: the students who demonstrated told the magistrate that they did so to highlight the plight of the plantation workers of Sri Lanka to the world—CO. The *Janasathiya* editorially requested the voters of Colombo south to support the opponent of Mr. J. R. Jayewardene at the forthcoming by-elections namely Mr. J. R. P. Suriyapperuma. The income of the Government for the last financial year has increased by Rs. 680 million more than the estimated amount—JS. Ugandan shopkeepers and traders have been ordered to wear shirts and dresses bearing the portrait of President Idi Amin during the forthcoming Organisation of African Unity Summit meeting which opens in Kampala next week. An earthquake in central Burma has severely damaged several 11th century Buddhist monus. ment

MONDAY, JULY 14: All gems, gold or silver jewellery valued at less than Rs. 25,000 and acquired three years ago need not be declared under the declarations of assets ruling: but all such items worth over Rs. 2,500 and purchased during the past three years should be declared—CDN. Undergraduates who fail to attend 80 per cent of lecturers, demonstrations, field classes and tutorials provided for their courses of study will not be permitted to sit examinations—CDN. The *Aththa* editorially posed the question as to why the authorities are reaching towards the university students as if they are taking revenge: the paper said the entire university population should not be punished for what a handful of students had done and also asked as to what has been done to correct the administration: the editorial deplored the policed-state-rule within the campuses and warned the authorities not to make the 20,000 odd university students a frustrated lot. The Ministry of Education decided to establish security units within the campuses of the university with the assistance of the Police to maintain peace and order: this decision had been taken following several incidents of tension, ragging, anti government activities and strikes in the campuses—JD. Speaking

at the Swami Gnanaprakasari centenary celebrations held in Colombo Rev. Fr. Thaninayagam, the well-known Tamil scholar, said that Tamil language must develop if Tamils were to live in this country and for the Tamils to live the Tamil community should have independence—V.K. The Ministry of Health decided to conduct the Unani section of the College of Ayurvedic Medicine in Tamil medium from next year instead of the present English medium—DM. The highlight of this week's US-Soviet joint space mission will be the study of the sun in which American astronauts will use their spacecraft to provide Soviet cosmonauts with an eclipse like effect. The small islands off Sao Tome and Principe, off the West coast of Africa, became independent yesterday after nearly 500 years of Portuguese rule: Manuel da Costa was proclaimed the first President of the Republic of Sao Tome and Principe.

TUESDAY JULY 15: On the orders of the Prime Minister the publication of the Kularatne Commission that inquired into the ragging incidents of mathematics teachers at the Vidyalankara Campus of the University has been withheld: nearly 800 copies of the report already printed at the Government Press have been sealed—CDM. The *Aththa* without comment published a portion of the *Janasathiya's* (*Janadina's* Sunday issue) editorial which requested the Colombo South voters to vote for Mr. J. R. P. Suriyapperuma to defeat Mr. J. R. Jayewardene and the story has been head-lined "Janasathiya shows the duty of the progressives": according to the *Aththa* Mr. Anura Bandaranaike's publication *Ada* has requested the voters of Colombo South to vote for Mr. J. R. Jayewardene to make the rift in the party wider: according to the *Ada* a victory for Mr. Suriyapperuma will make Mr. Jayewardene to join the new UNP that will be formed after the former's victory: meanwhile the *Janadina* announced that as the editorial of the *Janasathiya* of 13th July was against the policy of the paper, the Editor of *Janasathiya* and *Janadina* had been suspended the paper further said its policy is not to participate in the Colombo South by elections keeping with the policy of the UF Government. A delegation from the Association of British interests in Sri Lanka which met the Secretary to the Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs was told yesterday that the Government's intention was to nationalise with compensation all sterling and local plantations: the Acting High Commissioner of Britain in Sri Lanka and Mr. T. Moy, Chairman of George Steuarts and Co, a leading Agency House were also present at the talks: the JCTUO holds a all island delegates conference at the Navarangahala tomorrow and the Council which meets regarding the 28 demands it submitted to the Government wants early action to be taken on these demands: one of the demands is the nationalisation of all foreign owned plantations and banks in Sri Lanka—CDN. Mr. A. R. M. Mukthar, charged before the CIC (Exchange Frauds) pleaded guilty for six of the nine main charges against him: he was charged along with Sir Oliver, a former Governor General of Ceylon and four others including Sir Oliver's daughter, son-in-law and two of Mr. Mukthar's sons—CDN. The historic Appollo-Soyuz joint space flight takes place today. The hearing of the appeal by Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, against the Allahabad High Court Judgement will be taken up for hearing by the Supreme Court on August 11. Israel sent jet strikers to the South of

Lebanon and postponed a decision on its peace agreement with Egypt.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 16: According to the Department of Health as many as 180,000 persons were affected by Malaria during the first six months of this year: out of this nearly 32,000 were malignant cases—CDM. DDT, the Department's chief weapon against malaria, is having little effect against the mosquito in a number of malaria-infected areas and this is said to be reason for the increase of malaria—CDN. A committee appointed to probe into the indebtedness of the state corporation employees has recommended that employees of corporations and statutory boards should be brought within the purview of the Government Credit Councils scheme—CDN. Mr. T. B. Subasinghe, Minister of Industries and Scientific Affairs, speaking at a meeting at the State owned Colombo Gas Co. said that soon all foreign owned plantations will be nationalised—VK. Following appeals made by CTB employees in the North Mr. Leslie Goonewardene, Minister of Transport, had agreed to reduce the requirement in Sinhala of the CTB employees in the North from grade 8 to grade 5—JD. According to the *Aththa* the official organ of the Federal Party, *Suthanthiran*, had requested the Tamil voters of Colombo South to vote for Mr. J.R. Jayewardene at the forthcoming by elections: today is the final day of all propaganda meetings in the electorate: the election takes place on July 18. Three Bhikku undergraduates of the Vidyalankara Campus of the University were suspended for a period of 1 year following an incident in which the monks have ragged a fresher monk—DM. The Railway Department called for world wide tenders for the disposal of 280 steam locomotives which are not in use now—CDN. Two Soviet cosmonauts yesterday blasted off from the Baikonur space centre in Central Asia towards a docking orbit with three Americans and the first international manned space flight: President Gerald Ford and other US VIPs responded with a loud ovation to the successful launching and orbiting of the Soyuz-19: President Ford described this as a truly historic occasion: Soviet leader Mr. Leonid Brezhnev wished the Soviet and American cosmonauts taking part in the joint operation a happy journey and successful accomplishment of the mission: Russia issued a series of postage stamps to mark the occasion. America announced that it is still willing to give India economic aid despite the political situation there.

Introduce Tribune

to a Friend - - - -

SEND US THE
NAME AND ADDRESS
OF A FRIEND
WHO WILL BE
INTERESTED IN RECEIVING

A Sample Copy of TRIBUNE

THE SACRED MYSTERY

Kataragama

by R. C. Thavarajah

Those pious devotees and the avid traveller and tourist in search of knowledge and experience visiting Kataragama this season will find the difference. There are no raucous cries of sellers of various wares hawking pooja "wattiyas", no obstruperous fortune tellers button-holing you like the 'Ancient Mariner' to harass them in the precincts of the Sacred Area. As one crosses the Bridge, under which the river Menik Ganga flows gently below and enters the sacred area, one finds the place cleansed of commercial elements of various types—instead, one finds the Peace and Serenity which are conducive to worship and Meditation. There is order even in the queues of devotees waiting patiently with trays of offerings. The Temple premises offer a cleanliness which certainly is "next to Godliness." There is an aura of purity blending with the spotlessly white immaculate apparel of the worshippers who wait for the great big door of the Dewale to open.

