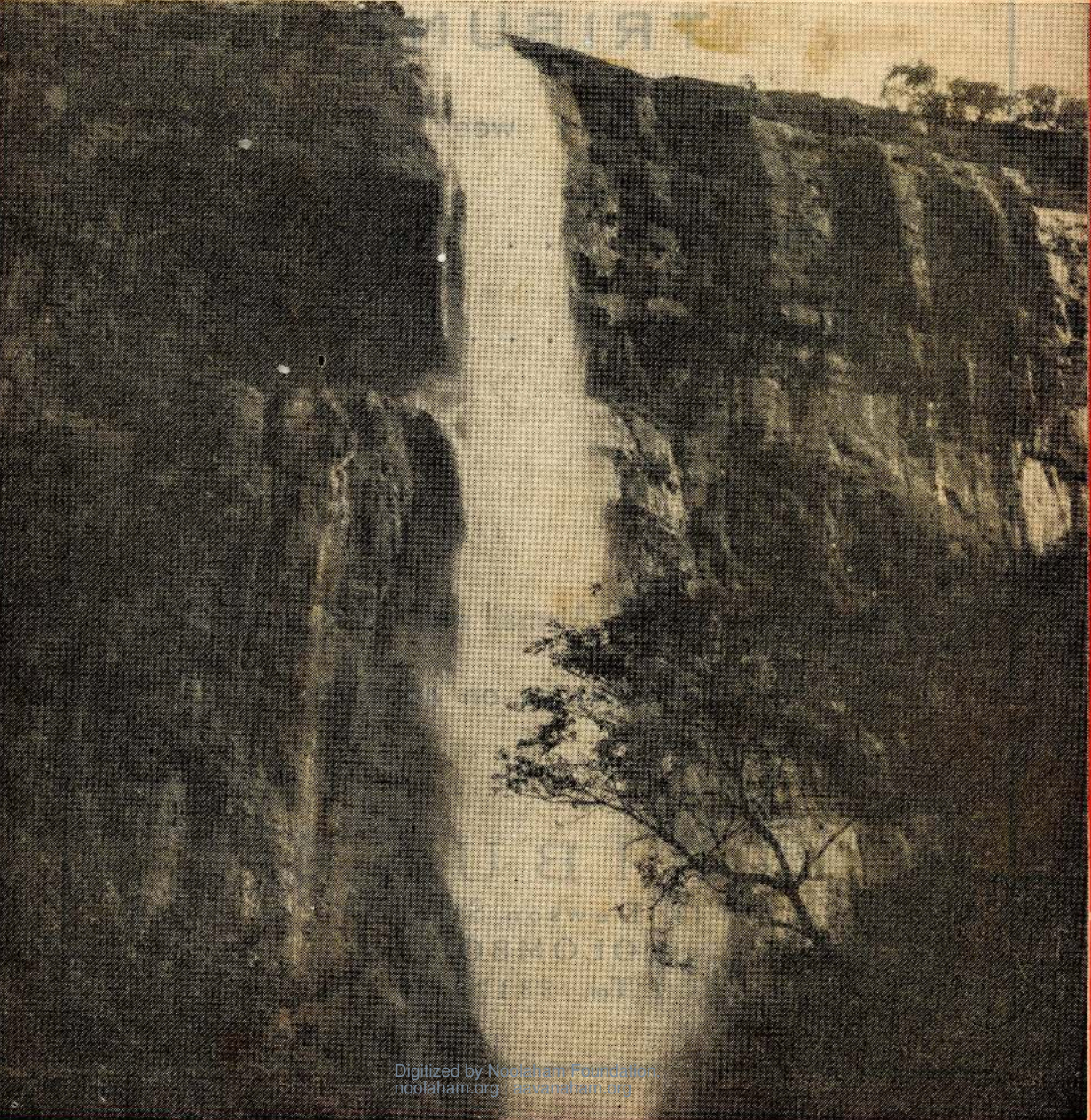


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Letter From The Editor

THE DIYALUMA WATERFALL has been featured on our cover this week not because we want to draw attention to one more of our centres of scenic splendour that has not been developed for the local tourist and holiday-maker in the salubrious Koslande area. Our views on developing "complexes" for the FEECs-laden foreign tourist are well known to our readers because we have, times without number, repeatedly stressed that at the present stage of our economic development we get no more than a miserably small amount of comprador commission (we use the cliché comprador to drive the point home to the higher rungs of the current administrative elite who revel in such jargon) from foreign tourism: that the socio-political harm that stems from foreign tourists far outweighs the mirage-like economic good the promoters of such tourism claim: and, that the time, energy and capital expended on developing tourist facilities for SDR-hard currency foreigners detracts attention from the more important tasks of producing food and other essentials to make this country independent and self-reliant, apart from infusing a much-needed sense of discipline, duty and truly responsible patriotic sentiments in our people. (It is most unfortunate that what passes for patriotic "nationalism" in Sri Lanka among an influential section of the community is no more than tribalism of the worst kind. How else can one explain the demand made by the once highly-publicised blue-eyed bureaucratic wonder of the United Front, Nath Amarakone, that 75% of all job and educational opportunities should be exclusively reserved for Sinhala Buddhists? Those who care remember contemporary politics will know that Nath Amarakone has only out-n-g-diosed Neil Quintus Dias, a colonial era Civil servant who was permitted, and even encouraged, in the Donoughmore-Saulbury era, to make a political fetish of the buddhist religion and to bring buddhist priests into the political arena. That the Net Amarakone brand of totemistic tribalism should receive such wide newspaper publicity, often with approval but never with any adverse comment to mark disapproval, is a sign of the deplorable times into which this country seems to be slipping at breakneck speed. In the gathering dismal darkness that seems to be gathering all around us, *Tribune* has sought to focus attention on our cover on the eternity inherent in a piece of nature's architecture like Diyaluma. Water comes thundering down this mighty waterfall in cascades, today as it, has for countless centuries. If Diyaluma does not do anything else, it, like all wondrous works of nature, brings a sense of perspective, of time, of eternity and of lasting values man must cherish. In a country where contemplation on the transitoriness of human endeavour has been coupled with meditation on the permanent ethical values preached by the Buddha, we have now emerged into a dark age where we do not look back beyond a period of two or three years nor care to look forward to anything more than two or three months. We, as a country and a nation, have lost perspective. We forget what has happened yester year and we do not seem to bother about what will happen a year hence. Our actions are for the day—not even for the next general elections, be it next year or the year after. We act without any consideration for the lessons of the past and we are totally unmindful what happens in the future. Lipservice, of course, is paid to the past and the future, but if reason and perspicacious thinking are permitted to play any part in the logic of action, we in this country, (the Government and influential sections of the people), will not so easily fall prey to so many acts of commission and omission we are presently guilty of and which have dragged this island into a turbulent maelstrom. It is for us, Sri Lankans, and for us alone, to re-orientate course in order to avoid the whirlpools of history, but whether we can do it this time is as problematic as whether we will produce the 83 odd million bushels of paddy the People's Bank *Economic Review* has predicted as the likely paddy production target Sri Lanka will achieve in 1976. This is a statement without perspective, without vision, and without any understanding of basic realities pertaining to agriculture in the Wannii. The *Economic Review* seems to have fallen victim to the contemporary Sri Lankian malady of counting the chickens not merely before the eggs are hatched but even before the hen is ready to lay the eggs. It is not different from the speculative economic indulged in by the breed of pundits who produce the tendentious *Economic Review* regarding Pesalai oil. *Tribune* has never had any doubts that the Pesalai area has oil, but right from the very beginning we have stressed that we were not certain whether it would be the third, fifth or even tenth test well that will bring evidence of commercially viable oil-bearing strata. We said this on the perspectives of oil drilling in the world. And unless we view Mahaweli waters with a true sense of perspective we will find ourselves in the same propaganda pitfall that has undermined Pesalai credibility.

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EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

Mainly Foreign: India, Angola, Russia, ASEAN

AS WE HAVE SO OFTEN POINTED OUT in the columns of the *Tribune* in recent years, the world is now in the midst of changes of a fundamental nature never before known in the history of man. Empires have come and gone, civilisations have flourished and decayed, and religious hierarchies have exercised supreme power only to fade away. But, never before have so many different kinds of change, at so many levels, in practically every corner of the globe, been crowded one into another in the most complex pattern of conflicts, compromises, alliances and enmities. Good and bad have lost all meaning. And good cannot often be distinguished from the bad: what seems to be good frequently turns out to be the worst possible for those who had expected much good from it; and what initially appeared bad has proved to be advantageous to those least expecting to benefit therefrom. All this complicated phraseology is only to indicate that it is difficult to see which way the world is going today. Even ideological pundits find it difficult to unravel the puzzle the world is today. With the Spring Festival of the Chinese from February 1, it was New Year in East Asia, ushering in the Year of Dragon, the *Time* magazine of February 2, had this to say.

"The new moon this week heralds the year of the Dragon. But the Eastern Dragon is not the gruesome monster that once dwelled in European imaginations. He is a beneficent creature that symbolizes strength and goodness, the characteristics that many experts foresee for Asia during the next twelve months. The year of the Dragon succeeds the Year of the Hare, which is supposed to be a tame period for Asia but this time was not. The hare, as it turned out, brought turbulence. The communists swept into Phnom-Penh and Saigon and nibbled away at Vientiane until they completed their conquest of Indochina, thus fulfilling Ho Chi Minh's dream. An American cargo ship, the *Mayaguez*, was pirated by Cambodians and

41 Americans were killed regaining it. Two Asian leaders were slain; Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in Bangladesh, along with most of his family, and Premier Long Boret in Cambodia. Three leaders died: Chiang Kaishek in Taiwan, Chou En-lai in China and Tun Abdul Razak in Malaysia. Down Under, in Australia and New Zealand, the two labour Prime Ministers, Gough Whitlam and Wallace Rowling, were dumped by the voters. In Thailand Prime Minister Kukrit Pramoj suffered almost as serious a setback when political enemies suddenly forced him to resign and King Bhumibol Adulyadej to dissolve the national Assembly and assume a caretaker role while awaiting a election scheduled for April 4.

"Yet in many countries tough authoritarian leaders strengthened their holds. Indira Gandhi declared a national emergency and effectively suspended democracy in India. Some 20,000 of her critics were locked up. President Ferdinand Marcos, beginning his eleventh year in power, announced that martial law would remain in force in the Philippines for at least four more years. President Park Chung Hee in South Korea set a grisly example by executing eight men convicted of plotting to overthrow his government. Indonesian President Suharto, unnerved by the civil war in Portuguese Timor, waited until the day after President Ford left Jakarta and then sent his own troops in to take over.

Looking ahead to the Year of the Dragon, political analysts predict an even more pronounced use of strongman tactics (strong-woman tactics in the case of Sri Lanka and India). Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto of Pakistan has indicated that he may be forced to take the same measures as Mrs. Gandhi to discipline his people. If Thailand's fragmented political parties fail to unite behind a leader, that country could easily return to military rule....."

The *Time* summing up provides an Asian vista of important events. But, it is necessary to view world affairs from a Sri Lanka angle. First, take India. With all the turbulence there, there seems to be a great deal of conscious activity inside India aimed at economic development and national integration and also to improve her ex-

ternal relations with neighbouring countries. Last week, four agreements were signed in New Delhi which are intended to improve economic co-operation between Sri Lanka and India. The editorial of the *Hindu* of February 12, 1976, entitled *Good Neighbourly Co-operation*, sets out the position as viewed through Indian eyes.

"The Four Agreements on economic and scientific co-operation reached in New Delhi at the third meeting of the Indo Sri Lanka Joint Commission have indeed brought the two friendly neighbours closer. The credit of Rs. 5 crores to Sri Lanka pledged by India apart, it is to be hoped that the other components of the agreements will lead to more practical results than similar accords in the past have done. The concrete details of the proposed projects like the micro-wave and the power grid links now worked out suggest that this time both sides are set for prompt and adequate follow-up action. These two proposals, as well as those for joint industrial ventures in the island, have been aired from time to time and the micro-wave link was even expected to be commissioned some sixteen months ago. The credit of Rs. 5 crores, a good part of which is to be used by Colombo to buy equipment from India for implementing the project, will apparently help speed up things now. This 960-channel link will improve vastly the telecommunication facilities between the two countries, which get disturbed every now and then.

"Final accord on the power grid proposal, under which sizable surplus electric power is expected to be fed into the South Indian grid by Sri Lanka, seems to be still held up by differences over details. It may be that both sides feel that there is considerable time for a little bargaining, as the availability of surplus power in Sri Lanka has to wait upon the completion of the hydel projects on hand there. Sri Lanka's demand for a price of eight paise per unit (which is double of what it wanted earlier) may also be based to some extent on the escalating cost of their hydel schemes. But to India which, has to spend about Rs. 40 crores on the overhead transmission line across the Palk Straits, the return has to be economic to justify so heavy an investment. It is true that Tamil Nadu has agreed to pay a higher price for Idikki power from Kerala, but then it has not had to incur any capital outlay on the project. So a reasonable

Angola

rate, taking all the relevant factors into consideration, should not prove too difficult to arrive at.

