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Letter From The Editor

THOSE FAMILIAR WITH TRINCOMALEE AND ITS ENVIRONS will know that on the cover this week we have a picture of the daily scene at the hot water springs at Kanniya. What is unique about these springs is that within the compass of a hundred square feet we have seven springs with varying degrees of heat: from tepid, to warm, to very hot. Properly advertised it can become one of the lesser wonders of the world, but the people of Sri Lanka must be thankful that the Kanniya hot springs have not (yet) been handed over to FEECs-affluent foreign tourists as many of our beaches have been. When the foreign tourists take over, the ordinary (non-CRA) people of the soil are disinherited of their national wealth: they become aliens in their own land; or at best second or third class citizens. Whether the foreign exchange of the foreign tourists brings any real benefits to the country is a moot point, but there is no doubt that, in the long run, tourism in a developing country like Sri Lanka, (which has to import most of the facilities and goods tourists utilise and buy), does more harm than good. If Sri Lanka produced at least 50 to 60 percent of these goods, then something can be said for the kind of tourism which is being promoted in this country. Unfortunately, apart from scenic beauty, the beaches, and the sunshine, there is little else the country produces for the tourist. Even the batiks about which so much fuss is made as a foreign exchange-earner depends a great deal on imports—cotton yarn, dyes and what not. Has anybody really sat down to work out the percentage which accrues to Sri Lanka from every dollar, or pound, or deutschmark, or yen, a foreign tourist spends during his sojourn in the island? The statistical studies undertaken in Geneva about the benefits which developing countries get from tourism indicate that at this stage Sri Lanka gets no more than a meagre comprador commission (of 10 to 30 percent) for all its troubles—not the least being the creation of a new brahmin caste consisting of FEECs-tourists and parasitical CRA upstarts. We have, with didactic vehemence, preached about the evils of tourism in this developing country of ours, on so many occasions in the recent past that this subject has now perforce become a veritable hobby-horse that might well be ridden to death. But about this, as in so many other matters, during the twenty one years since we began publication, we will continue to cry from what now may appear to be a wilderness, because we have found that the campaign for sane (and rational) thinking and action ultimately bears fruit. THE REASON WHY we have published this picture on our cover is to show the sad neglect of this hot spring which is patronised by many thousands of people who can be classified as local tourists. Some go to Kanniya to bathe in the sulphur springs because the waters have recuperative and curative qualities. A few visit the place because of the religious associations Kinniya and the hot springs have with the Hindu faith. But the vast majority of Sri Lanka people who visit the place go there as tourists on a picnic—it is an ideal sylvan spot for picnicking. Though some have assured us that some improvements have recently been effected in the hot wells of Kanniya by the local authority, we are aware that a great deal more has to be done to make the place cope adequately and appropriately with local tourist traffic. This, the local authority in Kinniya will not have the funds to do. It is matter for the Ministry of Tourism which indulges in high talk (from time to time) of "doing the maximum" to promote local tourism and to "cater to local tourists". The danger about suggesting that the Ministry should step in to develop Kanniya as a centre for local tourists is that some misguided bureaucrat will launch a programme with a vast expenditure to make Kanniya another outpost for the foreign tourist with the customary advertising baloney about its legendary past from the days of Ravana to the present times where illnesses of the affluent FEECs-rich could be cured overnight by bathing in the Kanniya hot springs' water. There are also several other hot springs within a twenty miles radius of Kanniya, but none of them have the distinction of having seven springs grouped together with varying temperatures. Whilst it must be admitted that grudging attempts have been made to cater to local tourists in a small way at different places in the island, there is not the slightest doubt that a great deal more has to be done and must be done. There are real and solid benefits to be derived from local tourism, especially if rail, boat and canal traffic are developed in the island and around its coastal waters. The Colombo-Puttalam canal will be an excellent communication line to develop low-cost local tourism. Small coastal vessels can take local tourists at cheap rates to a large number of places to which they now go at much greater cost by special buses. And if the rail services are improved local tourism will also be greatly benefited. One of the greatest benefits that will stem from local tourism is that it will siphon excessive inflationary money in the country into local expenditure. It will not push up the cost of essentials.