KATARAGAMA TODAY is due to the untiring efforts of the Officials of the Town Planning Department who were responsible for re-modelling the town. The Government Agent, Moneragala, and his staff have done an excellent job in connection with the festival to provide transport, postal, sanitary, food and other facilities so that the thronging thousands can conduct their religious observances with out let or hindrance. That these officials have done their tasks with great acceptance and dedication to duty is evidenced by the efficient and smooth working of all arrangements.

Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam, K.T., M.A. one time President of the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch), member of the Executive and Legislative Councils of Ceylon and President of the Ceylon University Association, in his inestimable book entitled 'STUDIES AND TRANSLATIONS (Philosophical and Religious)' in his chapter on the worship of MURUGA or SKANDA (The Kataragama God, refers to the once 'lonely hamlet in the heart of a forest haunted by bears, elephants and leopards

and more deadly MALARIA.' According to him, Kataragama 'was already held in high esteem in the third century before Christ, and is one of the sixteen places said to have been sanctified by GAUTHAMA BUDDHA sitting in each in meditation. The Mahavamsa (XIX.54) in enumerating those who welcomed the arrival at Anuradhapura of the Sacred Bodhi Tree from Buddha Gaya in charge of Sangamitta, the saintly daughter of the Indian Emperor Asoka, gives the first place after the King of Ceylon to the Nobles of Kajaragama as Kataragama was then called. It was privileged to receive a Sapling (ibid 62) of which an alleged descendant still stands in the temple Court. About a third of a mile off is the Buddhist Shrine of Kiri Vehera, said to have been founded by King Maha Naga of Mahagama, Circ 300 BC.

SIR P. ARUNACHALAM goes further to add that Kataragama was sacred to the God KARTIKEYA, from whom it was called Karthikaya Grama (City of Karthikaya) shortened to Kajaragama and then to Kataragama. The Tamils who are chief worshippers at the Shrine, have given the name a Tamil form, KATHIRKAMAM, a City of Divine Glory and love, as if from Kathir glory of Light, KAMAM-LOVE. By Sinhalese and Tamils alike the GOD KARTHIKEYA is called KANDASAMY by the Sinhalese also KANDA KUMARA (Kanda being the Tamil form of the Sanskrit Skanda and Kumara meaning youth)—'The Youthful God.' More often the Tamils call him by the pure Tamil name MURUGAN, 'The tender child'. He is represented in legend statuary and painting as a beautiful child or youth. The priests worship him with elaborate rites and ceremonies, the rustic with meal and blood offerings, the aboriginal Vedda invokes him also with dances in the primitive manner of the woods, the philosopher meditates on him in SILENCE adoring him as a Supreme God, SUBRAMANYA—the all pervading spirit of the Universe, the Essence from which all things are evolved, by which they are sustained and into which they are involved,—who in gracious pity for humanity takes form sometimes as the youthful God of Wisdom, God also of War when wicked Titans (Asuras) have to be destroyed sometimes as the Holy Child MURUGA, type of Perennial ten-

der beauty, always and every where at the Service of his devotees.

Mrs. Ratna Navaratnam, M.A., Dip. in Education, one time Director of Education, Northern Division, who has had a brilliant academic record at the Presidency College, Madras, Annamalai University and the Institute of Education, LONDON has written several books. In one of these, "THE HINDU TESTAMENT OF WISDOM" in her Chapter on KATHIRGAMA RAHASYA, she refers to the sylvan shrine of Kathirgama and writes "This unadorned Temple in the South-Eastern shore of Sri Lanka, in the heart of the Vedda country, skirted by the River Manicka Ganga and the forest and hills of the Uva District, has attracted Kings and peasants, illiterate folk as well as learned Pundits and priests Hindus and Buddhists, men and women in all walks of life. They see only the veil and this veil is always down. The Priest whose mouth is tied by a cloth, moves in and out of this veil carrying the offerings of the devotees. There are no Agamic rituals and he does NOT chant or intercede. In SILENCE, to the music of the drums and bells, he moves in and out of the Veil, while the worshippers gaze from outside at the form of the Lord embellished on the veil. The light of the stately brass lamps and the burning camphor cast a halo of SANCTITY in the porch and outside. Kathirgamam evokes awe and reverence Love and Worship among all types of People who visit this abode of MURUGA for Peace and Solace. She adds that "the Miracle of Kataragama begins to work up on those who take their whole being as the SACRED OFFERING". She emphasises that this is much more difficult than the offering of flowers and fruit, music and dance. "What is required", she re-iterates" is a whole-hearted "SAMKALPA", an attitude of surrender imposed by each devotee from within, to the GOD OF LIGHT."

HISTORY RECORDS that King DUTUGEMUNU in the first century B.C. personally supervised the re-building of the temple at Kataragama as 'A thank-offering for the favour of the God, which enabled him to march from this District against the Tamil King ELARA and, after killing him in battle, recovered the ancestral Throne of

Anuradhapura'. Sir P. Arunachalam writes—Dutugemunu's Great Great Grandfather MAHANAGA, younger brother of King Devanampiyatissa had taken refuge in the Southern Province and founded a Dynasty there, and Anuradhapura was for 78 years (with a short break) ruled by Tamil Kings, of whom ELARA (205 to 16 B.C.) was the greatest. Dutugemunu conceived the idea of liberating the country of ELARA. While his thoughts were intent on this design day and night, he was warned in a dream NOT to embark on this enterprise against his father's positive injunction, unless he first secured the aid of the KATARAGAMA GOD. He, therefore, made pilgrimages hither and underwent severe penances on the banks of the river imploring divine intervention. While thus engaged in prayer and meditation, and ascetic suddenly appeared before him, inspiring such awe that the Prince fainted. On recovering consciousness, he saw before him the Great of War who presented him with weapons and assured him of victory. The Prince made vow that he would re-build and endow the Temple, on his return and started on his expedition, which ended in the defeat and death of ELARA and the recovery of the Throne.

The daily Perahera at night is so aptly described by Mrs. Navaratnam in her chapter on KATHIRGAMAM TODAY. The pageant is most impressive. Drums throb, the caprisooned elephant moves, lighted torches and singing parties and burning camphor pots, Kandyan Dancing and shouting of 'HARO HARA' rend the air.

At the final stages is conducted a Ritual of fire walks. The devotees in fulfillment of vows religiously observe the rigid requirements before performing this. A Senior Police Officer presently attached to Headquarters, Mr. K. D. C. Wijenaik, Superintendent of Police in charge of Information and Public Relations describing the ritual told me that he performed this with deep faith which gave him the courage and strength to perform this ritual. He told me that his friends and relatives were shielding themselves with mats to protect them from the intense, scorching heat emanating from the fire which is produced by burning huge 'Milla' logs, the embers of which are like red hot iron. He

added that, when he had completed the ritual, he felt that he had walked on bare ground and not on fire. When I was stationed at Tangalle in 1964 I had to supervise Police duties in connection with the festival. On the day of the fire walking ceremony, Sergeant Ratnayake of Tangalle Police Station appeared before me in an agitated state of mind and he told me that his son aged 6 years had insisted that he perform the ritual of fire walking at Kataragama. He had admonished the child against it as he was too tender in years. When his mother pressed him further as to why he was expressing this urge, the youngster had told her that a sage appeared in a dream and had wanted him to do so. The many thousands present marvelled as the young boy walked over the burning embers in slow, measured tread, and hands clasped in worship of the Kataragama God. There was not even a single blister or any sign of SINGEING. It was Napoleon who said 'All the scholastic scaffolding falls, as a ruined edifice, before one single word—FAITH'. An ex-Servicemen, who was inebriated, plucked up sufficient DUTCH courage and ran half way over the fire heap. He was very seriously burnt and, when the doctors were treating him in the hospital, desperately cried out for a double dose of PETHEDENE.