"That the power grid link will be mutually beneficial is quite obvious. To Sri Lanka which has a heavy adverse balance of trade with India and has not much to export to reduce the gap, the sale of electricity can prove a rich earner of foreign exchange. To South India, beset by recurrent power cuts, a dependable supply from Sri Lanka, especially during the lean months, would provide welcome relief. The special merit of this grid is that it will help stabilise power availability throughout the year. For, by a happy dispensation of Nature, Sri Lanka will be able to generate the maximum hydro-electric power during the April-June period when its rivers will be in flood, and it is during that time that South India will be short of hydel generation. Should Sri Lanka need more power than it can produce during its own lean months (from July to October) India can go to its aid with its seasonal abundance. The hydel potential of Sri Lanka extends far beyond the Mahaweli Ganga project under execution and there is much scope for enlarging the capacity and the export potential, for which the market in South India can be virtually unlimited. What is very important is that both countries should get moving towards the actual implementation of this highly beneficial scheme.

"This need for expedition applies equally to the other plans like the setting up of factories for the manufacture of a variety of goods in the island with Indian help. Priority should go to those industries that can use Sri Lanka's readily available raw materials like rubber. Co-operation in agricultural development, shipping, co-ordinated marketing of tea and the development of complementary economies are also fertile fields for fruitful collaboration. The warm friendship that exists between the two countries, the identity of their global interests and above all India's keen desire to help its small neighbour in all possible ways, by stretching a point or two if necessary, provide an ideal basis for such co-operation."

Minister T. B. Ingaratne, Sri Lanka's Minister of Trade, who was sent to New Delhi to conduct the negotiations and sign the agreements (on which there was general agreement earlier) had declared that Sri Lanka fully supported the Emergency declared by Mrs. Indira Gandhi and the steps she had taken

under it to re-vitalise her country. BUT THOUGH SRI LANKA was willing to back the Emergency in India, Colombo has been very slow in following India's footsteps in the matter of the recognition of the MPLA as the legitimate government of Angola. India accorded recognition to the MPLA on February 6. Since that date, the OAU itself has chosen to recognise the MPLA after a large number of the members of the OAU who had earlier withheld recognition had recognised it. As these notes are being written, Zambia which was very much against the MPLA, has also recognised it.

The question that is being asked in diplomatic circles in Colombo is why the Sri Lanka government has been so slow to recognise the MPLA. Discerning circles have pointed out that Sri Lanka had extended recognition to the Revolutionary Government in Exile of South Vietnam at a time when India had not done so. Sri Lanka had also given full diplomatic recognition to countries like North Vietnam, Sihanouk's Cambodia and the GDR before India had established full diplomatic rights. Even in West Asia, Sri Lanka with anti-imperialist fervour, cut off diplomatic relations with Israel when India had only downgraded it. (By the time these notes appear) Sri Lanka is likely to have recognised the MPLA because, apart from everything the OAU is part of the Non-Aligned Movement. About Angola itself, Batuk Gahani's piece in the *Hindu* sums up the situation admirably:

"With stunning diplomatic and military victories on Wednesday, the civil war in Angola for the pro-Soviet Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) is now nothing more than a mopping up operation to finish off the remnants of the forces of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) and the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA). For Western powers, technically the war in Angola is finished adding another sad chapter to the humiliating military and political defeats in Korea, Cuba and Vietnam.

"Angola symbolises the Western world's lack of determination, co-ordination and even military will and resources to combat more determined and disciplined communist forces. For the Soviet Union and Cuba

this is a stunning victory not only over Western powers but also China which has been reduced to a humiliating role in African and Third World countries. Leaders of the Western-backed UNITA and FNLA in the Angolan civil war, now facing total defeat by pro-Soviet forces, have ordered their army to evacuate the towns and return to the bush to begin a guerilla struggle. This is more a face-saving manoeuvre because pro-Western forces in Angola are not even in a position to launch an effective guerilla operation. They are totally demoralised by the sudden turn of events."

After the Gahani despatch (from London) appeared in the *Hindu*, a great deal has happened. As reported by Gahani MPLA forces were rolling down to the South to confront South African troops which had established a line of "defence" over 50 miles inside Angolan territory. Will South Africa withdraw its troops from Angolan soil or will Pretoria seek to defend the power projects inside Angola (but close to the border of Namibia) by force of arms. This is one of the problems which has begun to intrigue observers of international affairs.

"MPLA forces in Angola are reported to have captured the Southern town of Sa da Bandaria which is barely 200-miles north of the front line established by South African troops some 50 miles inside Angolan territory bordering with Namibia. It remains to be seen if the South African Government will decide to keep 4,000 to 5,000 white troops, there or withdraw to within Namibia's 1,000-mile border with Angola. If South Africa wants a shooting war with Soviet and Cuban-backed MPLA forces, chances are Pretoria will have one because MPLA will not tolerate South African presence on Angolan soil.

LETTERS

The Tribune welcomes letters from readers. Short letters have a better chance of being published. All letters are subject to condensation for space reasons. Anonymous letters will not be considered for publication. Writers may request that their letters be signed only with initials or a pseudonym but preference will be given to those fully signed and bearing the writer's complete address.

Within the next few days the South African Defence Minister, Mr. Botha, will have to decide what he wants to do with his troops in Angola. South Africa is there on the pretext of defending a water dam which is vital for Namibia's water resources.

"NATO powers are in a state of total disarray over developments in Angola. Angola strategically is over the commanding heights for South Atlantic routes. The NATO Secretary-General Mr. Luns, is right now busy sorting out "the cod fish war" between Britain and Iceland. The British press is far too much involved with killings of British mercenaries in Angola to be bothered about the broader implications of Soviet success in Angola."

NATO, and more especially the USA, has suffered a major setback in Angola and in Africa. How they will seek to retaliate is yet to be seen. The attempt to recruit European mercenaries to "be invited" by the FLNA and UNITA (as a counter to the Cuban troops "invited" by the MPLA) has ended in a total fiasco. This short-sighted attempt to NATO-ise the Angolan war with mercenaries is one of the main reasons for hastening the OAU recognition of MPLA.

Gahani has also pointed out that this defeat for Western diplomacy and prestige in Angola will have far-reaching repercussions in Africa.

"Pro-West African diplomats are not only bitter and disillusioned about Western capability to contain the Soviet challenge in Africa, but feel convinced that Western countries will now fall head over heels to "make up with the MPLA" in Luanda under the pretext that lack of co-operation with the MPLA might drive Angola further towards Moscow. But the MPLA is in no particular hurry to accommodate the Western powers. At no time in post-colonial history has Western prestige been so low in Africa as to-day. Events in Angola will also prompt a few pro-West countries of the Organisation of African Unity to take a new look at their existing relationship with Western countries."

And, in the case of Rhodesia, the victory of the MPLA and the OAU recognition of the MPLA will mean new problem. Already the Rev. Sithole, who had found asylum in Mozambique, has gone to Moscow for talks. The reluctance of the Western countries to persuade or compel Rhodesia to accept black-majority rule has driven even moderate nationalist lea-

ders like Rev. Sithole to Moscow. It is time that the West realised that the days of the Diems, Pinochets and Ian Smiths are over.

"In Rhodesia the situation looks equally hopeless and although the White Rhodesian Premier, Mr. Ian Smith, is holding personal talks with the African nationalist leader, Mr. Nkomo, over the constitutional future of Rhodesia the prospects of an accord between the blacks and whites in Rhodesia look very remote. One of the more militant black African leaders, Mr. Ndabaningi Sithole, has arrived in Moscow from his headquarters in Mozambique. African nationalists in Rhodesia could soon step up the guerilla war against the white regime with communist aid.

"Nearly 15,000 communist-trained African guerillas are now assembled in holding camps in northern Mozambique, poised to infiltrate Rhodesia in small groups at various points along Mozambique's 800-mile frontier with Rhodesia. African guerillas are equipped with SAM-7 portable missiles to neutralise Rhodesian helicopters and aircraft."

Western countries and South Africa are counting on the Smith-Nkomo talks to resolve the Rhodesian and South African problems. But it is already clear that without the Sithole faction, there cannot be peace in Rhodesia, especially after President Kaunda has found that he has no alternative but to recognise the MPLA.

"South Africa will be committed to guard its 1,000-mile long border with communist Angola. South Africa may not even want another African war in Rhodesia on its hand and this is why the Western powers are so desperate about a favourable outcome of the Smith-Nkomo talks in Salisbury. But it also remains doubtful if Mr. Joshua Nkomo can hold his own in Rhodesia against more leftist leaders in the light of development in Angola. Rhodesian militants would rather fight it out with the whites than go slowly towards their goal of African majority rule. Events in Angola have boosted their morale and this is why Mr. Sithole is in Moscow now. What line Moscow will take is anybody's guess but leaders in the Kremlin are certainly pleased with their performance in Africa."

Btuk Gahani concludes his piece with this speculation about what Russia was likely to do next.

THERE IS NO DOUBT that the MPLA victory in Angola will pro-

vide an excellent and triumphal curtain-raiser for the 25th Congress of the CPSU starting in Moscow on February 24. In Communist theory and practice, CP Congresses are said to reflect milestones in development which open new vistas in the transformation of society. The 25th Congress will define policy goals in foreign affairs and its attitudes to outstanding questions like detente, national liberation struggles in many developing countries and the new economic order which western and third world countries are seeking to create in the contemporary world of inflation and recession, of little wars (in several regions) and the proliferation of nuclear power.

The 24th Congress of the CPSU in 1971 formulated the Brezhnev Peace Plan for international detente and there is no doubt that Soviet Union has scored many successes in this field, especially in its bilateral relations with the USA, and in Europe at the Helsinki summit. In Asia, the Brezhnev plan has not made much headway, but in Africa, Russia has gained in prestige by backing national liberation groups that have won and come to power in many of the 55 odd new nations on the continent.

Pursuing the policy objectives of the 24th Congress, the Soviet Union paid special attention to improving relations with developing countries, with non-aligned countries and also with the so-called third countries. The Soviet Union has concluded a large number of bi-lateral agreements to establish closer links with these countries. In this bid on the part of the USSR to woo and win the Third World, she was bitterly opposed by China on the one hand and the Western Powers on the other. Though Russia has suffered reverses in this in some places, she scored successes in others: particularly in Indo-China and in Angola.

In spite of the sharp conflicts over issues like Vietnam and Angola, US-Soviet relations have shown significant and substantial improvement. The question whether detente which has been established in the last three or four years initially between Nixon and Brezhnev will be impaired by Angola (just as there were apprehensions vis a vis Vietnam) is yet too early to say. It was immediately

after the 24th Congress in 1971 that the first steps towards the summit diplomacy of the Nixon-Brezhnev era was opened. Many countries were unable to believe that the two super-powers could come to even limited agreements on the wide range of subjects on which agreements have been concluded: on the prevention of nuclear war, on the limitation of strategic arms and anti-missile ballistic systems, on environmental protection, on the development of an artificial heart, on the *Apollo-Soyuz* joint space flight and on a number of cultural and educational matters.

There are no doubt powerful forces in the United States which are opposed to the *detente* initiated by Nixon and Kissinger (and continued by Ford), but there seems to be a general consensus that a *detente* (which is nothing more than an armed truce with dialectical potential) was better than an armed conflict (with the horrors of nuclear warfare). As long as the national security interests of either the USA or the USSR are not threatened, *detente* and peaceful (non-war but competitive) co-existence will be sustained.

The Helsinki summit and the Final Act signed by 33 European and Atlantic States was a supreme masterpiece of compromise seeking to sustain European and world peace on the developing principles of *detente*. The West no doubt hopes that Helsinki will bring a greater element of liberalism and personal freedom in Soviet society, and the Soviet Union undoubtedly believes that peace will enable the forces of socialism to grow in the capitalist states. There are many obstacles and contradictions in the way of greater fulfilment of the noble objectives of Helsinki especially in making a military *detente* a reality; and the current discussions being held in Vienna on the mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe hold out some prospects for the better.

The 25th Congress will adopt the next five year plan. Although the Soviet Union has made remarkable progress in industrial production, it has to ensure great improvement in the field of agriculture. Weather has not been kind to Russia last year, but the stability in agricultural production is achieved only when the marginal surplus will be able to

cushion shortfalls due to adverse weather in any particular year.