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EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

A Darkening Horizon

THE PRIME MINISTER, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, returned to the island on Monday, February 2, after a tour of three neighbouring states viz. Indonesia, Thailand and Burma. By all accounts it was a triumphal trip in the course of which Non-alignment, Regional Co-operation and Economic Emancipation were emphasised. The dangers stemming from Big Power rivalry in the Indian Ocean was also highlighted. Inspiring joint communiques were issued at the conclusion of the visit to each of the three countries. The Prime Minister also visited Buddhist shrines in these countries. Of the three countries, only Indonesia is part of the Non-aligned Movement. Thailand has now developed a new-found admiration for nonalignment but has not yet joined the ranks of the nonaligned; and Burma has kept aloof from non-alignment so far, while pursuing a kind of neutrality of its own. Indonesia and Thailand are members of the five-nation Southeast Asian ASEAN, but Burma was not in any grouping although she is regarded as being part of both the South Asia as well as the South-east Asia regions. This tour of the Sri Lankan Prime Minister to these three countries (it had not been possible to make the trip to Malaysia and the Philippines) is not doubt a kind of triumphal curtain-raiser for the forthcoming Nonaligned Summit scheduled to meet in Colombo in mid-August.

Whilst feverish preparations are going in Colombo on for the NAC summit, there are dark and ominous signs on the horizon which the Government cannot afford to ignore. Emergency Regulations by themselves cannot contain the growing forces of discontent, frustration, resentment, and even indignation among important sections of the community. The disillusionment among the urban middle classes has reached a pitch where they openly speak about the inability of this Government to win the 1977 elections. Important members of the Bureaucracy and some of the best known personalities in the Establishment have already begun to take steps to adjust themselves to the new situation that will unfold itself

after the next elections. Bureaucrats are today more unwilling than ever to take decisions—they do not want to tread on any toes before the outcome of the next elections can be foreseen—and this has led not merely to a general state of apathetic lethargy but definitely to a near-paralysis of the Administration. **The Government must take serious note of the early warning signals that have appeared all around us indicating that unless something was done immediately there would be a virtual breakdown in the administrative machine in the not so distant future.**

One of the first symptoms of a period of stress are lightning strikes which erupt seemingly in the most spontaneous manner. There was one at the Kurunegala branch of the CTB, caused, it is alleged, by the irresponsible behaviour of an important bureaucratic chieftain in the regional office. The Chairman had rushed to the scene and prevented the strike spreading to other depots. In the Government Press, the trouble has become chronic. It is a sad state of affairs when the Government is not able to bring out its official Gazette or even print the *Order Paper* for a parliamentary sitting. The Minister in charge, in the most blustering manner, has sought to blame agitators and Leftists, but anybody who is not trainted with the miasma of McCarthyian anti-Communism will realise that bureaucrats who blundered and politicians who unthinkingly supported them must take the blame of the strike. There is a muddle about trade apprentices in the Government Press because bureaucrats (and even the Minister himself) seemed to regard them as casual non-permanent staff. **The phobia about the Left seems to have begun to blind bureaucrats and politicians alike as in the days of the cold war champion, Sir John Kotelawela.**

Then, there was an outburst at the campus at Peradeniya. The reports in Lake House papers—as usual slanted and distorted—made it impossible for anyone to get a true picture of the situation. It was alleged that the President had been gheroa-ed into signing a document conceding certain student demands. The leaders of these students were later arrested and remanded. This led to a boycott of lectures and examinations and the virtual

shut-down of the campus. Saner counsel seems to have prevailed (at the last minute) and the situation has been retrieved from the brink. Though a state of normality has now been reached with the bait of the examinations dangled before the students, nobody can be happy about the manner in which University bureaucratism seems to flounder in a mess of its own creation.