Apropos the ritual of Fire-walking, there is reference to this in the Holy Bible (Old Testament in the Book of Daniel, Chapter III). The reference is to King Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon ordering three men, named Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego to cast into the "fiery furnace" for disobeying His order to worship "The Golden Image." These men were NOT destroyed by the fire and King Nebuchadnezzar marvelled at this miracle of seeing FOUR men instead of three "loose walking in the midst of the Fire and they have no hurt and the form of the fourth is like the Son of God". The story goes on to relate that "God had sent his angel to deliver his servants that trusted in HIM." How true are the words of the great writer of eminence, SOUTH who said "A Miracle is a work exceeding the power of any created agent, consequently being an effect of the DIVINE OMNIPOTENCE".

I have heard from very reliable sources strange stories—tales of

the sweet MYSTERY that relate to Kataragama. An enterprising but indigent photographer thought he could make some easy money had gone all the way to Kataragama from a village in the Eastern Province. His intention was to photograph the "sanctum Sanctorum" in the belief that copies of the photographs would be sold like "hot cakes."

He tried several times but on each occasion the negative plate was blank when he tried to develop it. Having given up hope, he slept the night outside the Dewale. In the middle of the night a strange form appeared, struck him on the back of shoulders very hard and said in Tamil "who do you think I am to be trifled with." Several stories of those who spoke disparagingly or in ridicule had come by serious mis-haps. Lack of space precludes me from including all those narratives. I must, however, mention that the Menik Ganga, even when it is in spate, during heavy rainy weather envelopes most of the buildings at Sella Sanathy except the Temple and the Statue of God Ganesh (Gana Deviyo) causing no damage to these.

A visit to Kataragama not only refreshes the soul, the mind and the body but also acts as a soothing balm to those who wish to get away from the busy rush of humdrum cares and worries of City life. They all find the mental and spiritual relaxation which the tranquility of the Sacred Place offers. To quote again from Mrs. Navaratnam—"It is believed that, like BENARES AND BUDDHA-GAYA, this Holy Sanctuary has also been the object of veneration from the dawn of this Satellite Earth. This age-less antiquity is impregnated with a modern and living dynamism that constitute the Mystery that casts a HALO round KATARAGAMA".



NEXT WEEK

- * BANDUNG TO COLOMBO - 2
—Belgrade
- * GENERIC NAMES FOR DRUGS
—In India
- * BUFFALOES
—Capture or Slaughter

INDIRA GANDHI

Dilemma Before Congress

By Congressman

(An active Congress leader who prefers anonymity in the present juncture)

EVER SINCE the judgement of the Allahabad High Court unseating and disqualifying Smt Indira Gandhi was announced, there has been hectic activity in Delhi and all over the country, particularly in Congress circles.

In a somewhat confused manner, a wave of sadness and frustration is sweeping over certain sections of the people in whose minds the charisma of Smt Gandhi persists, albeit less resplendent than it was in 1971-72. Legal, constitutional, political and, last but not the least, moral aspects of the issue are being flaunted — sometimes separately and sometimes in combinations — and the result is a lot of mix-up in the minds of the people. But this is precisely how in a democracy public opinion blunders on and on till it gets stabilised at some point. This is still to happen in the present case.

From a strictly legal point of view, it can be argued that what Smt Indira Gandhi has been deprived of by the judgement of the Allahabad High Court is her membership of the Lok Sabha and what she has been disqualified from holding is an "elective post". However, under Article 75 of the Constitution, it is open to her to be Prime Minister for a period of six months without being a member of either House of Parliament.

As for the operation of the disqualification, Prime Ministership is not affected by it inasmuch as, according to the Constitution, the Prime Minister is appointed by the President and not elected by any Constitutional body. The method of having the leader of the majority Party as the Prime Minister is a convention woven into the working of the Constitution. Otherwise, by the letter of the Constitution, the leader of the majority Party need not be the Prime Minister and conversely the Prime Minister too need not be the leader of the majority Party.

It is, therefore, constitutionally permissible in India to have a succession of Prime Ministers, each for a period not exceeding six months, without being members of either House and in spite of any disqualification such as was pronounced in the case of Smt Indira Gandhi in the Allahabad verdict.

WHILE THIS is no doubt the theoretical position, the practical aspect that compels attention is whether such a Prime Minister, even if he or she assumes office, will be able to run his or her Government with the Parliamentary support that is constitutionally essential.

This brings us to the political side of the question. Suppose, further, that a person who is a member of neither House of Parliament, has the solid backing of the majority party and the President appoints him or her as Prime Minister; in such a case, there is nothing that prevents him or her from running his or her Government with the necessary Parliamentary support.

Since this illustration has full application to Smt Indira Gandhi's position it follows that there is no political hurdle in her being Prime Minister, even after the Allahabad verdict. If one legal technicality has unseated her as Member of Parliament, there is another legal technicality which enables her to continue as Prime Minister without being a Member of Parliament. Moreover, the order of the Supreme Court passed on June 24, on Smt Gandhi's stay petition has categorically saved her membership of the Lok Sabha by virtue of suspending that part of the Allahabad verdict. The result is that Smt Gandhi need not even invoke the provisions of Article 75 and could continue as Prime Minister in her own right as Member of Lok Sabha, with restriction on her voting right only.

While in the immediate context there is thus no legal or political compulsion against Smt Gandhi's continuance as Prime Minister, the question, however, arises whether the political consequences of Smt Gandhi's continuance as Prime Minister, in spite of the Allahabad judgement, would not be adverse

for the Congress party in the long run.

This brings us to the moral aspect of the matter—an aspect which has assumed special significance and relevancy in Indian politics due largely to the Gandhian influence on the psychological attitude of the people to hail every act of renouncing power as admirable, and conversely to look upon every act of clinging on to power as reproachable.

There have been occasions when men in authority resigned from their posts on grounds which no logic would really justify but which were still considered moral. Such resignations were extolled by one and all. There have been occasions when even a remote reflection by the High Court or the Supreme Court resulted in the almost instantaneous resignation of persons in power. This, in short, has been the convention built up over the years in free India so far. And this is the only consideration which has to weigh with Smt Gandhi and the Congress in the present instance too.

The above analysis clearly raises the matter to a level at which the vociferous demand by the Opposition parties for Smt Gandhi's resignation becomes totally untenable. If Smt Gandhi and her party are willing to run the risk mentioned in the foregoing paragraph, there could be nothing to bar Smt Gandhi's continuance as Prime Minister. The appeal which she is preferring to the Supreme Court is in relation to an election whose term is any how coming to a close and would therefore cease to have much practical significance, except in the matter of the six-year disqualification. And, incidentally, it is not the Supreme Court but the Election Commission of India which has the power to decide on this aspect. That is, whether a person is eligible for contesting an election.

THE "MORAL" ASPECT, however, is likely to loom large in the coming months, providing political grist to the mills of the Opposition parties and confronting the people with questions which are not at all concerned with their socio-economic needs and yet which evoke strong responses and emotions. The net result is that during the coming elections, a debate is likely to ensue which is quite unrelated to the people's aspirations but

touches only their notions of what is right or wrong, moral or immoral, proper or improper, etc. This prospect is really unfortunate because, in the ultimate analysis, it tends to benefit the forces of the status quo. Evidently, it will be detrimental to the Congress inasmuch as the Congress programme for effecting basic structural changes might get blurred and at best receive a secondary place in the overall electoral context.

This then is the real dilemma which Smt Gandhi and the Congress are faced with. On the one hand, her leadership was and is a definite asset—"indispensable", to quote recent resolutions—for the Congress; on the other, her continuance as Prime Minister, with all its obvious advantages, may involve the Congress in a moralistic debate wherein it stands handicapped and its socio-economic forte is largely overlooked. The choice is by no means easy or obvious—indeed the choice is to be able to have it both ways, namely, to have Smt Gandhi as well as to obviate the moralistic overtones. This is the task to be accomplished.