WHILE THE CONGRESS of the CPSU will meet in Moscow on February 24, the long-awaited and much publicised summit of ASEAN countries will gather at the island of Bali from February 23 to 25. As a prelude to this meeting the Foreign Ministers of the five South-east Asian countries met at the popular Thai beach resort of Pattaya from February 8-12 to complete preparations for the first summit meeting of ASEAN. It is significant that the Foreign Ministers failed to reach agreement on several matters of detail and announced that further talks would have to be held in the week preceding the summit talks. Norman Peagam writing in the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 20/2/76, stated that "to some observers here, their failure underlined the fact that, eight years after its foundation in 1967 ASEAN was a little more than a weak association of anti-communist regimes whose mutual differences and conflicts of interest outweigh any impetus towards real co-operation and unity. The Bali summit will represent a climax in the attempted revival of ASEAN which has been taking place since the communist victories in Indochina last year. Since then, many bilateral meetings of ASEAN leaders and negotiations between working groups have been held with the aim of accelerating regional co-operation, to reduce the likelihood of more leftwing governments coming to power in Southeast Asia and to present a coherent and unified front in dealings with the new government in Indo-China and the "great powers." However, the concrete results of all these meetings, draft proposals and talks have been meagre....."

"It now seems," continued Peagam, that a treaty of friendship and co-operation under this or some other name and in the form of one or more documents will be signed by ASEAN heads of government at Bali which will reaffirm in general terms their desire to make Southeast Asia "zone of peace, freedom and neutrality", to increase economic co-operation among members and attempts to speak with a single voice in trade and fiscal negotiations with the rest of the world; and to promote political, social, and cultural harmony among the group." There

does not seem to have been much difficulty in envisaging economic co-operation (industries, exports, etc. etc), but they have so far "failed to reach agreement on the setting up of machinery to settle disputes among members states, with Malaysia reportedly uneasy that the Philippines could successfully revive its claim for Sabah if such machinery was established."

The Pattaya conference had also agreed that the Japanese and Australian Prime Ministers should not be invited to meet ASEAN heads of government after the Bali summit. There have, however, been apprehensions in some quarters that the Japanese and Australian Prime Ministers were anxious to introduce an element of military punch (teeth) into ASEAN to enable the organisation to maintain peace and sustain the region as a neutralised zone.

Japan and Australia (Fraser's) would, no doubt, like to transform, very imperceptibly, ASEAN into a new military bloc. It is probably for this reason that the ASEAN leaders declined to have the Japanese and Australian Prime Ministers attend the summit or even meet them together at Bali after the summit had been concluded.

That Lucky Chance

Most companies in Japan, writes the U.S. *Business Week*, are having a hard time. But Tokyo's Okada Printing Company is not complaining. It ended last year with a net profit of \$100,000 and expects to make even more this year. The reason is that Okada specializes in printing gambling tickets—and gambling is booming. This year bettors forked out \$42.4 million for the annual Japanese Derby, or 20 per cent more than the year before. Also very popular are lotteries and sports pools. But what the Japanese like most, the magazine says, is the "pachinko", a version of pinball. Explaining why people go in for gambling, *Business Week* writes that they cannot plan for the future and live for today, pinning their hope of making a little extra money on that lucky chance.

Malaysia, in particular, seems to have been at pains to point out that the main objectives of ASEAN were economic and cultural co-operation: that militarisation of ASEAN ran counter to Malaysia's proposal on the neutralisation of South East Asia. Further it is realised that such militarisation would prevent other states in the region, especially from the Polynesian region which abut on Indonesia and the Philippines, from joining

ASEAN, should the organisation decide to expand its scope.

The visit of Sri Lanka's Prime Minister to Indonesia and Thailand—two ASEAN countries—and the emphasis laid in her joint talks about the Indian Ocean peace zone proposal and the dangers stemming from big power naval rivalry in the area would no doubt have helped to strengthen the determination

in those countries to resist all attempts to make a military bloc of ASEAN. The visit of Mrs Bandaranaike to these countries has brought ASEAN nearer to Sri Lanka and this will not only lead to closer relations between Indonesia and Thailand and Sri Lanka but also with the other three members of ASEAN, viz. Malaysia, Philippines and Singapore.

CHRONICLE

Jan. 29 — Feb. 6

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

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

THURSDAY, JANUARY 29: According to the Daily News the Government has decided to grant substantial tax reliefs to private business establishments which increase their work force, obtain foreign exchange for investment, and increase the volume of exports: the reliefs have been decided by the Government on the recommendation of the Minister of Finance and Justice, Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike. China has agreed to grant Sri Lanka another interest free loan amounting to Rs. 22.9 million in convertible currency—CDN. Mr. Maithripala Senanayake, Acting Prime Minister, appealed to the employees of the Government Press to give up the strike and return to work in view of the great inconvenience caused to the public—CDN. At yesterday's Cabinet meeting several ministers questioned the propriety of the speech made by Dr. Nath Amarakone, Secretary to the Ministry of Housing and Construction, in which he said that public and private sector institutions should employ 75 per cent from Buddhists: the Ministers were of opinion that a high public official should not have made a statement of this nature—CDM. Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwa, Minister of Agriculture and Lands said at a public meeting in Ayagama that within the next two weeks the Government would take over all agency houses—CDM. Addressing a meeting in Colombo Mr. Pieter Keuneman, Minister of Housing and Construction, said that he would not discriminate against tenants on political grounds in the vesting of ownership of excess houses under the Ceiling on House Ownership Law—CDM. Mr. Batty Weerakoon, General Secretary of the Ceylon Federation of Labour, addressing a meeting organised by the Federation at the New Town Hall said that the workers of the country should be prepared for a major struggle early March this year to win the 28 demands of the Federation—CDM. Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, commenced her six-day tour of Burma yesterday—DM. Police discovered dynamite worth Rs.

50,000 from hotel in Kankasanturai and took one person into custody in this connection: a special team of policemen was sent to Kankasanturai to investigate—DM. According to the Janadina director of the Lake House group of newspapers have commenced an inquiry into allegations that the Lake House group of newspapers is adopting an anti-Maithripala Senanayake attitude. The United States vetoed a resolution of the UN affirming Palestinian rights—including the rights to establish an independent state—and calling for Israeli withdrawal from all Arab territory occupied since the 1967 war. The US House of representatives voted by 322 to 100 to stop further US military supplies to pro-West factions in Angola despite a last minute appeal by President Ford.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 30: Dr. Badiudin Mahmud Minister of Education, ordered a top-level committee to probe the working of the Education Ministry's Educational Publications department: this order follows the public criticism by the Minister of Information and Broadcasting, Mr. R. S. Perera, that school books could not be printed owing to the delay by the Educational Publication Board—CDN. Mr. P. B. G. Kalugalle, Minister of Shipping, Aviation and Tourism, told a press conference that the agreement between the Air Ceylon and UTA will be terminated by giving notice to UTA and there will be no more partnerships for Air Ceylon—CDN. In a joint communique issued by the Prime Minister of Thailand and Mrs. Bandaranaike at the conclusion of the latter's visit to Thailand it was expressed that new initiatives should be taken by the countries in the Asian region to increase co-operation amongst themselves, to expand trade and other forms of economic collaboration—CDN. According to the Daily News the Vice Chancellor of the University, Professor P. P. G. L. Siriwardene, who visited the Peradeniya Campus yesterday has been able to bring about a settlement to the present dispute at the Campus: it is expected that very soon halls will be reopened for students and examinations conducted. Mr. W. Ernest, Vice President of the World Bank, arrived in the island yesterday for talks with the Government—CDM. According to the Daily Mirror the call by the LSSP trade unions for a general strike has met with "lukewarm response" from trade unions controlled by the SLFP and the CP: meanwhile ten trade unions have decided to launch a token strike on February 4 on the question of payment of bonus for 1975, to employees in the Port Cargo Corporation—CDM. According to the Daily Mirror several leading members of the Maha Sangha welcomed the proposal by Dr. Nath Amarakone, Secretary to the Ministry of Housing and Construction and Chief Organiser of the Sri Lanka

Buddhist Front that 75 per cent of government jobs should be reserved for Buddhists. Food Department yesterday decided to purchase 50,000 tons of flour and 10,000 tons of sugar, the first purchase for the year—CDM. Employees of the Government Press who are on strike yesterday decided not to pay attention to the appeal by the Acting Prime Minister, Mr. Maithripala Senanayake, to return to work: the striking employees will continue to strike until their demands are met—VK. *Aththa* editorially warned the Government and the general public of the attempts by interested parties to rouse communalistic feelings: the editorial referred to the speech of Dr. Nath Amarakone, the attempts by the Tamil United Front to have a separate state for Tamils, the campus dispute and unacceptable decisions taken by the Minister of Broadcasting and Information in regard to the strikes of employees in departments under his Ministry: the *Aththa* quoting political circles said that the criticism by Mr. R. S. Perera, Minister of Broadcasting and Information, regarding the printing of school texts in which he said that the blame was on the Ministry of Education said that this criticism was against Cabinet tradition. According to the *Lankadipa* compensation talks between the British team and a committee headed by the Minister of Agriculture and Lands, Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwa, petered out without a settlement being reached. Israeli Prime Minister, Yitzhak Rabin, yesterday proposed the reconvening of the Geneva peace conference as the next move towards a Middle East peace and said Israel was ready to compromise in negotiations. Moroccan and Algerian troops were engaged in heavy fighting in the Western Sahara for the second successive day yesterday.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 31: Government decided that profits on sales of gems and export of same except through the State Gem Corporation will be liable to income tax: according to the Ministry of Finance that this liability will be effective from April, 1975—CDN. According to the *Daily News* the Department of Labour yesterday cancelled the registration of the Democratic Workers' Union for failure to submit annual returns: the DWC is the second largest trade union in the plantation sector. Following the recent floods in the Eastern and the North Central province the government decided not to depend on local purchases or rice and instead to purchase 80,000 tons of rice from Pakistan—CDN. According to the *Daily Mirror* India displaced Sri Lanka as the major exporter of tea to UK in the first eleven months of last year. Nearly 12,000 employees in the Colombo Port struck work from yesterday and this has resulted in the activities of the port coming to a halt: 13 trade unions including pro-Government trade unions participated in the strike demanding a bigger bonus for the year 1975: the first stage of talks held between union leaders and the Minister of Shipping and Tourism, Mr. P. B. G. Kalugalle ended in failure—VK. According to the *Virakesari* the Cabinet has approved the proposal of a foreign investment bill and the bill is likely to be presented in the Parliament in March this year. According to the *Aththa* several valuable propaganda equipment donated by foreign organisations for use in family planning propaganda work had been found in the homes of individuals connected with this campaign: the *Aththa* further said the family planning propaganda work came under the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting: equipments such as tape recorders, projectors etc were among such items found in

the houses of individuals. According to the *Dinamina* foreign businessmen will start nearly 115 businesses in collaboration with Sri Lanka businessmen under the proposed foreign investment authority bill and this will involve nearly Rs. 270 million. Mr. Lakshman Jayakody, Acting Minister of Defence and Foreign Affairs, decided to reinforce Northern and Eastern provinces with more armed forces from tomorrow. According to the Ministry of Defence and Foreign Affairs Tamil leaders led by Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayakam are attempting to create trouble in these areas in view of their proposal to establish a separate Tamil state—LD. A bill was passed in the Indian parliament yesterday giving wide powers to prevent publication of material it considers objectionable after the state of emergency and censorship are lifted. The Government said last night that Moroccan forces had occupied the Western Sahara oasis of Amgala after capturing 101 Algerian troops.