The attempt by certain newspapers to allege that the latest rumpus at Peradeniya was a hangover of the unfortunate malady of ragging has certainly misfired. Parents and public alike were aghast at the stupidly bureaucratic manner in which the whole affair was handled. But it was also an indication that the students will no longer take things lying down. They have given notice that they will not put up with the high-handed actions of Ministry bureaucrats of poor calibre who now run our Universities with the collaboration of third rate academics (the best have left on the crest of the brain drain). Peradeniya has been the signal for many events in Sri Lanka in the current epoch—from the General Election of April 1956 (ushering in the Bandaranaike Revolution) right down to the Insurgency of April 1971 (when Youth began to assert itself in a self-defeating fury of anarchic terrorism).

THE MESS INTO WHICH PRIMARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION has fallen will bring tears to the eyes of even the most stony-hearted adherents of the Government. *Tribune* has pointed out, times without number, that the new system of education ushered in the Badiudin-Udagama era (culminating in the NCGE which will not be recognised in any other country bar Sri Lanka), was only an experiment making guinea pigs of generations of our young (in the belief that they were being emancipated from colonial-type culture). In the first year itself of this experiment, which may not last much longer than its originators, it has run into major difficulties. The majority of the textbooks on which the whole scheme is based are not available. They have not even been printed because the manuscripts are not ready.

A. Period Of Stress

The Minister of Information and Broadcasting, in a frank press interview, had met the insidious whisper campaign that the State Printing Corporation (which is under his Ministry) had fallen down on the job by stating that all the manuscripts handed in had been completed and delivered (although there were delays by the authors in reading proofs and in wanting to change whole chunks in the text). This information he placed before the public made it quite clear that the blame was with the Educational Publications Department which came under the Ministry of Education. Minister Baduidin, thereupon, acted promptly to do what was customary: he has appointed a Committee (high-powered according to the pro-government newsheets) to see how the mess had occurred and to make recommendations to remedy the default.

The resentment, nay the indignation, of parents, (not to speak of the children), who are being treated in this way cannot be overlooked by even the most lethargic bureaucrat or politician. The now much-despised GCE O-Level and A-level examinations were recognised by Universities throughout the world, but the Baduidin-Udagama NCGE will have glory only in the wilds of Bittenne. The public have been promised a new generation of emancipated youth, but the scheme has been buckled without the minima of textbooks. And what is worse the cost of the textbooks made available and the cost of the aids to give a vocational bias to education has driven parents into greater and greater debt—and has brought a new confrontation between state employees and the newly set up Credit Councils.

AND THIS BRINGS US to the strikes which erupted in the Railways and the Port. (The strike at Petroleum was the outcome of bureaucratic high-handedness but the guilty administrator of petty rank had soon to eat humble pie and the strike was settled). In the Railways, the strike focussed attention on the total mishandling of the new legislation regarding Credit Councils. The aim of this legislation was to wipe out indebtedness among public servants (in a bid to minimise corruption), to

encourage thrift and to relieve the Treasury of the burden of advances to public servants.

The Regulations which have been drawn up by the bureaucrats defeat the aim and purpose of the Credit Council's Law—and the loans public servants had expected were not forthcoming but what was worse was that even the usual advances which they used to get, without any difficulty, had been refused. This was the main cause of the strike in the CGR and it very nearly spread to other departments. Postal and telecommunications workers were on the brink of pulling out on the same issue, but Ministerial statements and assurances have temporarily brought back a state of semi-normality. The bungling of the Credit Councils is a clear warning signal that the bureaucratic machine has begun to falter on its tracks.

If this state of affairs continues, with strikes on the one side and the general paralysis overtaking the administration on the other, it is difficult to see what the situation will be in the next few weeks and months. And the nonaligned Conference is only just around the corner! The General Secretary of the CFL (LSSP), Mr. Batty Weerakoon, has openly uttered another warning that a wave of strikes would erupt by March—if the Government did not wake up from its Rip-Van Winkle sleep. And the situation cannot be remedied by sensational governmental seizures as in the case of the Colombo Commercial Co. Ltd. It is pointless shutting the stable doors after the horses had bolted. Idi Amin had done better. He did not let "the bloodsuckers" get away with the loot. But we in Sri Lanka seem to dance an Ugandan jig after the loot has disappeared.