The first thing that has to be explained to the people is that she is not acting "immorally" by not resigning her post. If law and morality must be mixed up—as is being done by Smt Gandhi's opponents—then the "morality" of a judicial pronouncement becomes no less relevant; it is at least as relevant as the morality of Smt Gandhi's action consequent on the said judicial pronouncement. In other words, people will have to ask themselves whether it is the acme of morality to unseat Smt Gandhi on the grounds on which she has been unseated.

NEEDLESS TO SAY, in this consideration, it is not the legal technicality but the moral justification that has to predominate. People will ask whether the technicalities of the transaction between a Government employee and the Government in respect of his resignation and the acceptance thereof could morally and justifiably affect the interests of a bonafide third person who had no knowledge of what actually happened in regard to the acceptance. Are there no

"equities" involved in this matter, apart from the letter of the law or its narrow interpretation? Again, is it morally justifiable to pendise a Prime Minister on being given certain facilities which every Prime Minister everywhere has always been given?—Not legally, but morally as we are accustomed to understand morality in public life in this country.

There is a lot of unclear thinking about the finality of the judicial review which, unlike in the United States, is not recognised in that form in India. There is a persistent taboo on all comment on judicial pronouncements. It is hardly realised that even in the United States, where the importance of judicial review is almost over-riding, the people are the recognised "Court of Last Resort". Judicial view has changed time and again when it found itself conflicting with popular aspirations. These developments have taken place even without amending legislation—which speaks volumes for the resilience of the American judiciary.

IN COURSE OF TIME India is also bound to witness such situations, with similar reactions and responses. That the unseating of a person who happens to be the Prime Minister of India constitutes such a situation of self-evident, notwithstanding the accepted notions of equality before law and all that it ordinarily connotes.

That Smt Indira Gandhi is not just another Prime Minister but an extraordinary personage in the Indian context in whose case some of the relatively minor ground rules may break down, is also evident. But such ground rules must break down along democratic lines. The people, for once, should reject those minor ground rules in such a manner that the sanctity of the major rules is enhanced and not destroyed. That is the only way of saving the rules.

If the Congress can convince the people of this historic need in the greatest crisis it has yet faced in free India, it will have saved itself and Indian democracy and also its stability. Will it do it?

TO SUM UP, first one provision of law has unseated Smt Gandhi from membership of Parliament; but there is another provision of

law which enables her to continue as Prime Minister at least for six months without being a Member of Parliament. The stay order by the Supreme Court has clinched the issue once and for all.

Secondly, Smt Gandhi has all the political support she requires in order to continue as the leader of the Congress party. She has no rival in the field. Therefore, she has no political hurdle in continuing as Prime Minister.

Thirdly, the only way is to have a candid and uninhibited debate in the Congress urgently initiated, so that a consensus based on conviction emerges. The Congress will have to assess its own capacity to retain Smt Gandhi as Prime Minister by scoring victories at the bar of public opinion on the "moral" plane in the first instance: The assessment has to be an honest one, leading to a definite decision. That decision should be stuck to, whatever the fluctuations in the Congress fortunes hereafter.

Lastly, when the "moral" battle is half way through, a determined bid for socio-economic transformation calculated to establish immediate credibility and to yield short-term results, should be undertaken. In the process, there should be a through overhaul of the administrative and organisational wings of the Congress all along the line.

—MAINSTREAM, June 28, 1975.

* * * * *

BUILDING A VILLAGE HOUSE—42

All Honourable Men

By Herbert Keuneman
This is a post-Postscript.

The trouble with writing from as far away as I do from one's Centre of Publication is that what one writes must be written considerably in advance. It is magazine writing rather than immediate reportage. Which is as it should be for Tribune, since Tribune is in fact a magazine: a review rather than a newspaper. Which is again as it should be, since it is unique of its kind; and a review can pose questions, conjecture motives, suggest answers and perpend solutions beyond the scope of the daily press' sensational immediacy.

Not that the local daily press is all that sensational. It might be, if it were more spontaneous. But nothing inhibits spontaneity like a muzzle! "All the news that's fit to print" is nowhere near all the news and not even very close to what is objectively significant or even true.

This—and particularly this series of articles: *Building a Village House*—may seem an incongruous opportunity for such an madversion, but (as I tried to explain at the beginning of my series) building a house is only a first step in seeking an organic place in a society. And the society I have chosen is the village and though I may criticize it—sometimes bitterly—I am 'for' it with all a convert's zeal and am jealous for its welfare and indignant at its exploitation by knaves or ruination by fools.

FOR THIS REASON I am sometimes dissatisfied that the urgency has vanished from the tale of some abuse or scandal I deem it necessary to expose—even though I suppose there is something to be ex-cogitated from even an old and corrected abuse or scandal—and that is why there appeared last week my complaint of the maladministration of Relief Work afforded the drought-hit inhabitants of our part of the country although the report would be some six weeks old before it appeared in print. That is also why I added to the story, at the cost of taking some of the already staling sting out of it, a postscript stating that the wrongs I had written about had been rectified.

That postscript was written on, if I remember aright, the 10th of June. It was to say that the arrears of pay for relief work done by villagers in the area over the months of April and May had been finally paid over.

I write today's article (on the 10th of July) to say that I was wrong. The villages at least of Kaduruwewa, and Ehetuwewa itself, have not yet been paid. And, what is more, it does not appear that they are going to be, unless someone of sufficient jurisdiction (and integrity) steps in.

This whole business of Relief seems to have been developed—however idealistically it began—for the benefit of crooks. The idea in origin would seem to have been simple and workable enough.

To run over it as it began: Those villagers who wished could take part in a scheme of voluntary labour on public projects in return for which they would be paid in cash: Rs. 3/00 a day for a man, Rs. 2/25 for a woman. A maximum of 12 working days in a month was permitted. Families of over 10 (!) could contribute 4 workers until a family maximum of Rs. 125 for the month had been earned, after which one or more (as necessary) would be laid off; a family of over 6 could contribute 3 workers and earn a maximum of Rs. 100; but planned Families—for who would plan for more than 6—were at a disadvantage and could contribute only two, to earn a maximum of Rs. 70. (This sliding scale, by the way, was an innovation, albeit an early one.) The maintenance of a Check Roll, with all the necessary accounting, would be performed by a *kankanam-mahattaya*—an o'seer-mahattaya as he now prefers to be called—appointed by the DRO on the nomination of the GS, the Grama Sevakaya, and approved (I am told) by the MP. The o'seer would mark a worker present by means of a/ and absent by an o.

Now hear this. Not even under these comparatively simple rules was every o'seer able to keep his books efficiently (this was one of the reasons for the delays in payment). Keeping them sufficiently seems to have been a different matter. If he kept them sufficiently, his village got paid, if not, not.

THERE WERE SOME who did not enter absences but left the column blank; then, by private treaty with the absencee, the columns were marked/and the spoils divided. There were others who retained a percentage, generally blaming the necessity on the poor DRO—or sometimes even higher—but who is to say who the ultimate beneficiary may have been? There were others still for whom the arithmetic was just too much, and I sympathize with them, especially seeing that not a few (not many; but not a few) were village drunks and other incapables; and one might think that if such men caused delays it was the men who chose them, and not the villager who had laboured for his money, who should be found at fault and penalized. But that is not the

way the mind of Local Authority works. 'It is good', says the L.A. boldly inverting the principle, 'that the people should suffer for one man!' Does this mean that if a *kankanam-mahattaya's* books are irremediably spoilt, no one at all who worked in his gang will get the reward for labour actually put in?

The present case of the villagers of Kaduruwewa seems to suggest that the shocking answer is Yes!