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 1: Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, will return to the island tomorrow after her South East Asian tour which covered Indonesia, Thailand and Burma—CO. According to the *Observer* the British negotiators who returned to London to consult their principles on the talks of compensation for lands taken over they had with the Government of Sri Lanka: the British team will return to the island within the next two weeks to resume talks. The State Film Corporation will discuss shortly the question of importing US films to Sri Lanka: owing to terms that are not agreeable between the State Film Corporation and the American film distributors the question of importing American films to the island is at stake: in this regard the Government of Sri Lanka will have talks at diplomatic level with American film distributors through its missions abroad—CO. The Director of Information called upon three top officials of his Department to explain as to who ordered the compilation of the souvenir in Sinhala and English to mark the inauguration on January 8 of the Mahaweli diversion project at Polgolla: the publication is said to have cost several thousand rupees: thousands of copies of this publication are still lying in the stores of the Department of Information—ST. According to the *Sunday Times* the Ministry of Education has warned school heads that under no circumstances should school premises be used for political meetings. Peradeniya Campus of the University of Sri Lanka will be reopened for lectures on the 3rd of this month—SM. Following a certain incident said to have occurred in Puttalam opposite a Muslim Mosque between the Police and the public all policemen involved in the incident are transferred out of the station—VK. According to the *Janasathiya* the entire working class in the country will launch a struggle against the present Government: shortly: according to the paper this Government has done away with whatever rights and privileges the working class had enjoyed hitherto. Indian Government dismissed the DMK Government of Tamilnadu and imposed President rule.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 2: The Government last week warned the Agency Houses that the quality of the country's tea should be maintained though there is a general improvement after the estates were taken over: this warning followed reports that there was a general decline in the maintenance of certain estates

after the estates were taken over—CDN. Following the large number of applications for Housing loans, nearly 12,000, the Ministry of Housing and Construction has taken steps to allocate Rs. 400 million solely for granting loans to these applicants—DM. Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Finance, assured a delegation of Ceylon Democratic Workers' Congress, which met him that he has long term proposals with regard to the wage scales of estate workers which would be put into operation this year—CDM. The Tamil United Front MP, Mr. V. Dharmalingam, told *Virakesari* that the action of the Indian Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, in dissolving the Tamil Nadu State Assembly and imposing Governor's rule was quite contrary to democracy. Mr. P. P. G. L. Sirlwardene, Vice Chancellor of the University, told the *Aththa* within three weeks time the examinations will be held in the Peradeniya Campus: he had also stated that he has decided to appoint a committee to inquire into the administration of the Campus during the last few years. According to the *Janadina* the strike of workers in the Government Press continued without a settlement and workers had decided to continue the strike until their demands were met. According to the *Daily Mirror* all but three per cent of foreign firms operating in Sri Lanka had incorporated themselves in Sri Lanka under the Companies (Special Provisions) Law. President Ford, referring to the Congress' ban on funds for forces fighting against communists in Angola, said that Americans will live to regret this move: In a television address President Ford denounced the Soviet and Cuban intervention in Angola and said denial of the Congress to help Angola with 29 million dollars through the CIA was a serious mistake.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 3: Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, who arrived yesterday in the island after a 3-nation goodwill tour described her tour as being both successful and beneficial: the President, several Ministers and VIPs were present at the airport to receive the Premier—CDN. According to the *Daily News* the Government will this week consider doing away with Agency Houses which have hitherto managed the foreign and locally owned estates that were taken over by the Government and appointing state-run Agency Houses to manage these estates. Undergraduates of the Peradeniya Campus of the University decided yesterday to call off their 21-day boycott of lectures and return to the Campus: this decision follows the intervention of the Vice Chancellor in the matter—CDN. Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, Leader of the Opposition and President of the UNP announced at a public meeting yesterday that the UNP will soon initiate a no-confidence motion against Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Finance and Justice: the motion will be in connection with certain transactions of the Minister: the LSSP, FP and the JVB are expected to support the motion—CDM. A Government communique yesterday said that a curfew effective from 5 pm to 7 am has been imposed in the Puttalam district following an outbreak of violence in the area—CDM. Port workers belonging to 10 major trade unions in the Port Cargo Corporation who threatened to come out strike have called off their strike following a settlement to their 1975 bonus issue—CDM. According to the *Aththa* though the strike at the Government Press is 14 days old today the Minister in charge of the institution, Mr. R. S. Perera, has used the provisions of

the Emergency Regulations, without settling the strike. According to the *Janadina* the National Savings Bank, which was started by the former Minister of Finance, Dr. N. M. Perera, has come to a situation where its activities cannot be carried on properly: this paper attributes to reactionary activities of certain bureaucrats: the paper in an editorial referred to the activities of the bank and said that under the present Minister of Finance more bad than good was being done in state institutions which were functioning properly under the former Minister of Finance. According to the *Dinamina*, a commission will be appointed soon to invite representations from the public in regard to enforce a delimitation of all local government areas under various local government councils in the country. Reports from Tamil Nadu in India said that Police began a crackdown on officials of the DMK Party whose nine year old rule was cut short by a Presidential decree the day before yesterday: Indian Government will appoint a commission to probe into complaints of corruption and misuse of office against the DMK Government: Opposition members in both Indian houses of Parliament walked out in protest at what they called the unwarranted imposition of direct rule from New Delhi in the Tamil Nadu state. In Washington Democratic Presidential contender, Birch Bayh, called on the US to establish direct diplomatic contacts with Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA).

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 4: The Government yesterday issued an ultimatum to the striking workers of the Government Press to report for work on Friday or else they would be considered as having vacated their employment—CDM. Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama, MP for Kalawana and President of the Communist (Progressive) Youth Leagues, said at a public rally of the Inter-Campus Student Front held yesterday in Colombo that those pressmen responsible for reporting recent minor ragging incidents in the campuses of the University should be "skinned"—CDM. Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, making a statement in the NSA yesterday on the communal clashes in Puttalam said that she would not tolerate communal violence in any form in any part of the island: she said that she would not hesitate to use all the resources at her command to prevent communal violence from raising its ugly head and dealing with the situation firmly, if the necessity arose—CDM. A Taiwanese vessel poaching in the territorial waters of the country was taken into custody and brought to the Trincomalee harbour yesterday—CDM. The *Daily News* quoting authoritative source said that the Indo-Sri Lanka Ministerial level talks scheduled to be held in New Delhi this week will result in a large number of joint projects in Sri Lanka. Employees of the Railway Department will get their loans under the Credit Council scheme from today—LD. The CJC (Exchange Frauds) will deliver judgement today in the case in which Sir Oliver, a former Governor General of Ceylon, his daughter, his son-in-law, Mr. A. R. M. Mukthar, a gem dealer and his two sons are charged—DM. According to the *Virakesari* the Minister of Public Administration has ordered the flying of the National Flag in state department buildings today on account of the Independence Day. According to the *Aththa*, though the Minister of Information and Broadcasting, Mr. R. S. Perera, has put the blame on the Educational Publicational Bureau for not supplying the material for printing of school texts, even half

scripts which were handed over for printing by the Educational Publications Bureau in the early part of 1975 have not been completed yet. Uganda's President Idi Amin made a new offer yesterday of help to get Angolan peace talks started. Ousted Tamil Nadu Chief Minister, Mr. M. Karunanidhi, charged that India was heading for one-party rule, but denied he had been supporting secession from the Indian Federation. US's Ambassador in the UN, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, submitted his resignation to President Ford; White House refused to comment on the resignation.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 5: The Criminal Justice Commission (Exchange Frauds) yesterday found all six accused guilty in the case in which Sir Oliver Goonetilleke, a former Governor General of Ceylon, his daughter, Mrs. Sheila Sathananther, son-in-law, Mr. Sathananther Mr. A. R. M. Mukthar, well-known gem merchant and his two sons Messrs Thowfeek and Fawmy Mukthar, were charged for exchange control violations amounting Rs. 10 million; all suspects except Sir Oliver Goonetilleke who was tried *in absentia* were remanded to fiscal custody pending sentence—CDN. Mr. T. B. M. Ekanayake, Commissioner for Registration of Persons told that all citizens over the age of 18 should carry their identity cards along with them and when questioned by any Police officer or other authorised persons they should be able to produce the identity card; failure to produce will make the law officers to detain the person—CDN. The UNP disciplinary committee which inquired into the charges preferred against the MP for Dedigama, Mr. Rukman Senanayake, found him guilty of two charges pertaining to his conduct during the Colombo South by election: the Working Committee of the party will meet tomorrow to decide on what action should be taken against Mr. Senanayake—CDM. FP MPs came to the NSA yesterday in national costume with a reddish orange shawl with gold border and the insignia of the "rising sun" symbol of the TUF, embossed in gold in several places along the shawl: Mr. V. Navaratnam, MP for Chavakachcheri, requested the Speaker to allow time for the discussion of the TUF's private members' motion for separate state for the Tamils instead of continuing with the motion protesting against the sealing of the *Dawasa* group of newspapers: the Speaker said that the TUF's motion will be discussed only after disposing with the *Dawasa* motion—CDM. A high-ranking delegation of Ministers and other politicians will visit Puttalam today to meet various people in the area to discuss ways and means to establish unity among various communities in the area: this follows the recent communal clashes in Puttalam between the Sinhala and Muslim people: government announced that the curfew in the area will be in force until further notice—VK. According to the *Virakesari* in the Eastern and the Northern province thousands of young men and women including school children were sporting badges of the "rising sun" yesterday in support of the TUF's demand for a separate state for Tamils. The *Janadina* referring to the order by the Government to hoist the national flag posed the question as to why Mrs Bandaranaike too is following the steps of Mr. J. R. Jayewardene to celebrate Independence day instead of the Republic Day which falls on May 22. The *Aththa* editorially praised the statement of the Minister of Agriculture and Lands, Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwa, that he would soon take steps to take-over all agency houses, too. Government Services Trade Union Federa-

tion, criticised the action of the Minister of Information and Broadcasting for issuing an ultimatum to the striking employees of the Government Press in spite of the pledge by the Minister of Irrigation, Power and Highways, Mr. Maithripala Senanayake, that he would put the issue before the Cabinet for a decision—ATH. According to the *Dinamina* the employees of the Government Press met at the Campbell Park yesterday and decided to continue the strike until their four demands are met. New Delhi Police yesterday arrested six MPs belonging to the DMK party: so far 40 MPs have been arrested. Political observers in Washington believed that the reason for the resignation of the US Ambassador to the UN was because he failed to get firm backing from the Secretary of State, Dr. Henry Kissinger. China challenged the statement from Moscow that the USSR stood for peace in Angola.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 6: Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwa, Minister of Lands and Agriculture, told the National State Assembly yesterday that the Government would announce today by a special gazette notification the creation of a separate board to take-over the functions of the Agency Houses now managing the company-owned estates that were taken over by the Government last October—CDN. Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, Leader of the Opposition and the UNP, read out in the NSA yesterday the full text of the no-confidence motion against Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Finance and Justice: Mr. Jayewardene said that the motion had been signed by Dr. N. M. Perera, Mr. Prins Goonesekera, Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayakam and by himself: the motion was in regard to certain allegations for having abused the powers as Minister—CDM. The Government yesterday announced the promulgation of certain emergency measures to prevent the rousing of religious and communal discord: the Government also warned that it would take stern action against rabble rousers: Mr. Maithripala Senanayake on behalf of the Government said that the situation in Puttalam was now under control—CDM. A deadline was set today for the strikers of the Government Press to return to work: the announcement said that those who failed to return to work by tomorrow would be considered as having vacated their posts—CDN. Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Finance and Justice will soon appoint a committee to draw up the necessary plans to make it legal for all state and private establishment to share their profits with employees—LD. According to the *Janadina* Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwa, Minister of Agriculture and Lands, had told the NSA that the payment of compensation for estates taken over would be certainly in rupees though he did not know what would happen in the future. The CJC (Exchange Frauds) will pass sentences today on the six accused in the case in which Sir Oliver Goonetilleke, former Governor General of Ceylon had been charged—ATH. The Indian Parliament yesterday passed a bill postponing the General elections for one more year. The Malaysian Government announced that it had broken up several communist cells in and around the capital that were responsible for several guerrilla attacks: several leaders too were arrested. PLO authorities hailed the US resolution for peace in the Middle East as a great political triumph for the Palestinian cause.

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POINT OF VIEW

Behind DMK Ministry's Dismissal

by M. Kalyanasundaram

THE MINISTRY LED BY M. KARUNANIDHI in Tamilnadu has been dismissed, the state assembly dissolved and President's rule proclaimed. Looking from a distance such an extra-ordinary step will perhaps look very strange and undemocratic when Karunanidhi was enjoying an absolute majority in the state assembly on his own party strength. But those who know the details of the situation as it existed or developed in recent period will realise the dangers and threats such a situation meant not only for Tamilnadu but for the whole of the country if the ministry had been allowed to function a day more.

It will not be correct to suggest that the step has been motivated by narrow partisan reasons because it was a non-congress government ruling in Tamilnadu. In fact congress as it stands today in Tamilnadu does not have any chance to step into power on its own. The recent measures in Tamilnadu have been dictated by the need to consolidate what was sought to be achieved through the proclamation of Emergency and what the Karunanidhi ministry was systematically trying to prevent.

After the Emergency was proclaimed in June in the country, striking a pre-emptive blow on right reaction, Tamilnadu had become a base for the counter-revolutionary forces, both external and internal. Some of the underground apparatus of the banned parties like RSS and other counter-revolutionary forces were shifted to Tamilnadu.

Illegal leafleteering, postering and writing on the wall in several languages were a regular feature. "Wait for 2 months more and Indira Gandhi will be no more and country will go to the flames". Such posters would be quite common. Spreading false news, such as thousands of people having been shot dead in the country, through posters and leaflets would be carried on with impunity. And on the other hand, the ruling party DMK would zealously guard the

powers conferred by the emergency to prevent dissemination of correct news. The DMK thought it would get away with its policy of using the new weapon for its own counter-revolutionary purposes. The DMK ever since it came to power in the state had been misusing the democratic rights and powers conferred on the States by the constitution in a manner as though Tamilnadu were an autonomous state.

And after the proclamation of emergency, the DMK government challenged the justification of emergency, pooh-poohed the 20-point programme, claiming that it had more than implemented it already. That claim was an utter falsehood.