Even more inauspicious is the fact that the minority problem continues to remain unsolved. The frustrations stemming from the Tamil minority problem continue with greater intensity than ever before, but at the moment below the surface. To this must be added the Muslim minority problem which has begun to emerge into the open in a few places like Panadura, Beruwela, Gampola and now Puttalam. The Government, and especially the SLFP, does not seem

to have any solution to the problem of national minorities.

In this connection, it is interesting to note that there has been serious re-thinking in CP and LSSP circles. At the last Party Congress, the CP edged closer to its old policy of having autonomous regions in Tamil areas within a unified state; and, it has stopped blaming the "FP reactionaries" solely for the growing resentment among the Tamils. The Aththa has warned the Government that it must adopt new policies within the framework of Bandaranaikeism in order to resolve the Tamil problem.

The LSSP, which had been even more vehement in condemning the FP and TUF as being solely responsible for the growing revolt among the Tamils, now seems to view the matter in more realistic terms. There have been numerous comments in LSSP papers indicating a change in their thinking.

The UNP still has no policy with regard to the minorities, but it has succeeded in maintaining good relations with influential sections of the political circles among Tamils and the Muslims. The UNP moreover has not displayed any brash symptoms of raw communal chauvinism—and the UNP probably hopes that with administrative action it would be able to normalise relations as between the different communities in the island.

To give our readers an idea of the developing trends of thought in this matter we publish two articles: one from the LSSP paper, *Nation*, 30/1/76, entitled THE DEMAND FOR A SEPARATE STATE. It is by AMALI—a pseudonym of a political theorist who is aware of the currents and under-currents in Tamil world. The other article entitled MUST WE SEPARATE? is by K. Nesiiah, a liberal moderate who reflects the upsurge of current Tamil nationalism.



FROM THE "NATION"

The Demand For A Separate State

By AMALI

The Tamil United Front has announced its intentions, to step up the campaign for what it calls the 'liberation of Tamil Eelam', through the establishment of a Separate Tamil State. The demand itself may appear to be far-fetched, unrealistic, impracticable and even suicidal. A good number of the Tamils themselves, may not be sanguine about the prospects of this campaign. The Government of the day may tend to ignore the cry in its cocksureness of the strength and capacity of its own repressive organ to deal effectively with any 'Tamil nonsense'. Nevertheless, the demand itself is nothing other than the manifestation, on the part of the Tamil minorities, of their resentment against the discriminatory acts of the Government and apprehension about their own future in a United Sri Lanka. Their resentment is justified and they have reason to be apprehensive. The question of national minorities remains an unsettled one.

Though communal differences have plagued our country for several years, communal discrimination and the struggle against it do not constitute the essence of our recent history. Indeed, to say so will be to take a very narrow and thoroughly misleading view of our own history, the essence of which has been and continues to be the struggle against imperialism and capitalism. It is, perhaps, correct to say that communal differences preceded the beginning, in a significant form of the struggle against imperialism and capitalism. There is also some truth in the view that the history of constitutional development, under the British, has been largely a record of attempts to compose the differences between the Sinhalese and Tamil communities!

PROBLEM OF HEGEMONY. Again, the very nature of our anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist struggle, and the circumstances under which it took place, aggravated and brought to surface, sometimes in violent forms, the

expression of communal hostilities. This could not have been otherwise, in the Sri Lanka context, with the Sinhala petit-bourgeois intelligentsia playing the leadership role in the anti-imperialist—anti-capitalist struggle. The Sinhala petit-bourgeois intelligentsia suffers from cultural limitations, in its own conception nationhood means the hegemony of the majority over the minority, its own nationalism is nothing other than linguistic or religious chauvinism. Superimposed on this is the reluctance, on the part of the Tamil intelligentsia, to view the integrated nation as anything other than the establishment of the hegemony of the majority. Sinhala petit-bourgeois chauvinism and the crisis-ridden capitalist economy combined to subject the Tamil minority to abject racial discrimination. The response of the Tamil intelligentsia was no less chauvinistic. It isolated itself and the bulk of the Tamil community from the mainstream of national politics. The Tamils politically estranged themselves from the broad Left movement that was in the forefront of the anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist struggle. The accredited Tamil leaders were found to be antipathetic and even opposed to the progressive measures directed against British imperialism and capitalism.