It is alleged that the Kaduruwewa o'seer forged the DRO's countersignature of his check-roll. Naturally the o'seer denies having done any such thing, and the matter has very properly been put (so I hear) in the hands of the 'C.I.D.' Their findings will be interesting, doubtless, but hardly to the point. What is at issue so far as the Kaduruwewa villagers are concerned is not whether their *kankanam-mahattaya* is a 'criminal' or not—most of them have long since held their private opinions about that, and would have expressed them had he been chosen by ballot; only, alas! this was a 'political' appointment—but whether or not they are going to get paid for work some, at least, of them undoubtedly did. If the *kankanam-mahattaya* is found guilty (and that could take a very long time, at best) is the government going to repudiate its entire debt for whatever work Kaduruwewa actually did?

Neither the guilt nor non-guilt of the *kankanam-mahattaya* is ever going to make a difference to the record shown on his check-roll, the only basis for payment which exists. So, unless government—in-famously—is going to welsch on this debt, if payment is to be made sometime, it should be made now. And I do not say 'now' arguing only on moral or legalistic grounds. I am arguing on practical grounds. This relief work was instituted to relieve the threat of starvation; or, at all events, of hunger. Well, the villagers of unpaid Kaduruwewa and Ehetuwewa are going hungrier than ever: all those who gratefully bought on credit from the village kades against their expectations from relief-pay have now had their credit stopped! To be sure, they had splurged a little, especially in April with the New Year approaching and all the temptation of cheap textiles and other season-

Question Of Checkrolls

ably calculated sops. But they would not have splurged had they known that in mid-July their April money would still remain unpaid and that what credit they may have had would be destroyed.

EHETUWEWA'S CASE is a little more complicated. Two errors have been found in their check-roll: one is such entries against names as the ambiguous symbol! The other is the accusation that pages not bearing the DRO's seal have been inserted into the book (a common exercise book; with only this tomfool seal to make its pages official!) The o'seer, of course, denies both charges, charging by implication that the unauthorized entries and insertions were made by the GS or one of the DRO's clerks—or even by the DRO himself—all of whom had the opportunity. But why any of these should have had the motive requires a little more explanation.

The popular explanation in Ehetuwewa is this: Somebody up there doesn't like me! This is, of course, a typical village reaction. But in this particular instance it seems it could be more than a mere symptom of the national paranoia.

Apparently, Ehetuwewa was ordered as (I think) its first task to repair a tank at Ihala Polpitigama which could hardly, by any stretch of the villagers' imagination, be deemed a public work. This tank feeds the fields of two owners only—so that the usual allegations are inevitably bandied about as to what influenced the choice of it as a communal project in the first place—and it is gratifying to be able to record that Ehetuwewa had the spunk to refuse to devote its collective effort to the benefit of so few. (Someone must have told them about Socialism!) But, complain the villagers, Ehetuwewa has ever since been literally in the official bad books!

There are not a few who assert things have been made even worse by a further *faux pas*. I have already mentioned the mulct that is said to be deducted (where the village, and especially the o'seer, are complainant) in order to be devoted to more deserving recipients than mere farmers however hungry. Each 'low man' passes the buck figuratively if not in fact to someone higher up the

official or political scale, and vice versa. It is believed by many that when a rumour arose that a 'high man' in the Ehetuwewa chain was shortly to be replaced, the lower links—allow me the mixed metaphor—decided to keep the money. The upper link, however, was in the end not replaced. But by that time the money was spent, and Ehetuwewa as a community became by association the object of his ensuing resentment! So it is said, so it is said.

One could laugh at such seemingly far-fetched ascriptions of course for ill-will if incidents to support their likelihood did not continually recur. Our paranoia again; it requires only an occasion, not a rationale!

WE CAN LOOK FORWARD to a lot more inefficiency and corruption before this *anatha vada* business is done. The latest rules for disbursement—in kind, rather than in cash—seem likely to provide these in the highest measure. I have already shown how difficult (for one reason or another) it has been to recruit even comparatively honest and capable *kankanam-mahatturu* in present conditions and under the present method which makes him not the people's but his master's man. Consider the possibilities for chaos under the latest announced dispensation.

According to this, payment will be not in cash but in kind; and the following is to be the schedule:

Maximum Accountable Working Days Per Month: 16

Maximum Workers From A Household: 4

Daily Emolument:

Chief Householder Others

FLOUR 3 lb. 5 oz. 10 3/4 oz.

DRY-FISH 1 3/4 oz. 1/3 oz.

BUTTER-OIL 1 1/3 oz. 2/3 oz.

On this basis, you try and work out the quantities to be handed over to a family where the Chief Householder works for 15 of the 16 allowable days: his wife for 13 days; one child for 12 and the other for 14 days. And now do a similar calculation for each of up to a hundred names!

What average villager will be able to keep a check? And without a check what is the administra-

tor's perquisite likely to be? Imagination, to coin a word, boggles!

Still, I think at all events the villagers are coming to see that the cause of their delays and frustrations must be looked for closer to home and a ghostly stirring of what was taken to be the dead hand of the UNP need not be invoked (as, I pointed out in my last week's article, it was being invoked) to explain them. So we shall be that much to the good. If it is good that the People's Government should be seen as an unsolicitous, inefficient, lax, cynical and callous sham!

K A Z I — 15

In A Coconut Estate

By ANATORY BUKOBA

On hundred and fifty jak, mango citrus trees sown, the holes dug, and fenced with cadjans, and then, all these broken into by cattle and half the plants destroyed. Was this because the human element failed to measure up to what was expected of it? After having seen the derelict remains of this brave, wise and generous effort at fruit growing, I would say it was. No effort has even been made to clear away the eyesore; it just stands as the cattle left it, and the cattle were still at it.

Two calves had fallen down a well. I do not know what happened at the time, after they fell in; at any rate they were noticed, and by some miracle they were fished out alive, or I should rather say, hauled out. This well used always to be fenced against just such a happening. Even when the fence deteriorated, it was still there. Then came some new thinking, and it was removed altogether. There has probably been no fence for not less than a year. When the first calf fell in, nothing was said. That, and the second calf falling in, only came out thanks to a comparative stranger, a new-comer. The well is still not fenced, and cattle go near that well even now.

A cow dies, no one says a word. It would not escape notice, because pretty close check is kept on the numbers, and every animal is known. It had been a sick cow,

and, yet, it was just found dead; at no stage did it appear to be dying, so that a closer watch might have been kept on it, as one would have expected. She died in the evening, and not during the night.

The fences are in a poor state. Perhaps this is not unusual for a coconut estate, because there is often a strand or two of wire down in places. Yet, when one walks around, one sees coconut branches, ancient ones, to judge by their looks, lying on the fences. They must have weathered many a storm, many a season, and sodden, their weight would have borne down on the wire, and on the tacks holding the wire to the posts. I had always thought it was a watcher's job to remove them.

Plantain trees; say about a hundred and fifty of them, central to the estate, but they might have been in the Matto Grasso when Peter Fleming went there. The approach to them is through a high carpet of grass, and people do not readily walk on grass which is matted that you would not know if you were treading on a snake. That old term, visibility nil which you hear on the Home BBC, and in naval parlance, applies here, for the young coconut palms around seem to effectively obscure all view of the plantains. I had always thought that the ground round each plantain tree should be cleared and what is cleared away then heaped around the tree. I am not so sure about this last point, although I have seen it done in Ceylon.

After years, I had a shot at mucking out a hull. I have expressed it the Cumbrian way, Cumberland, where I spent the greater part of the best thirteen years of my life. There it is either shovel or gripe, and I forget what kind of broom we used; I rather think it was the household type, but I may be wrong. Here, it was a mamoty and, I think, an ekel broom. The hull was one of the calf pens, skittery, as some of the calves had been dozed with worm powder.

Some of the bullocks, earmarked for the cart, have been growing apace. They are so big, I wondered if they were too big to be trained for the cart now. This training is a job which seem to be missed out. There never seems to be time for it, as one picking follows another closely even though

a pick only takes place every two months.