AND AT THE SAME TIME they thought emergency situation would provide them an opportunity to bully the Government of India into dropping the corruption charges against them. In the gamble they went to the extreme unmindful of the consequences. They revived their old slogan of "Tamilnadu in danger", "Hindi Imperialism is throttling." The demand for state autonomy was already there. And their party boss would often be compared with Mujib of Tamilnadu. Up to the time of emergency their demand was "autonomy for the state, joint government at the centre". This was done officially. Commissions had been appointed to make recommendations for state autonomy.

But after the emergency their demand was "autonomy for the state if granted by consent otherwise it would be struggle for an independent, separate Tamilnadu." Inflammatory speeches were being made by men in responsible position.

And in one of the recent meetings, a speech by Maran, MP—one of the close associates of Karunanidhi was so inflammatory that even the papers there would not dare publish it. And it is interesting to observe that parties like Jana Sangh which would indulge in such demagogues as shedding their last drop of blood to build an "Akhanda Bharat" would join the DMK which went up to the limit of advocating "Separate Tamilnadu."

India's difficulties were their opportunities for furthering their separatist and chauvinistic slogans.

In December last the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) had its fifth conference held in Coimbatore. And here is an excerpt from one of the speeches in the conference which was delivered by C. D. Dandapani M.P.

"The DMK is not a small party functioning within the state. It is a great movement of the Tamil people all over the world. It is the great movement of the great Tamil people throughout the world. The Tamil people in other countries look to DMK as defenders of their rights.

"Several foreign missions in Delhi and other places have sent greetings to our conference. The foreign embassies have wished our conference success. The American and British diplomats have sent messages of greetings. I will not reveal their content or their names. They have sent greetings and this shows our importance is fully recognised. Why are we important? Because it is our party alone which is fighting for restoration of democracy in our sub-continent. If the Centre topples our government it will cease to exist. Seventh fleet will come if we are toppled".....

It may be recalled here that demand for separate 'Dravidanad' had its roots in the notorious Coupland plan worked out by the imperialists for the dismemberment of the country.

A BRIEF RECALLING of the past history, of how the DMK emerged as a powerful political force in the state would not be perhaps out of place here.

The trends of separatism in DMK had their roots in the aspirations of reactionary sections of local bourgeoisie. This section which had developed close collaborations with the British before independence had developed its own region-based aspirations in the total process of India's development along the capitalist path. The imperialists wanted to subsequently utilise that aspiration for the purpose of disintegration of the country after they failed in their strategy of foisting neo-colonialist rule in India in the late sixties and the early seventies.

The development processes in the fifties and the sixties which were sought to be availed of by the monopolists in their bid for power with the full backing of the neo-colonialists had proved a fertile ground for the emergence of

the DMK which took the populist stance of "Champions of the poor" and "Champions of Dravidian culture." They grew during the period when the Communist Party was subjected to worst forms of repression. Appearing to sympathise with the suffering of the Communist Party they projected themselves as an alternative force to the Communists as the friends of the poor. They would even describe themselves as Dravidian communists!

The split of Congress in 1969 had given the party further boost.

And when in 1971 the DMK was preparing for the elections it was the Communist Party which then correctly took the initiative of forming a front with the DMK which was supported by the Congress(R) also. And this initiative was taken by the Party to prevent the DMK from joining the Grand Alliance, which it was about to do. In its much larger anxiety to see the neo-colonialist move defeated in India, the Communist Party had supported the DMK against the Grand Alliance. It must be remembered that despite its wide popularity at that time the total number of seats that DMK secured in 1971, 183 out of 234, did not reflect its own strength. For the DMK had been supported by the CPI as well as the Congress(R).

After coming to power the DMK did not take much time to shed off its populist stance. They laid bare their policies of allegiance to the sugar, textile and engineering magnates of the state. They gave concessions to these magnates to help them secure from the peasants, cotton, sugarcane and other industrial raw materials at a low price. They even helped them to attack the workers.

In 1972 what started as a spontaneous struggle of the peasants of Coimbatore against unbearable loan burdens, coercive measures to get loans repaid, and for debt relief and remunerative price turned out to be a state-wise peasant struggle which was participated by CPI, Congress(R), AITUC and Kisan Sabha. In the struggle, 17 people were shot dead, an atrocity that was then condemned even by late Kamraj. As early as in 1972 March the CPI had taken its positive stand against the DMK

and decided to launch a struggle against pro-Imperialist anti-people and anti-national policy of the DMK and project a new progressive democratic front for the state.

The upsurge against the DMK had brought a split in the party itself in the process of which the Anna DMK led by M. G. Ramachandran had appeared.

In November 1972 CPI and Anna DMK presented two memoranda before the President of India listing the charges of corruption and maladministration against the DMK. In fact corruption in Tamilnadu had been institutionalised by DMK from ministry to panchayat. Distribution machinery had been sold to the contractors and wholesale dealers.

And it is strange that CPM which had been conducting a campaign against corruption elsewhere was silent in Tamilnadu where worse forms of corruption had been carried on for years together.

And what is the truth in claiming that the DMK had more than implemented the 20-point programme? Despite some developments in agriculture, in the Green Revolution period, incidence of poverty was one of the highest in the state. The wages of agricultural labourers are one of the lowest. In sharp contrast with its neighbouring state, in Kerala, the minimum wages recently recommended for the state have been at Rs. 5 for males and 3 for females. Despite fixation of ceilings at 15 standard acres, sufficient time was allowed to elapse during which there had been large scale *benami* transfers even in the name of minor children. And in an area where there is nearly 20 million acres of cultivable and cultivated land, the total land vested in the state amounts to only 80,000 acres so far. A rigorous enforcement of ceilings and redistribution would have yielded nearly one million acres of land.

Tamilnadu by official figures has 52 per cent of population under poverty line, one of the highest in the country. So there is no truth in the claim that Tamilnadu was already ahead of other states in implementation of the programmes.

The stake before Tamilnadu is not to bolster the chauvinist and

separatist aspirations which were being recently fanned by foreign interests but to take the people of Tamilnadu into the mainstream of struggle against such classes that increase the miseries of the people everyday.

IT MUST ALSO BE REMEMBERED that even though DMK retained an absolute majority in the state assembly at the time of its dissolution their strength in the house did not correspond to their position among the people. The DMK since it came to power had forfeited the support of CPI, Congress(R) and had also lost from within a big chunk to Anna DMK.

And what is more, through DMK's adventurous policy of confrontation with the centre and antagonism to the neighbouring states, economy in Tamilnadu was being brought to a standstill—a situation which a large section of the industrialists was unable to tolerate.

Finding themselves more and more isolated the DMK was forging links with right reactionary parties. The stepping up of the separatist slogans in recent months, offering asylum to the counter-revolutionary forces and indulging in raving speeches were measures of DMK's isolation from the people and its desperation.

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@ 70 cents

a riang

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a riang

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Yakadagalla Estate

Kotadeniyawa.

With the removal of DMK from power the first step toward warding off threat and danger to national unity is taken. Hence the Communist Party and the democratic forces have supported the measures that have been taken by the Central Government. But these measures have to be backed up by adoption of such steps as would enlist peoples' co-operation.

Responsibility of the Central Government is all the greater today. Democracy is the measure of involvement of the people in administration and in implementation of programmes for improvement in the standard of living.

Now popular committees have to be set up at all levels, consisting of those political parties, trade unions and Kisan Sabhas and other organisations which have faith in the struggle against the forces of right reaction and imperialism and neo-colonialism. The involvement of people has to be ensured in these struggles and in the implementation of the 20-point programme. The political processes in the state have to be so unleashed that social forces which breed crass chauvinism and separatism get their final burial in Tamilnadu.



BUILDING A VILLAGE HOUSE—68

Nilima Hemamali

By Herbert Keuneman

Banders' decision—and I suppose it was, ultimately, his decision; although undoubtedly the weight of opinion of his family and, at one remove, Dinga's family helped to form it—that Dinga, after all, have her baby as it were *in situ!* shocked and depressed me greatly.

As I was relating at the end of the last instalment, everything seemed to be set fair for a delivery in a front-rank Colombo maternity hospital and the couple had come back from their final consultation with the Colombo doctor who had not only seen Dinga regularly right through her pregnancy but had also, probably, by his skill and tact made that pregnancy possible quite resolved (it appeared to me) that so it should go. And then they went home to dinner, and came back quite resolved the other way. Dinga was going back, after the village custom,

to her mother and her own village (of Polpittigama) where her baby should be born. Polpittigama boasted a hospital called, I think, a Peripheral Unit presided over by a 'dee-am-o mahattaya'—evidently a slight step upward in the village measure of medical hierarchy from an ordinary D.M.O. such as we have at Galgamuwa—and this was obviously taken by the decision-makers, whoever they were, as quite enough sensible precaution.

I simply did not understand it. I asked Banders bitterly if he had chosen, in the end, Polpittigama over Colombo because he thought babies were delivered with *polpittas*; and although I soon gave up my attitude of sarcastic criticality because I could see it would do nobody any good, I still do not understand it. Nor do I yet know what made Banders change his mind nor even if he did actually change it or merely weighed his real preference against considerations that outweighed such trivialities as preferences and calculations of For Safety's Sake: to this day the consensus of village family-option, whether rationally and logically based or not, is a tremendous counterpoise to reckon with against an individual reason. Or an individual's reason, be he—nor she—never so primarily interested.

Thus it is still a mystery who eventually brought the decision about. Bander's mother averred, to me, that it was Dinga herself wished to have her people around her, and her people who wished to have her around, when her time came. This was certainly possible: it is the accustomed village thing. But I do not think in this case it was true. For one thing, Dinga was tearfully more-than-a-little apprehensive about any possible risk to her baby, eager to have done all to ensure and protect it, when she discussed the matter in private with me later. On the other hand, it was quite possibly the knowledge that my earnest advice and sincerest appeals to reason were being ignored that made her tearful. I have already said that I had the impression, when Banders broke the news to me of the change of plans, that he was more distressed at upsetting me than over any dangers in the change which he really foresaw. But it could well have been that the only (or, say, the chief) thing both his and Dinga's families were

thinking about was their own convenience when it came to hovering about mother and child at so momentous a period, and Polpittigama was by far the more convenient place in which to hover; and that Banders only suppressed this overriding (as he might have judged it) consideration, knowing that in the circumstances—I have detailed the circumstances last week and shall not do so again—I should have little sympathy with it, and gallantly wore the responsibility himself out of loyalty to village.

As I say, I do not know and I never shall. It is an endearing, and can even be an admirable, trait in village people to be willing to adopt any prevarication rather than hurt by flat refusal or contradiction. On the other hand it is also a trait to be facile in laying upon another the blame for an opinion held or a decision made, regardless of holding it sincerely or making it deliberately, if your audience is likely to see you in a bad light for doing so. Complaisance is all. 'Truth', said Oliver Wendell Holmes, 'must roll.' In the village it rolls like ball-bearings!

Banders' ostensible reason for choosing Polpittigama over Colombo was 'the expense'. This was manifestly nonsense (Colombo was all laid on, with no expense whatever to Banders and Dinga, and only the cost of travelling to prospective visitors) and I showed him so; but he stuck to his guns. Nevertheless the credibility of that particular argument was severely eroded when two of his sisters being summoned to be interviewed for a job, two chaperones must needs accompany them—a pleasant jaunt to a distant part—and Banders must needs contribute Rs. 50 towards the picnic out of the money Dinga and he had carefully put by for the baby! and when his father, while the baby was still momentarily awaited, travelled all the way to Colombo to show himself at a quite faintly related relative's wedding! (And yet, I don't know: perhaps Pinhamy at least was just fied and a far-removed social obligation is by village standards as important as providing every acknowledged advantage at the birth of a once-despaired-of grandchild; perhaps Pinhamy did not acknowledge, once Dinga was demonstrably pregnant, that she might not bear her child like any other village woman.)

I have harped a lot on the risks attendant on Dinga's delivery. These, too, I itemized last week. Suffice it to say that I, at least, did not share in apparently everybody's sanguine expectations; maybe because I did not share wholeheartedly in the village confidence that (having once proved themselves) parents who lost one baby could always produce another, and that a mere lost wife can even more easily be replaced. To do Banders justice, I do not for a moment think this was his attitude; as regards Dinga, at all events. Yet I doubt whether he was as conscious—as over-conscious, perhaps—of peril as I. Anyway, he was nowhere near when his daughter and firstborn arrived. She had been predicted for December 28; she came on December 29, barely half a day late; but on that very day he was in Ehetuwewa, fortified maybe by his mother's conviction—she had had 10 babies, and only I lost—that mid-January was the time!

Nothing upped my reputation (from my having advocated *ingirisi* before since the beginning) as much as Nilima Hemamali's almost precisely punctual adherence to the *ingirisi* behet doctor's schedule. That glow of triumph is already fading, alas! and I am hoping for some new boost to my already waning authority. But I also had other moments (and, Cousin Pieter, you too may take a bow!)