The campaign for a separate state is being launched on the basis that there is no other alternative solution to the communal problem, that will be acceptable to the Tamils. In understanding the problem, the Tamil intelligentsia, even those who are not motivated by direct class interests, goes completely off the mark. They tend to explain the communal conflict in terms of biological or organic inevitability. Politically, they attempt to trace the origins of the present conflict to the pre-Portuguese era. To them, Sinhala petit-bourgeois chauvinism is a permanent and indestructible fact of life. They do not see the underlying economic courses; the crisis in the capitalist system that aggravates the communal differences. Their attitude to capitalism is largely their reaction to the Tamil capitalist leaders, with whose performances they are disappointed and whose sincerity they doubt. They lack the theoretical clarity and have not undergone the

full process of rationalisation. Their aversion to capitalism and affinity towards Socialism do not stem from an internal intellectual struggle or positively subjective class interests. They are Tamilianocentric and obscurantist, incapable of breaking through the racial barriers and incapable of contemplating any solution to the Communal problem other than the division of the country. They go further and seek to nationalise their racist claims by quoting Marxist thinkers on their National Question, without knowing the quintessence of Marxism.

IS UNIFICATION IMPOSSIBLE?

Are the Sinhala and Tamil communities inherently incapable of unification into a single nation with common interests? Communal differences are not irresolvable, though there are instances in history when such differences have resulted in irremediable cleavages. There are nation states where different linguistic and religious groups live in peace and harmony and with common interests. The boundaries of nation states are not always founded on linguistic or religious considerations. Nationalism has in many cases, turned into narrow chauvinism and led to the formation of plural societies within a simple nation. Therefore, the satisfactory resolution of communal differences among different ethnic groups resident in a country is not a phenomenon that is unknown to history. This is a bourgeois democratic task that could be accomplished, though not perfectly, even before the advent of Socialism.

Every form of solution propounded by Tamil leaders, from a purely communal stand point, and ranging from Fifty-Fifty to Federalism, has failed to produce any dividend. Resort is now being made to an extreme form of solution—the establishment of a separate state. We have already shown that the choice of the separate state solution is, by no means, a historical inevitability. Indeed in our own country, we are already having the first anticipation of the future Sri Lanka nation in the small community of our urban and westernised middle class.

Be that as it may, what are the merits of the separate state solution, from a pragmatic point of view? What is the lesson of history with regard to the right of self-

determination of national minorities? There is no right of 'auto-determination'—i.e. the right to decide freely their political economic and social status—available to a national minority. In practice, only when the minority is sufficiently large to be capable of actually threatening the majority, the right of self-determination becomes meaningful. We cannot forget the experience of the Karens and the Shans in Burma; the tragic defeat of the Ibos in Nigeria; the failure of the separatist demands of the DMK, the Nagas, the Kashmiris and others in India. It would be absurd to elevate to the level of a theoretical absolute, the experience of the formation of Pakistan or Bangladesh.

NATIONAL MINORITIES. We may sum up our position as follows. There exists in this country the yet unresolved problem of national minorities. The resolution of this problem is, however, no longer a bourgeois democratic task. The quintessence of our contemporary politics is the struggle against imperialism and capitalism. The struggle against communal oppression becomes an important part of this general struggle. For, we cannot speak of a Socialist society where Tamil minorities are discriminated against, and we cannot conceive of total emancipation of these oppressed minorities without the establishment of a Socialist Society.

It is impossible to conceive of a minority organisation fighting solely for the liberation of minorities in supreme isolation from the surrounding class struggle. It will, sooner or later, be forced to take sides. Indeed, the experience of the Federal Party clearly shows that the party first succumbed to chauvinism and then sided with reaction. What is more, the Federal Party has not come anywhere near one realization of its cherished objectives. The rest of the Tamil intelligentsia, the youths in particular, who are disillusioned and disappointed with the old leadership, must, in order to improve on the situation, go beyond the mere displacement of that leadership. They must disenfranchise themselves, ideologically. The struggle for the liberation of the Tamil minorities must be grafted into the anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist struggle of the progressive forces. Such a grafting will be the precursor of a United Socialist Sri Lanka.