There are buffaloes waiting to be trained. They need a tame buffalo to be yoked to, for the trained buffalo has the weight to hold the untrained buffalo in check. These buffaloes are used to being tied up and being led at the end of a long rope from one tree to another. Try to lead them in any other way, and pandemonium breaks out. They go completely wild. The estate still waits for its expert and fearless buffalo men to come along to train these animals without the aid of a trained buffalo.

Picking is a time when every man should be at that work. The cattlemen must attend to the cattle, but everybody else should be on the job. It can be compared to haytime and harvest in England, where a similar situation occurs. So I was rather surprised when it was not so here. An old experienced hand was out shopping for the house.

Leave a gate open on a farm in England, and you will be well ticked off, as indeed you ought. This is most important when there are animals around. I said ticking off. It is not so. A blast would be more correct; one great shout like, *shut that gate behind yer*. It is astonishing the number of times that gates are left open when they ought to be shut. The rule is leave a gate as you found it. In Bassenthwaite in the Lake District, I remember one young man, off to the pictures, where buses were few and far between, and distances long, jumping off a bus when he recognized a string of cattle, walking along a road, as his master's. Someone had left a gate open, and he lost his film and evening out, I think. This devotion to duty he took as a matter of course. The farmer would have flown off the handle; he might have lost his cattle some of them expensive beasts.

The atmosphere in the coconut areas is changing now, unless it is just my imagination. It is no longer like the south of England, or as it was more than ten years ago. That deep gulf between master and employed is going now. Not that it did not work satisfactorily while it lasted, both in England and here. Yet I preferred the atmosphere in the far north-

west, in what is now known as Cumbria. There a farmhand ate at his master's table, and yet, there was never any doubt as to who was the master; it was just a distinction of posts, the boss and his servant.

SRI LANKA RAILWAYS

The Canadian Connection

By Jayantha Somasundaram

HISTORICALLY SPEAKING, one could say that the process of the dieselisation of the Sri Lanka Railways began in the mid 1930's when Armstrong engines which had the rare distinction of being maintained throughout by the manufacturers themselves, were first introduced. However, the real impact of the diesel locomotive became apparent only in 1955 when we commissioned ten diesel electric locomotives from Canadian General Motors.

In the intervening period, rail cars had become a familiar sight on the suburban runs. While the Armstrong diesel were removed from service for reasons which are obscured by time, their immediate successors which were three English Electric diesel rail cars, designated S1 and commissioned in 1937, were a success. These three elegant rail cars were named Silvermist, Silverfoam and Silver-spray.

Diesel hydraulic power sets began to shoulder the major part of suburban rail traffic after 1947, when twenty-three English Electric T1 rail cars were commissioned. The completion of the dieselisation of suburban traffic was witnessed in the four years 1959 to 1962, when eighty new diesel hydraulic power sets were brought into operation. Fifty 800 horse power diesel hydraulic S2 power sets from Schindler of Switzerland which were commissioned in 1959 were followed in 1960 by twenty-five 880 hp S3 power sets and in 1962 by five 1000 hp S4 power sets from MAN of West Germany. THE INTRODUCTION of diesel locomotives for long distance running began only in 1952, late when compared with other countries. The original twenty-five M1 diesel

Fourteen More

electric locomotives which are still in service were purchased from Brush Bagnor, U.K.

A Colombo-Plan-Aid agreement made it possible to introduce the ten diesel electric M2s which were largely responsible for the appearance of diesel locomotives on all long distance, upcountry and express runs. Another four locomotives, designated M2D, were purchased in 1966 for operation in conjunction with the Cement Corporation.

The success and efficiency of the M2s laid the ground work for the Railways dieselisation programme which was completed in 1969. This programme which required eighty-eight diesel hydraulic locomotives adhered to a rationalisation scheme which provided for common British Paxman engines and common West-German MTU transmission systems. Forty-five of these locomotives which are mainly for mid-country running were purchased from Henschel of West Germany. These W1 locomotives have twelve cylinders, and generates 1150 hp. For long distance and steep gradient runs 15 W2 engines were purchased from Lokomotivau in East Germany. These sixteen cylinder locomotives are rated at 1580 hp. In addition twenty-five Y class shunting locomotives of 530 hp were purchased from Hunsted Locomotive Works in the U.K.

While these eighty-eight locomotives consigned the steam engine to the limbo of history, their numbers have to be augmented to cater to increasing rail traffic.

LAST YEAR ten 1000 hp S6 Hitachi diesel hydraulic engines were brought into commission. Tenders are now being called for ten more power sets. Earlier in 1970 four sets of 52 775 hp air conditioned luxury power sets were also commissioned from Hitachi.

The Railways have just cleared fourteen 1700 hp locomotives. This shipment is the result of a call made by the Railways in 1972 for global bids. Although as many as twenty offers were received, the lowest being from Japan, the Railways accepted the offer made by the Montreal Locomotive Works.

This was partly due to the credit terms offered. The total cost of these fourteen locomotives is over Canadian \$ 6.2 million. CIDA which is financing the major part of this deal is doing so through a Canadian Government agreement entered into in September 1972, which extends 50 years of credit with a 12 year grace period. The Sri Lanka Government which is called upon to immediately meet only Canadian \$ 212,000 of the cost, finds these terms which include no interest payment, very attractive.

But more important was the fact, that the M2s which are all still to be found in service are regarded as the best locomotives in the local fleet. They involve the least amount of repairs and replacement. It was this confidence in Canadian locomotives that prompted the Sri Lanka Railways to opt for the MLW offer.

MLW also undertook to provide for the commissioning, servicing, technical assistance and on-the-job training that the purchase of these locomotives involve. Already,

twelve Ceylonese engineers and technicians have undergone training at MLW.

OF SPECIAL INTEREST is the fact that each of the bodies on the MLW locomotives have six driving wheels on three axles. Previous locomotives had only four driving wheels. In addition, four of the locomotives which will be put on to the main line for the Badulla express run are equipped with dynamic brakes. These brakes which have a special significance for down hill operation retard the velocity of the locomotive by cutting off the power supply from the generator to the traction motor. Dynamic braking results in less wear and tear of the moving parts of the locomotive. The fourteen locomotives are numbered 743 to 756 and are named Mahaweli, Kelani, Walawe, Menik, Diyaluma, Dunhinda, Laxapana, Samanala, Namunukula, Ruwanweli, Isurumuni, Sigiri, Madhu and Point Pedro.

GRAFFITI ON WALLS

REFERRING to the inspection of the Vidyalkankara campus by the commission on May 29, 1975 the Kularatne report states that practically all the halls of residence were dirty and the walls did not appear to have been white-washed for quite some time. There were various writings and drawings of an obscene nature which included political slogans. The rooms were dirty and the furniture including beds and chairs were in a thoroughly dilapidated condition. Some of the rooms were not fit for human habitation and the water on tap was full of rust.

At the Dalugama campus the commission had visited a place described by witnesses as "Siberia". The purpose for which 'Siberia' was used could easily be understood from the writings on the walls and the floor was littered with used contraceptives and their covers. The purposes for which this place was used were obvious but it appears that no one in authority was concerned with 'Siberia and the impression the Commission got was that the authorities have turned a blind eye', the report states.

Referring to the need to amend the University Act the report states that although the authorities of the university were defined, the last President of the Vidyalkankara campus had stated that the president of a campus did not have the powers of a village head-master. Another witness, and that too a dean of the Vidyalkankara Campus, described the office of the President of a Campus as a 'forwarding and clearing agency' and a 'rubber stamp'. The post of President in whatever terms it is called was a statutory figurehead without power.