Like, for instance, the day we took Dinga to Polpitigama. Having dropped her bags at her elder sister's place, where she was to stay, mindful of our local midwife's pronouncement of December 18 for B-Day despite anything any Colombo specialist might claim to calculate—and since it was already December 15—we took her straight to hospital to be checked over by the *dee-am-o mahattaya*. That *mahattaya* was not forthcoming, he was on leave and only forthcoming long after hope of his return had been abandoned by most of his staff, but the visit was nevertheless auspicious. The moment the name Keuneman was bruited abroad, other *mahatturu*—mainly *kankanam mahatturu* and *nonamahatturu*—to say nothing of lesser lights such as Apothecaries were not wanting. To be pedantic, they were wanting. Letters to the Minister of Housing! I chose the most influential-looking amongst them

and wrote off a letter for him on the spot. Under the present practice of Sri Lanka politics what else would you have had me do? To others I distributed nods and becks and carefully graded smiles, even the occasional wreathed variety, a hideous grimace as I make it but effective, and received them back full measure. Had it come to it, Dinga would I felt sure be offered—if only in the hope of future favours, and to hell with any tomfoolery about Hippocratical hypocritical blah-blah—the best Polpitigama Peripheral Unit could afford. Even her people, disillusioned though they have long been about my mythical influence with Pieter, seemed to sense this and looked on me with a reawakened respect.

But as matters turned out, Polpitigama was never put to any test beyond one which every Peripheral Unit invariably fails, vaunt we Our Country's medical facilities never so proudly: the ability

to summon an ambulance when it is needed.

Dinga was already deep in the First Stage of labour when she was taken there at 2.0 a.m. on the carrier of her brother-in-law's bicycle (!) By 8.0 a.m. nothing had happened but nothing, either, had been done when the doctor—by now, 28 December, back from his holiday—advised she be removed forthwith to the Provincial Hospital.

This, one begins to suspect, may be a professionalistic reflex (I don't mean a professional reaction) amongst DMOs even at the *mahattaya* level faced with any case promising even the remotest likelihood of raising Questions other than clinical ones! An automatic response to a squirt from some kind of self-protective gland, leading to a passing of the buck! The outcome is probably no less beneficial to the patient, in the long run, than it could be to the doctor, and I am not complaining; I am merely raising the academic issue

ENGLISH WITH TEARS, OR WITHOUT!

The French this week, by law, formally banned *franglais*, and thus provoked Bernard Levin to write his Times column in French. Serve them right. The French have never really understood about language. They think it is an extension of what the late Field-Marshal Hermann Goering used to call *Kultur*. It is not.

Language is just a system of vocal symbols. If X grunts at Y, and Y understands what the grunt signifies, the thing has been achieved: a comprehension of what is being said. If comprehension is reached, then that's great, tops, OK and, as they used to say in Moscow, Idaho, hunky-dory. All the rest is style.

Moreover, contrary to the generally-received notion, French is a poor language. It can, it is, true, express infinite nuances in the usage of the imperfect subjunctive, but the language of Bossuet and Proust is ill-equipped to deal with 1976 technology. Talk to international interpreters at international conferences and you will find that they do not go a bundle on the French idea of this enrichment-of-life-by-language lark. They cannot find good French equivalents for a lot of English, German and Russian terms dealing with the modern world. They therefore steal. Hence the phenomenon, not only of *franglais* but also of Germenglish and Russamerican.

How can one politicise a language? French lies between the linguistic power blocks of English (345m born speakers at least) and Russian (220m) and Chinese (heaven knows how many). The French have a mere 85m, and feel short-changed. At a recent meeting of the Alliance Française, the body concerned with propagandising French *Kultur* and language, a distinguished French professor, expected to deliver a francophonic eulogy to a non-French audience, got up and told his audience, "If you'll take my advice you'll learn English."

Collapse of Francophone parties. The advice was misplaced. It should have been, "Study French as it is now developing, for legislation cannot alter language." Even English owes much of its richness to the forcible importation of French words after the Norman conquest. Today I had beef (*boeuf*) for lunch, not cow.

—The Economist

of whether Dinga's journey beyond Polpitigama was really necessary. Kurunegala, by all the evidence, thought nothing of her case. She was admitted there at 10.30 a.m. on December 29; the child was born at 1.09 p.m.; and the next morning—December 30—by 8.30 she had been discharged although she had required stitches. I cannot but still feel Colombo—loving attendant relatives or not—would have treated her better.

At all events, Banders' 'less-expense-locally' excuse was shot full of holes at least as far as concerned him and Dinga and the baby. Village wise, the hiring-car owner-drivers of Polpitigama—there are only two—know a profitable emergency when they see one, and the thirty-mile ride to Kurunegala cost Rs. 125! The ride back, in contrast, cost Rs. 70. So much for human-kindness and three cheers for competition! In a way, it was no wonder that regardless of any strain on Dinga and her—and his—infant Banders decided to bring them back by bus. It was not, however, a wise decision; not, seeing that village bus services are what they are. The bus that should have got them home, by a direct route, at 9.15 p.m. finally brought them, after an inscheduled detour, at 10.45. Still, it was cheap (on the face of it). Looking deeper, it is mortifying to think that for the total of what was spent on travelling, alone, to have a 'local' baby, no less than 20 visitors could have gone and seen Dinga during a safe and comfortable confinement in Colombo and thrown in a jaunt to the Capital as well.

Nilima Hemamali was a day short of three weeks old when she came home to Ehetuwewa. Speaking objectively (as I am already finding it increasingly difficult to do) she is as yet a slightly amorphous little bundle whose most prominent effects are a pair of 'pitifully fragile-seeming legs and feet pale and slender as the *kokatiya mal* that grow in the shallows of our tank, a pair of rather large elfin ears with lobes most cunningly faired into the sides of her head, a pair of eyes of pure shining jet which she can already fix in a piercing stare, and an engaging little tongue pink but alas! coated. The pink point of the last she amiably projects from time to time, just as my dog Piggy used to do when he was in a state of happiness and particular content.

I don't know whether N'lima is happy and particularly content. When does one begin to be happy? All I know is one starts life with a cry. But I pledge my small and precious (foster—) grandchild what happiness I, for one, can ensure her. I only hope I keep from trying too tactlessly to ensure it.

* * *

Inania of this, that and the other

TORMENTORS

— Your Game Is Up —

By INNA

There was once a Display of posters in a big capital city of S.E. Asia, on Justice, Exploitation and allied themes. A priest who had been born in the lap of luxury but had given up all for poverty, visited it and half-way down the Display gave up saying: "What's the use. They show all the torture done by USA and western countries, but not much about the torture and injustice of the Communist countries." He felt their non-alignment was a bit aligned. The organisers felt maligned. Right across the hall were the words of Helder Camara: "Why should we who love justice and know that without it there can be no true and lasting peace, not rise up against all oppression, and all enslavement, whether it derives from East or West, Communism or Capitalism?" (Camara at Liverpool, 24 June 1972).

To talk of the World War II gas chamber torture is old hat, of the sufferings of civilians in the early days of the N-S. Vietnam conflict, is past history. Man's inhumanity to man was a byword. But have we improved? In case you have heard too much about the tortures inflicted upon "innocent people in the terrible Godless lands of communism," would you like to hear of the tortures inflicted in the prosperous, "happy", affluent countries? Then read *Amnesty International* for news (Dec. 1975, vol. v, n, 13). If what Capital is doing in Brazil is right, why torture? Human rights weren't even heard of in Brazil in 1975. On 25 October, Vladimir Herzog the well-known journalist died after the

most terrible tortures. Security forces crushed all "leftwing subversion". "Lawyers, journalists professors, students, trade unionists, doctors and officials and supporters of Brazil's only legal opposition party (MDB) were arrested in a large-scale crackdown that affected ever-widening circles of peaceful opponents of the regime" (AI, Dec. 75, p. 5).

It may well be that a goodly number of these tormentors are catholic-christians in a practically all-catholic Brazil. I am reminded of what a French theologian asked in 1971: "many are christianized, but are they evangelized?" That means that they have received the name 'Christian' as a label, but have they worked out christianity as a crucial matter in their lives? (*Crucial* is from *crux*, meaning: cross). On the contrary, are not some of the men in Brazil providing a perpetual cross for others? In September 1975, a 60-year old journalist, RENATO OLIVERA MOTTA, wrote to a military judge that he had been subject to weeks of violent electric shocks, beatings, a rack-like torture and a crucifixion-like torment which his torturers called the "Jesus Christ":

"naked on foot, my arms were stretched out above and bound to a crossbar. This was to disarticulate the muscle network and the kidneys, they told me."

He said his questioners told him they would torture Jesus Christ himself if He returned to earth" (AI, Dec. 1975, p. 5)

The price of liberty is eternal vigilance: I ask you: Have you scoured our country to see if there are no torture chambers? If all is happy and well, why open up new police stations? Why beat up Colombo 10 and Colombo 13 men because they put in their hand into Colombo 7 houses to, take decrepit alarm-clocks in order to sell them and buy food, much needed food? Has the '*pranapato*' or the '*thou shalt not kill*' been forgotten when we pour out Barvok Vodka and slice rich cake, while they pour out their life-blood and watch fish sliced for the ones who have?

Do we want a peace-loving state or a police-state? Are we going to live on for ever in this *lakaya* which is so *laukika*? Is the *tanha*-rejection not a primary call of the Buddhist ethos in our land?

① ①

LETTER

Corruption, Privilege And Inna

Sir,

What *Inna* calls *allas* is often unadulterated extortion. Never a voluntary *ex-corde* giving, it is on many occasions a forced levy, sometimes to have one's business attended to with legitimate despatch, sometimes, as in the conferment of office, to receive preferment over others with a higher rated competency. When paid out of public funds to do what he is required to do, the State employee seeks additional payment from private sources to be roused from his customary lethargy to move in the required direction. Where the office carries no remuneration, the office-holder is often callously insistent that payment should be made not only for services to be rendered gratuitously but also to be recompensed for the initial payment made activating conferment of payless office.

THE ROMAN called it *repetundae*, the English call it bribery and corruption, the Americans graft, East and North Ceylon *hand hire*. The bane of proconsulship as in the case of Verres, of governorship as with Warren Hastings, it is now the accursed prerogative and privilege of the nativised State service. Denounced in theory from housetops especially by such as have been reared in its ignominious takings, it is so universal and widespread a practice in this Dhamma Dwipa that even to move a file from a higher to a lower tray or in reverse, some consideration however mean must be pressed into a gloating hand to be received with an asinine smile. The Kantawala Commission spoke of it as gliding into pockets: fewer then were pockets but now larger and smaller and multiplied several fold, wrought even into the seams thereof. Brazenly do the smallest fry cavort in it, the larger ones receive it shamefacedly, the largest channel it through secret accredited agents. Those who scorn it—mercifully there are some, an infinitesimally small fraction of the myriads now in State service—are scorned in turn as fools disdaining a golden heritage very much more indigenous and oriental than imported and colonial. Anticolonialism has

had its vengeance in sawdust, pint-sized Caesars itching to swell frog-like into imperially bovine proportions.

Ranting on privilege in the same Jan. 3rd issue of *Tribune*, *Inna* delivers himself of a Latin citation which he terms a couplet and follows it up thereunder with a translation evidently approved by himself. The rendering is at once prose and prosaic as is the original discovered on a crumpled sheet caught in a reddish booklet. The rendering to me, whether by *Inna* himself or more probably by someone else, does not appear to be a faithful reflection of the original. Besides being a little tendentious, it has perhaps received some personal colouring shared also by *Inna* himself. The it in its triple occurrence is somewhat vague in its syntactical reference to an antecedent substantive or equivalent if any.

I would therefore prefer to render the passage with closer fidelity to the text as follows:

The clergyman as an individual who should enjoy a singularly privileged position in society, is no longer received as such in our days either by the laity or by the priesthood or by candidates to the priesthood.

The above is not only a mouthful, it is much more: it is reality itself. And the low estate to which most men of God have descended in popular estimation, be they professionals or simple amateurs, is in large measure due as much to the astonishing growth of materialism in the modern world, fanned as it were by what St. Paul characterised as the "oppositions of science falsely so called", as to the utter lack of spirituality on the part of most ministrants to whom filthy lucre is the prime and often the only consideration.

THE AGEING MISSIONARY, French in origin, must indeed be a *rara avis* not to understand Latin, a language in which he had received initiation and which he had at least mumbled in the Liturgy of centuries well nigh abandoned hardly ten years ago. The crumpled paper he cradled in his armpit nursing at the same time a reddish booklet, carried both the mouthful citation and its bizarre translation. His mission evidently was as unorthodox as its destination.

This missionary of the Christian Evangel was one of the few chosen out of the many. That indeed was a singular privilege accorded to a few amongst many more also privileged to receive the gospel of predestination. Divinely bestowed this privilege clinched for him a carefree earthly living as long-lived as life itself; a reasonable abode, good cheer and decent apparel. More than modest however were the perquisites showered on him by a grateful populace. Popular piety added to these perquisites and being the accredited depositary of the divine sciences as well as the dispenser of sacramental largesse, there was no occasion extraordinary, public or private, civic or domestic to which his presence was not welcomed or on which his blessing was not invoked. Rarely eroded by defection or dereliction in the past was this sacred competence spiritual or temporal, divine or profane to whids a willing flock sent their scions in droves for instruction and edification.

Changed is that picture now, changed that exalted priestly image, the change being due as much to the growth of bureaucratism in ministration as to the utter paucity of high souled individuals entering those once highly prized, highly esteemed ranks. Not often now is the pastor away as of yore on errands of mercy and grace to his flock. Rare too are his visits to his people exhorting them to righteousness, easing them in their wants, consoling them in distress, counselling them by word and example to Christian perfection. So infrequent are his calls that they are associated more with requests for contributions to various pietistic causes than with deep-felt concern for the spiritual and material welfare of his people.

THE MASTER, an itinerant preacher, had not even a stone whereon to lay his head. His friends Lazarus, Zachcheus, Simon and others would have made ample provision for him entertaining him lavishly. Even Pharisees entertained him, that vicious herd of law-enthusiasts denounced by him with such ferocity as to have furnished an epithet in almost every western tongue for unblushing hypocrisy.

A single word from him would have provided for his use in *perpetuum* a richly appointed upper chamber with fare that would have roused the envy of even the most affluent and highly privileged individuals in Jewish society. Not with disdain did he partake of such fare but with evident relish and the utmost grace: the bridegroom was still at large but he lived from day to day caring little for the morrow, living on the gospel which he preached with such rare lucidity and unwavering fidelity.

To be 24 hours on duty is not the sole privilege of the clergyman. The public servant of yesterday was at the service of the Crown twenty four hours a day. So too I believe is the policeman of today, so the physician. The armed services are no exception alertable when the emergency arises whether in the blaze of noon or in darkest night. The presbyter does not live for himself, he lives for others (*propter alios*). The cenobite lives for himself away from the profanum vulgus, away from worldly contacts prayerfully spending himself and being spent in penance and mortification.

If Sakiamuni with whose teachings Inna is so enraptured as to be transported in their contemplation into realms of transcendental delight, counselled the use of a fan by dhamma preachers to be thus shielded from emotionally disturbing sights, it should not be disquietingly strange nor should it flutter the doves in Inna's *sevana* if the laity occasionally evinced signs of anxiety that such as have dedicated themselves to shun delights and live laborious days are not as circumspect as possible in the avoidance of absorbingly disturbing sights.

The old priest may have suffered pangs of anguish when moved from pillar to post in the attempt by superiors-regular to find for him an appropriate exit from over involvement in worldly concerns but if obedience and reverence had been the hallmark of his service, he would indeed have been a good soldier in the army Christ. As to his being likened to the Son of Man through loss or reputation, this his claim is altogether groundless and must be repudiated because the Master's moral unimpeachability has remained unimpugned even by his bitterest enemies. "Which of you can convince me

of sin?" is a challenge ringing through the centuries of time.

BISHOPS ruling the Church of God need not turn to lay attire even as some in the ranks of the priesthood have now done purposefully concealing an identity of which they apparently are ashamed, masquerading in mufti and parading costumes incognito as flamboyant and psychedelic as a peafowl's. This then is their garb effectively concealing their role, their role of anointed Christian leadership bedecked now alas in habiliments as revolting as a courtesan's dyed in the deepest blue of meretricious lure.

If the State is a Commonwealth as Inna's philosophy would fain proclaim, privilege is a rank anachronism and the sooner its last vestiges are obliterated, the sooner will egalitarianism be established, the vaunted goal of socialist republicanism. Gone indeed is feudalism, crushed landlordism, the door is shown to capitalism. Menacingly hangs the sword of Damocles over every smiling private enterprise: state-owned and state-controlled is every gainful venture, industrial agricultural or Commercial. Deeper entrenched daily in human affairs is the bureaucracy, higher still and higher heads the hierarchical structure while lower and deeper in the morass sinks the proletariat preying now on morsels and handouts galore.

Privileges, Inna would concede, are man-made, God-endowed. The former legislation and administration can conjointly curb, control and eventually obliterate. They die hard: most humans are not like the rest of men and differentiation is the spice of life much sought after, much more dearly cherished and nourished. And when obliteration has eliminated every vestige of man-made privilege, the stage will be set for the establishment of the human zoo where all humanity will be acclaimed equal with some unashamedly more equal than the others. As to God-endowed privileges or natural gifts, these neither legislators nor bureaucrats nor clauques can long suppress however oppressive they might otherwise be. It is these that administrators should specially seek to discover and develop and legislators foster with sizable subventions whether in the realms of music, liter-

ature, science or the manipulative arts. The human zoo would be the richer and happier for such recognition and encouragement.

As to *allas*, the ungazetted privilege of Lanka's minions of State, it is against this misgotten gold, this black enormity with which nativised Lanka is filled to surfeit, that high-souled Inna and his *sevana* sevakas should rail with might and with main, but the caravan will pass on heedless until cupidity is expunged from the heart of man and the Greek Kalends are seen to arrive.

—Esses

Colombo,
19. 1. 76.

KAZI—41

In The Galewela Area

BY ANATORY BUKOBA

6, December,

Sunday was spent writing Kazi, while the life of the Estate went on around me, and I found it strange writing and not being involved with what was going on and seeing for myself what went on. Monday, a working day, saw our forces split between the subsidiary crop section and cleaning a *katuwa* fence that stretched across the estate. Axes and knives were used, and even mammoths. What was cleaned away seemed to fall into three groups: the smaller, lighter stuff, which we hoped would make manure for the trees; good straight branches for which a use might be found; the rest, which was firewood, good stuff. So there were three sorts of heaps stacked neatly along the fence. We sold the firewood at Rs. 3/- a yard, which meant a yard of stacked wood of a similar length and we made a tidy little sum on it. Someone came with a cart and took it away. We seemed set for a long spell of dry weather, when five minutes ago it started to rain. The roof of a house—building was put on this morning.

My trip to Galewela, was done for the pleasure of it, and I was not disappointed. There was the usual late start. By good luck I caught two express buses and made some of the time. First I went to Wahacotte. A sort of *Mystique* attaches to this place, for it is said

Wahakotte

to have been a refuge for Catholics and Portuguese during the Dutch persecutions, but I think anybody there today would call themselves Sinhalese to a man, wherever they are not Moor or Tamil. There is a relic of a siege atmosphere about this place, and even today no-one dare to ring the church bell after 6 p.m. One or two people, inexperienced curates, for example, have done it by accident to their cost. If anyone dies during the night, the customary tolling of the bell has to wait till the morning. A place of pilgrimage though this is, it is nothing for a would-be passenger to have to wait hours for a bus, and yet I saw four buses going in the same direction within an hour, while nothing seems to have gone in the opposite direction in twice that time. So it was my first night, and it was perishingly cold, so cold, that I went along to a house where I thought there was an acquaintance. The people there turned out to be relatives of people I knew. I asked them if they would give me some tea, and it was forthcoming almost at once. Then it was a case of with them to their relations, where a light was on now that was not there before. The young man was abed, and the radio on. He was most and insistent that I stay the night, at least, that I should go along to his mother's for a meal. How this would be possible when the whole village seemed asleep, I was soon to learn, for the house opened up and dinner was forthcoming instantly. I returned to the road, and five minutes later a bus came along. While I was eating, a van had come and picked up a man who had been waiting along with me for the bus. Now this man had a van waiting near the bus terminus, his own van, in which he had promised me a lift about two miles on, quite near the place where I hoped to stay the night, and so I missed him sorely, but I was not unduly worried. The bus I caught went fast down the hill, maximum speed on the straight, and not one with slower on the bends. In the dark it was difficult to say how acute the angles were, those bends, but I was never less worried in my life, and it may have been St. Anthony's influence up the hill. We came down so fast, that when we debussed, I had not been a half-minute on the road, at the junction, when along came a vehicle, a van, with my friend at the wheel.

I had not far to walk from where he dropped me, or at least, not anywhere near the distance I might have had to walk.

This man had told me many things, among others, how his sister had been bitten by a *polanga*; this in an effort to discourage me from leaving Wahakotte that night where I was due back early the next morning. His mother lived beyond the house I was going to, and when the vegetation was overgrown, it was not a nice path to walk along at night. His sister had had a torch, too, when she was bitten.

The next morning, when I met the sister, she thought I read palms when I told her a bit of her life. She was particularly taken aback about the *polanga* incident. As it seems that people, particularly women perhaps and more especially young girls I suppose, do not like to talk about it when they are bitten. It seems they keep it a secret, a dark family one. I indignantly disclaimed the ability to read palms, and I said I would have nothing to do with anything of that sort, and that I was much averse to trying to foretell the future. When she asked, then how did I know? I said it was my business to know a few things, and I promised to come to tea that evening. By that time, she had guessed the source of my information.

There was a girl up studying when I arrived, and her brother was doing his own bit of paper work in bed. They were well used to my nocturnal arrivals, and they were not even surprised when I said I had to be away before dawn. That night was really cold. I was back at Wahakotte the next morning with fifteen minutes to spare. I had next to shave, and the house where I shaved gave me hoppers for breakfast. Then it was on to the house where I had dinner, people whom relatives had known me when I was small child, relatives who had almost seen me grow up. A second breakfast was not to be denied, homemade hoppers again. Then I walked the whole way to Galewela and I was lucky, for not one bus passed me on the way; and there had been a large crowd waiting for a bus at Wahakotte. It was not the season, and so there were no pilgrims to make up the crush.

That evening I bathe at a well where the level of the water was

flush with the ground. The house where I stayed had a small living room which could also serve as a dining room for guests. Beyond it was a bedroom, and it was the only bedroom the house had. On one side there was a room which could more correctly be described as a corridor. It had two beds. In front of the drawing room, which I described as a living room, there was a semi-closed in verandah. At the back there was a large kitchen which was really a separate structure, in two rooms, the kitchen itself almost enclosed in, the other room with a long bench against the wall, and a table. The family had never thought of inviting me to the kitchen; after a few visits I decided to intrude. That night I lay on a mat in the verandah and heard a deep voice repeating *Lanka* several times, and he drew a chorus of laughter each time. It was obvious he was imitating someone, probably a schoolmaster, and as I was in the verandah and the family was in the bedroom, I could not hear what was said. When I asked for a repeat performance the next day, this was greeted with much merriment, and the act was obviously too good to be repeated. This was a very close family. We went places one day, just taking our time, and we were most fortunate with buses. The chief attraction was a farm which came under the Colombo Plan.



Paris Metro Hazards

Paris is by far not the safest city in the world, writes the *British Weekend*. There is more than enough risk not only in the narrow streets of Montmartre and the shaded alleys of parks but also in the Metro. The number of crimes committed there has increased so much that the police have opened six special "action stations". In 1972 there were 2,000 emergency police calls to the Metro. Last year the figure was 50,000.

NOT SO UGLY AMERICAN -- 2

Rev. John Bicknell

by R. C. Thavarajah

Retd. Supdt. of Police

BUILDING THE INNER MAN. The concept of building a complete personality in a student was his chief motivating purpose. He scoffed at the "absurd pretensions of mere learning". He opened new vistas elevating the young mind from the narrow confines of secularism and the morass of crass, commercial gains. He inculcated a correct sense of values. He used to tell us the story of an unmitigated parsimonious 'Scrooge' who was so self-centred that, when he started making enormous profits as a boutique-keeper, he gave no thought to anyone or anything but MONEY—the only commodity in this world to which the Law of Diminishing Utility does NOT apply. He did not live long in spite of his sanctimony. "Born a Man but died a boutique keeper"—Do you boys want this to be said of you when you die? he used to ask this with resounding rhetoric intonation. He utilized the effect of simple anecdotes and parables to emphasise a point in that pleasantly penetrating and didactic style of speech which indubitably cast an indelible impression on our minds.

"John, don't forget to wash BEHIND your ears" His mother used to tell him this and he wanted us all to heed that advice. It is not the facade of a clean face that matters. He wanted the 'inner man' to be free from dirt—especially in areas where soap and water seldom reach.

CORRECT APPROACH TO CORRECTION. Always a stickler for the observance of Rules, his attitude towards enforcement did NOT typify the severity of unimaginatively and sadistically punitive. He was too tall for such low depths. Unfortunately, today there are many who try to be tall by cutting the heads of others. Observance of the "Lord's Day", the "Sabbath" (Sunday) was of particular significance to him. The Rev. Billy Graham, who also hails from North Carolina, in his delectable article in the Reader's Digest of February, 1974 quotes Mac LENNAN "Under pressure, our lives tend to lose their HARMONY. We need something to sound an

"A" to restore that harmony. The Lord's Day is given to us by GOD to listen for that pitch." This is consonant with what Swami Shantanand wrote in his inestimable book entitled SUBRAMANYA, "The Law of ABSOLUTE HARMONY is what is known as DHARMA. Except man, everything in the Universe abides by the will of the great Law instinctively, but man, whom the Creator has moulded in HIS own image and who ought to under this Law with his intelligence, abide by it".