Maladministration, inaction and inefficiency were some of the evils resulting from deficiencies in the Act and the failure and delay in drafting statutes to set up a Residence Committee and a Welfare and Discipline Committee Under Section 20 (2) of the Act will have in no small measure contributed to the decline in student discipline the report added.

—Daily News—
3.7.75.

Inania of this, that and the other

Bus! Bus! Bus!

Blunder-buss

By INNA

Belch, belch, belch, chug, chug, chug—that was all.

A bus was parked for over one and a half hours at the N'Eliya bus stand and the "alleged assailant was absconding"—as old newspapers used to say. He was absent from his driver's seat and he from his conductor's stand and the *chug, chug* went on, sheer despairing smoke, the stench from bad petrol in a worse tank. 23 Sri 2211 went on and on, lungs and noses regard- less.

No one in the bus, but it made its presence felt as it waited on the wrong side of the no-queue. No people waited for it, and it for no people. And so it readily joined the air-pollution campaign, not the anti-pollution campaign. Malaria is in. The CTB will see TB in, at this rate, but who cares, the policy makers gad about in belchless cars and who on earth will fume for the people in the hell-holes of bus-stands? Who? Who will defend them?

WE WAITED for a bus to Hatton. One comes and parks again on the wrong side of the queue in a deliberate, studied manner. People peep. They come up to the faint bus-destination board and find the brazen words marking not the *terminus ad quem*, but *terminus quo*, meaning not the whither of the bus but the whence. And invariably, the whence of a bus-stand at a bus-stand is not very useful, is it, or even the name of the stand itself.

It was gaily marked N'Eliya, and I was looking for a Hatton bus. It stayed ten minutes. We peeped nine minutes and no one was in. We turned aside for just one minute and in that split sixty second period, a few had got in for the board had been changed to Hatton and the bus drove off, and a young Muslim boy came up to us and said: "Ohoma thamai hama dama. May danui board eka maru kerawe" (That's how it is

every day: only now he changed the board, and I'm sorry you waited for so long and missed that bus.)

How true, if you want to miss the bus, rely on the CTB sitting on its laurels as the best bus service in the world, sending its higher officials on the spree and unconcerned with the rant and file of the people in travail. If someone sits on his laurels he is wearing them in the wrong place. Oh, the journeys are fast and effective. Excellent drivers. But good comes from the total cause, evil, if even some slight defect is there in an otherwise good service. The CTB can do better.

If only a regular team of shock-troops is sent as the Education Dept. does for springing surprises to detect teachers who "teach" and teachers who "tea". "South Asia invites you" said an ochre Tourist slogan at Nuwara Eliya, but let the heavens forbid if S. Asia (esp. Sri Lanka) invites you and takes you for a ride!

Then comes 23 Sri 896, sleek as ever. It disgorges its tired clientele and all's well. Nawalapitiya lands at N'Eliya. Stentorian-voiced conductor announces: no one is to get in from outside the queue, and he runs off for 10.30 Tea (N'Eliya is tea-area). Meanwhile, those who did not hear this utterance come in to the bus-area and gaily go in and sit. Twenty sit and dig themselves in to what is left of crepe-rubber seating. Those who heard the peremptory demand (those in the queue for the last three hours or so) don't budge an inch. When the 10.30 bus starts to leave at 10.50 and the conductor comes in, there's standing-room only for those who braved the CTB queue of chilly Nuwara Eliya.

When will the big-shots learn?

REVIEW

**1 The Dawn And
Krishnaleela
2 Pasa Chumai**

1. Presented by Karthiga Kanesar's Adai Kalaiyahan, Saraswathie Hall, 29.6.75.

2. Directed by Varaniyooran, staged at Ramakrishna Hall on 5.7.75.

Karthika Kaneswar is the first Tamil dancer in this country to use the dance forms (Oriental) to convey socialist ideas. She has a school which teaches dance forms with new content—to society and to dancers themselves. The idea of collectivism as opposed to self-important egoistic trends is encouraged. Her Art House presented for the second time two short ballets end of last month.

The first ballet symbolised the emergence of the Third World countries and it indirectly attacked Imperialism. Set against the background of Nature, the natural beings who are hunted by the hunters, realise the necessity to unite and attack the common enemy and thus succeed in defeating the hunters. The other ballet was a collection of tidbits of the Krishna legend. The libretto was from Subramania Bharathi. The message appears to be that interpretations on legendary themes will vary from time to time in terms of changing social patterns. Reason and scientific thinking, in the last analysis, will win—is the theme.

Apart from the novelty of the content (in relation to dancing in this country), the dancing of the little children themselves were enjoyable. The music of R. Muthusamy and the singing of V. Manickavel and Ambika Thamotheram also contributed to the virtues of this operatic ballet. Drums, Mirudangam, Flute, Harmonium, Guitar and Clarinet were used in this ensemble, where a distinction between a Western notation and a Karnatic Thala became very narrow. Since this was a co-operative effort, each one contributed to its success. But I think, that the teacher should not have danced at all. It somehow did not seem to fit in. She was the cynosure

FOR NEWS
BEHIND THE NEWS

read
TRIBUNE
regularly

of all eyes when she played the role of Sathiyabama. One had to view her performance critically. But in this setting it was difficult. And to my eye it was either hazardous or exaggerated exposition of the Bhavas. This is only a technical flaw, and the main thing is the motivation.

K. S. Sivakumaran

LETTER

Archaeology In Ceylon- Tamil Buddhists

Sir,

Delighted to read the highly instructive and informative contribution on the above subject from the facile pen of Mr. James Rutnam in your issue of 21-6-75 which reached my hands after two weeks delay.

The above contribution is a well documented one containing unassailable facts, and I wish to specially congratulate its talented author on his brilliant idea in concluding it with three appropriate quotations from the writings of the renowned scholar and historian, Dr. Paul E. Peris.

The latter is absolutely correct in his statement that "there were five recognized Iswarams of Siva in Lanka, long before the arrival of Vijaya, which received the adoration of all India." But I am inclined to think that there is some confusion in his treating Mahatihwa as different from Mantota. Both refer to the same port. The former is according to the Buddhist tradition while the latter is in terms of ancient Saivite history. Furthermore, the name 'Mantota' refers to both the port and district. This is made clear by Mr. Charles Pridham, B.A. in his monumental work (in 2 big volumes). "The History of Ceylon and its Dependancies" published in 1849.

This adventurous Englishman had covered the whole of Ceylon in travels, and his trip along the Western Coast from Colombo to Delft and Nainativu is extremely interesting. From the detailed particulars he had given, we are enabled to gather some definite information in regard to the location of Tandes-

waram mentioned by Dr. Peiris as one of the five Iswarams. Mr. Pridham records that though this Saiva temple was in dilapidated condition, its priests were prosperous due to the generous gifts from the Hindus who visited the pearl fishery. He adds that it was about 18 miles south of Mannar.

Mr. Pridham found absolutely no trace of any ruins of Thiruketheeswaram. The Portuguese and the Dutch had wiped out everything. Though a Britisher he had not hesitated to point out the fact that it was only after the British occupation the agricultural prosperity of the country started declining.

Please give me a little more space to add further and authentic evidence in support of Mr. James Rutnam's beautiful statement.

"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."

It is admitted by all great thinkers and authors that the Kotte period is one of the illustrious chapters in the history of Sinhalese culture and civilization. Its ruler Parakrama VI spared no pains during his 52 years' reign to make this period a worthy age comparable even to that of Polonnaruwa and Dambadeniya. Most of the famous Sandesa poems were composed during this period, (1400-1500 A.D.). Many scholars and poets lived at this time.