As school boys, we were not aware of the great man's religious adherence to the rule that the Sunday designed for 'sacred idleness' for REST, which according to Henry Wordsworth Longfellow is "to will what God doth will is the ONLY science that gives us Rest". Under the mistaken belief that the Head of the School had gone to Colombo for the weekend on official work, some of us sneaked out to the College Green as the playground was termed those days for a spot of tennis ball cricket. Our morning's joy was shattered when the man himself emerged from his bungalow, strode out angrily and held me by the shoulders. My playmates, who were more fleet-footed than I and who had spotted him in time, had made their escape leaving me with the 'encumbrances' of the wooden bat which I had fashioned out of what was left over from a soap box, the tennis ball which had seen better days and the sticks which we used for the wicket. Holding me firmly in his strong grip, he admonished me for breaking the rule. When I was almost at the point of tears, a smile brightened his benign face. As if to offer some comfort, he quickly asked with an all inspiring twinkle in his eye, "Boy, when do you think you will be able to play for the College First Eleven?"

That I did represent the First Team and made my humble contribution like the proverbial 'widow's mite' referred to in the Gospel according to St. Mark, Chapter XII, verse 42 which enabled us to win the Jaffna Inter-collegiate Cricket Championship some years later is of little or no consequence. What did matter was his unique and positive approach to correction—something of immense value which helped me after I left school and served the Police Department as Officer-

In-Charge of Police Stations, where I had men of various temperaments.

It is totally unnecessary to consider the discovery of a fault as a 'magnum opus'. It was the great PLUTARCH who said "To find fault is easy; to do better may be difficult." Unfortunately for us today, some bureaucratic bullies will make a big 'song and dance' about a sub-ordinate's fault, and strain every nerve, sinew and muscle to inflict maximum punishment with perverse pugnacity. Like little 'Napoleons' of administration, they may, after completing their 'campaigns', pose for the portrait painter concealing the 'hand' that did the great feat, little realising that "All the perfumes of Arabia will not sweeten the little hand." It is some consolation to Society that they do not run out of their bath tubs shouting "Eureka" using a Jerico Horn or shout out from the battle-front "I came I saw and I FIXED him."

SENSE OF JUSTICE. He believed in what Sweetman enunciated:—"JUSTICE, like lightning, ever should appear to few men's RUIN, but to all men's fear."

I am reminded of the 'tale of woe' related to him by one of the members of the tutorial staff. This gentleman, an extremely energetic individual with a large family used to augment his monthly stipend by cultivating vegetables, fruits and rearing poultry. Unfortunately for him, there were also some mischievous young elements in the boarding who were also augmenting their meagre fare served in the dining hall by making successful midnight raids most ingeniously planned and executed on this teacher's fowl run.

Unable to bear any further reduction to the population of his livestock, the irate teacher complained to the Head. He even mentioned the names of some of the suspects. Rev. J. B. sent for the suspects. Being "sent for" during our time was in effect a punishment by itself. It held a student in the torment of an ominous suspense. The principal removed his bifocal—a customary act which usually portended danger—and fixed a searching look on the suspects. Minutes passed. Not a word was said.

(To be Continued)

TO REMEMBER

Abraham Lincoln

Born 12-2-1809

by Prof. K. Kularatnam

THE DAWN of the 19th Century was still witnessing the westward movement of heavy covered wagons, blazing trails, exploring and discovering lands in the process of building an American economy out of a desolate and wild forested terrain. Among the intrepid pioneers was Thomas Lincoln from the hills of Kentucky and his wife, Nancy. Abraham Lincoln was born in a log cabin, the home of the Lincolns on 12-2-1809. Nancy died when Abe was only 9.

Abraham received hardly any formal schooling, but his University was the world of the wild west from whose fountains he drank deep. Between clearing the forest, ploughing the field and splitting timber, he read all he could reach. He mixed freely with people and studied human nature, becoming thereby great lover of humanity.

At the tender age of nineteen, this angular lad with strong arms embarked on the conquest of Nature; he subjugated the Mississippi river, boating down 1800 miles to New Orleans. With this feat, his physical courage strengthened, his moral and spiritual courage too grew. Eking out an existence as an odd-jobs man, he also studied law. At 25 he entered the State Legislature of his adopted home State of Illinois. He had meanwhile also gained experience as a soldier. His alert mind took advantage of every moment of leisure to devote to meditation, whereby he began to formulate his own political philosophy. No doubt his environment too influenced his thinking.

SLAVERY which he saw around him occupied his thought most. As a student of law he knew that it was contrary to the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. "If slavery is not wrong, nothing is wrong", he declared. With this uppermost in his mind he entered the Congress on his slogan, "Equal rights and free territory" and founded the Republican Party along with his associates.

In 1858 Lincoln contended for the Senatorship of Illinois against Stephen E. Douglas. Their famous

debates were listened to with absorbing interest. Lincoln argued that "no man had the right to be master of another", which pricked the conscience of the people and carried him to the eminent heights of prominence in the nation and this was eventually to bestow on him the Presidency of the United States of America. He was elected 16th President in 1861.

In his famous "House Divided" speech, he declared the vital prerequisite of National Unity for progress when he said "A Government cannot endure permanently half-slave and half-free."

AS PRESIDENT, Lincoln found himself faced with the tragic ordeal of the Civil War, the agony of a bitter four year struggle. But he was not swept off his feet. In the midst of the war, he signed the Emancipation Proclamation on January 1, 1863, to free the southern slaves. The war did agonise his heart. As a lover of humanity he was moved by wanton death. But he again turned it to good purpose, quite characteristically. Out of this grief was born the classic democratic ideal he gifted to the world when he proclaimed in 1863 that *this nation under God shall have a new birth of freedom, and...government of the people, by the people and for the people shall not perish from the earth.* a new dimension in political thought, which some developing countries of the modern world have still to learn, who have got into the idea that government is of some people, by some people for the same people.

Lincoln's prayer for Peace was answered and it came in 1865 and the country was united again, to remain so thereafter as a fitting tribute to his guiding philosophy of, *with malice to none; with charity for all...let us strive to...bind up the nation's wounds...to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.*

Only five days after the end of hostilities he was martyred and glorified so that he may belong not only to America but to all mankind and all races and all ages to illuminate the world with the truth that *Each man is created equal in the sight of God and should have equal opportunity to fashion his destiny.*

So also, true nationhood and progress can be achieved only when the political philosophy of national harmony and *unity in diversity* is attained. *Those who gang up in hate against another class, race, colour, linguistic or religious group, inevitably will turn their hate on each other the moment the first object of their hate is removed.* This is a lasting lesson of history!

May we hope and pray on this hallowed day of Lincoln's birth that the world will see the beginning of the establishment of peace at all levels; communal, national, international, through a universal revival of the ideals for which, Lincoln, Gandhi and many others had sacrificed their lives.

Tolstoy described Lincoln as "one he wanted to be great through his smallness—he wanted to see himself in the world, not the world in himself."

"If we are to go forward at all, we have to go forward together."

On the 12th of February, people from many lands and varying backgrounds join together to celebrate the birthday of this great man. Having risen to the highest position in his own country he went on to become a universal figure, for the world has taken the story of Lincoln as its own. He belongs to all people, everywhere, for all time.

The present writer's introduction to Lincoln goes back to over twenty years when, between his residence and the campus of the University of Missouri at Kansas City (where he taught) he used to pass daily the bullet-marked walls of houses where the battle of Westport was fought during the Civil war. That was when he used to hear intimate anecdotes of Lincoln and his times from local residents.

Football Fraud

Ten thousand football fans in Rouen (France) could not believe their eyes when they saw the local eleven rout the famous Brazilian Athletic de Santos team by 10-0. The management of the Rouen club decided to investigate and found that the visitors were not the celebrated Santos but merely beginners recruited by enterprising businessmen.

Confidentially

C.M.U. And Lake House

IS IT ANY SURPRISE that the affairs of Lake House figured very prominently at the annual general meeting of the Ceylon Mercantile Union (CMU) held on February 4 this year? That in reporting this the *Daily Mirror* of February 16 stated that "the SLFP-controlled trade union in Lake House had rapidly lost its membership: that the original membership of 700 had declined to 200 and that this alone demonstrated the dissatisfaction and restlessness among the employees of that Union"? That the main resolution adopted at the CMU branch meeting was that the Government should conduct a complete inquiry into the state of the Company after it was taken over by the Government? That it was stated this demand was made in the interests of both the management and the employees? That the CMU resolution has stressed that the inquiry should be conducted with particular reference to mismanagement and various acts of commission and omission? That the resolution was unanimously accepted by the meeting? That among the charges made by the CMU branch against the present management are: (1) that in spite of the assurance given by the Prime Minister on the floor of the House, a large number of old hands have been discontinued in a high-handed way disregarding any respect for fairplay and justice? (2) That the management has, despite the repeated requests made by the CMU branch, which comprises about two-thirds of the employees of the Company, failed to give shares of the Company to its employees and had failed to appoint a Workers' Advisory Council, both of which are in keeping with the declared policies of the Government: and that the management has even failed to acknowledge the receipt of these demands? (3) That the management has withdrawn rights, privileges and other benefits which the employees had enjoyed in the past for many years? (4) That the appointment of inexperienced and ill-equipped personnel, who are

members of a certain clique that is attempting to foster cliquism within the Government to posts previously held by well-qualified and experienced personnel has caused disquiet and dissatisfaction among the employees? (5) That the Company has rapidly been converted to a losing concern by waste, mismanagement, corruption and favouritism in spite of the fact that since the take-over advertising rates and newspaper prices have been steeply increased? (6) That several directors of the Company have openly told employees' representatives that it was doubtful whether the Company could make a profit sufficient to declare dividends to shareholders? (7) that it seems to appear that waste and misappropriation of the Company's funds were taking place with the connivance of certain Directors? (8) That the management has attempted to mislead the Prime Minister, the Government, the National State Assembly and the people by submitting false information to the Prime Minister? (9) That the management has adopted a suspicious attitude to a section of the Government? (10) That dissatisfaction and restlessness among the employees is well demonstrated by the fact that a Union affiliated to a SLFP trade union organisation has rapidly lost its membership: that the original membership of 700 has now declined to 200? (11) That the prevalence of a situation as depicted by the above enumerated grievances, waste, maladministration and corruption, is not beneficial to the Government in view of the forthcoming Non-Aligned Conference and the Prime Minister's decision to hold an election next year? **That the CMU branch wanted the inquiry to be conducted by a body composed of men enjoying the confidence of the employees? That the copies of this resolution have been sent to the Prime Minister, Ministers, MPs and the Public Trustee?** That another resolution has demanded that investigations should be carried out into the assets of those in charge of management and of those who have got sudden promotion under the new management? That in this connection it would be interesting to read some tidbits (not highlighted in the Lake House papers) from the annual report and accounts for the year January

1974 to December 1974 presented at the last annual general meeting of the Company? That excerpts from the "Comments" of the Auditor General on the accounts make exciting reading? That he stated that "on a test audit, it was observed that 47 payment vouchers to the value of Rs. 1,463,722.00 were not available for audit"? That if a test (random) audit check revealed that over one million four hundred thousand rupees had been spent without proper vouchers and accounting, a full and complete audit check in respect of all payments may well reveal even greater audit deficiencies? That the Auditor General had noted that "in the previous period, overhead expenses, viz. editorial administration, general administration, circulation, transport and mechanical had been apportioned to the working accounts of the various newspapers and periodicals: that this year such an apportionment had not been done: That the total overhead expenditure of Rs. 17,245,320.00 on these items had been deducted from the total contribution of Rs. 19,117,608.00 from the newspapers and periodicals which had been arrived at after setting off direct costs? That it will be interesting to find out why such a change on the "basis of accounting" was adopted in 1974? That it will be also remembered that there has been big talk about the "improved" circulation (and influence) of Lake House papers after the take-over? That the Auditor General has in his "comments" set out the comparative figures and declared that "the percentage drop in the sales of newspapers and periodicals during the year under review works out to about 19 and 9 percent respectively"? That this drop was from the 1973 figures which had already registered a drop from the 1972 circulation figures? That it would be an interesting exercise to analyse and examine the accounts in the light of the comments of the Auditor General and other known facts? That one of the reasons urged for the takeover of Lake House was to ensure that readers got a square deal with adequate reading matter? That the biggest indictment against Lake House today is that its papers are now advertisements sheets not newspapers?



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