The literary and religious genius of this period was Ven. Rahula Thera of Totagamuwa, popularly known as Sabbasaparameshwara and Tripitaka Vagisvaracharya. He succeeded his grand-father as the head of the Vijayaba Pirivena. He had his higher ordination at Kotte, with Vidagama Thera as preceptor and Uttaramula Thera as teacher. He was a poet, scholar and linguist. His linguistic proficiency and knowledge of Indian philosophy and other subjects are attributed to his constant contact with South Indian scholars versed in Sanskrit and Tamil who resided at his pirivena. He is said to have composed the famous Salalihini Sandesaya in 1447 A.D., 35th year of King Parakrama's

coronation. According to verse 220 of Gira Sandesaya, which is supposed to have been composed by a learned monk belonging to the same order as Sri Rahula, he belonged to the royal clan of Skandhava dynasty, and was adopted by King Parakrama.

In the interests of prosperity and peace of this beautiful motherland of ours through racial unity and religious harmony, besides economic development, I feel it most appropriate on this occasion to quote below the last paragraph of the Introduction to Gira Sandesaya written by Dr. Nandadeva Wijesekera, B.A. Hons. (Lond.), M.A. (Cantah) Ph.D.:-

"Teaching seems to have been imparted at the Pirivenas. A very wide course of studies was available. The Buddhist monks who controlled and directed these institutions were neither too sectarian in beliefs nor narrow in outlook. Apart from the very thorough teaching of Buddhism and all that related to it there were taught many systems of grammar and philosophy, many arts and sciences and many languages and literature. Exchange of knowledge was free and frequent. Knowledge was accessible to all alike without discrimination on the score of race, class or religion. There is no doubt that when the leaders of the State and Religion adopted such a liberal intelligent attitude the prosperity of the country seems assuredly established. That the 15th century Ceylon was such a period can be proved from her literary records alone even if all other evidence was lacking. That is the lasting impression established by this beautiful poem written five centuries ago."

Dr. Wijesekera's Translation edition (1949) was S.S.C Text for 1950 and 1951. I am not sure it is still so. There are two types of researchers of history; one group which would search and seek honestly to come to truth; and the other which would search, twist and torture facts to protect a lie. At present, the latter is holding sway in all spheres of life. So little acquainted with ancient history, they spend more time and energy camouflaging truth than in uncovering it.

K. Ramachandra

Jayanthipura,
Talangama
6th July 1975.

Confidentially

* Zahira * Bohras

IS IT NOT TRUE that though the ragging scandal has captured the headlines vis a vis the Department of Education, many queries regarding the appointment of teachers continue worry the public? That a longstanding Muslim reader of the *Tribune* has sent us a query which has a great deal of relevance? That he had pointed out that in our issue of May 31, 1975, we had stressed the need to "probe all appointments" of the Department of Education? That in doing this we had only endorsed the demand by the Sinhala weekly *ADA*? That the same reader had also referred to a piece by our columnist *Inna* on *Sangarawela*? That this article had referred to the rather abrupt and inhuman way in which a takeover of a "private" educational institution had been staged very recently? That nuns and other religious personnel had been taken back by the manner in which *Sangarawela* had been carried out? That in the light of this our reader had asked the question about *Zahira College* in Colombo? That a bill to incorporate a Board of Governors for *Zahira College* had been tabled in Parliament? That this was done several years ago? That a Report on this Bill (No. 69) had also been tabled in Parliament in March 1969? That the question was asked as to what has happened to this Bill? That there is no doubt that this was not viewed with favour because it had been brought up in the days of the UNP? That if the UF did not like the provisions of the Bill it should have taken steps to change them? That if this were done and the Bill proceeded with after the necessary constitutional formalities of re-introduction and re-tabled it will not be said that the Bill was being deliberately blocked out of existence? That this muslim reader only echoed Muslim sentiment in Sri Lanka when he asked whether this Institution (*Zahira College Colombo*) which was recognised by the Arab countries as the only leading Muslim School in Sri Lanka should be left in this way to be the victim of the "individual caprice of petty politicians and time servers"? That the rea-

der wanted *Tribune* to make an "impartial and unbiased analysis of this problem for the benefit of our Muslim readers"? That from what little *Tribune* has been able to discover that the question of *Zahira College, Colombo*, is one of those sensitive tender spots with the Ministry as well as the Muslim community in the island? That whilst certain people see the bogey of vested interests in *Zahira College*, others see a possible Achilles Heel in the *Zahira College* matter so far as the Muslim Front in the UF is concerned? That recently Minister *Badiuddin Mahmud* had declared at a meeting at *Zahira College* that Tamil was the mother tongue of the Muslims in Sri Lanka and that due attention must be paid to the Tamil language by the Muslims in spite of the overwhelming need to be intimately connected with Sinhala for political, economic and emotional reasons? That this speech from the Minister had come as a surprise? That some regard this as an attempt to bypass the vested interests in *Zahira* and reach out to the ordinary humanity in the Muslim world? That whatever it is, there is a new and deep rumble in the Muslim world in Sri Lanka and the premises and imperatives held to be valid in 1970 may not have much significance or relevance today?

IS IT NOT A FACT that any reference to the Muslim world in Sri Lanka is not complete without infringing upon the Bohra community? That *Tribune* had received sometime ago a circular (press release) from Bombay from an organisation which calls itself the "Central Board of the Dawoodi Bohra Community"? That this was another barrage on the High Priest in Bombay for attempting to refuse cemetery rights to one of the dissidents in the community? That the press release went something like this?

That a young, brave and determined soldier of the progressive movement among the Bohras, *Shri Moshin Udaipurwala*, met his premature death in the early hours of 1st May 1975, at the prime of life? That the sorrow of late *Shri Moshin's* parents, brothers, relatives and co-fighters in the movement was unbounded? That on the top of it, they were highly anxious about the burial, as *Syedna*, the Bohra religious head was

unlikely to yield even on the occasion of death? That the leaders of the Central Board of the Dawoodi Bohras decided to seek *Syedna's* permission in keeping with the custom and usage for burial of the dead body? That after exasperating long wait of 12 hours, the head *Amil of Bombay, Shri Salebhai Saifiyuddin*, said no? That arguments were of no avail? That grief stricken and with sad hearts, anticipating trouble by hirelings, the Central Board informed the Police? That the body was carried to the *Kurla cemetery* which already surrounded by *Syedna's* men and locked? That this was followed by another long, exhausting, exasperating wait? That the leaders of *Syedna's* party stood at a distance? That the person in charge of a cemetery refused to unlock it? That the police made it very clear that unless a Bohra is ex-communicated, *Syedna* has no right to refuse burial in a Municipal Cemetery meant for Bohras?

That the leaders of the Central Board, despite tremendous pressure from the youth to break open the lock, persisted with peaceful dialogue? That when *Syedna's* party saw they had no moral or logical case, showed willingness to unlock provided *Sarvasbhai Noman Contractor, Asghar Engineer, A. Qazi Advocate*, the senior leaders of the movement, quit the cemetery? That this, of course, was rejected? That at last the *Syedna's* party saw reason and finally gave in? That the body was, after 15 hours of its demise, buried with full honour? That both the sides showed commendable restraint? That the Central Board leaders, though irked at *Syedna's* refusal to grant permission for burial and his continued obstinacy, took note of restraint and tact shown by his men in handling the situation? That the Board again requests *Syedna* to see reason and enter into dialogue with its leaders for peaceful resolution of all the issues? That this is highly necessary, in fact inevitable, to preserve almost legendary unity in the community? That the progressive Bohras, at last have asserted their right to peacefully bury their dead in the Municipal Cemetery meant for Bohras? That its significance should not be lost or anyone, least of all, by orthodox party.

For

Quality

Printing

Helen Printers

52, Avtssawella Road,

Wellampitiya.

Available Now

Some Aspects of the
**HISTORY OF ARCHAEOLOGY IN
SRI LANKA**

by

James T. Rutnam

(President, Jaffna Archaeological Society)

Price Rs. 10/-

Available from:

THE JAFFNA ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

23, Amman Road, Jaffna.