It must be remembered, however, that the dominance of Sinhala petit-bourgeois in the broad progressive movement, since 1956; the discriminatory actions of the present government; and the corruption and nepotism practised by unprincipled Tamil political upstart supporters of the Government have also contributed towards the alienation of the Tamil intelligentsia from the established left Movement. But their antipathy towards the Left is not the same as that of the Westernised Colombo-based Tamil leaders. They are not motivated by direct class interests. Therein lies the hope for the future. The Tamil Youths ought to be helped to extricate themselves from racialism.

This cannot be achieved by lay preaching from Left pulpits. Genuine leftists and working class parties ought to show a more positive approach to the question of national minorities. This becomes important from the point of view of any future class struggle. No class struggle, worth its name, can be launched without the active participation of the Tamil plantation workers; the traditionally quiet society of Jaffna is undergoing turbulent transformation and unless revolutionary outlets are provided for the pent-up youthful energy, the consequences will be catastrophic. A direct campaign against oppression in such matters as the question of—political rights and political prisoners; the plight of the plantation workers; the prevalence of discrimination and nepotism in the fields of education and employment, must be immediately and necessarily launched.

TAMIL NATIONALISM

Must We Separate?

by K. Nesiah

On this 27th anniversary of the martyrdom of Mahatma Gandhi we may, with Romain Rolland, say that Gandhi incarnated the spirit of India and that at his bidding the nation came back to life. He regained for his people more than the liberty of their country. He recaptured for his countrymen the vision of a land which was spiritually one from Himalayas to Kumari. He embodied this unity

in his own person and through foot-journey and ceaseless writing carried the twin messages of emancipation and unity to the remotest corner of the land. Said he: "What do you think could have been the intention of these foreseeing ancestors of ours who established Rameshwar in the South, Jagnath in the East and Hardwar in the North as places of pilgrimage? They saw that India was one undivided land so made by nature." When Britain super-imposed a nation-wide political and administrative system in India it was but a fulfilment of the fundamental cultural and spiritual unity which was the message of her history.

Sri Lanka too, we may well claim, has been made one by her geography, by shared cultural traditions and now by common statehood. Says Fr. Thani Nayar: "For the existence and interpenetration of these cultures, there is no better evidence than a religious shrine like Kathirgamm held sacred by Hindus, Buddhists and Muslims, located in the southernmost part of Ceylon, and the religious shrines of the Buddhists located in Nainativu, a northernmost outpost of the island, held sacred by Hindus also." The British Occupation reinforced this basic unity by a common administration and the concept of the Rule of Law which made all citizens equal. The development of nation-wide education and communication of every kind further promoted mental homogeneity. If we understand the cumulative message of our history, it would read: Several traditions, one civilization; four religions, one people; two languages, one voice!

The Tamil movement for self-determination, far from being in conflict with the conception of a Lanka undivided, could well take us on the road to greater unity. Witness the historical record: "At a time when the Sinhalese were prepared to do without Sinhala, the battle for Sinhala and Tamil was fought by Tamil leaders, helped in some measure by Englishmen like the Rev. A. G. Fraser." (Pref: J. E. Jayasuriya). The first clear call for full independence was sounded by the Jaffna Youth Congress to counter the Denoughmore half measure. Walter Schwarz, in his M.R.G. Report, observes with great discernment that, till the present, the Tamils tended to see their status as similar to that of the

Scots and Welsh. If Britain is planning a Devolution Bill and National Assemblies for Scotland and Wales to strengthen the Union, Sri Lanka could learn from that. The recognition of French Canadian identity and the scrupulously equal status accorded to the French Language and French speaking citizens has enhanced the strength of the Canadian Union.

The present Tamil nationalism (and desire for separation) has risen in a very short period in respect to challenge, as Schwarz has pointed out. It is the inevitable consequences of 'Sinhala only' and 'Sinhalese only' as reflected in an unequal citizenship written into an unequal Constitution and a series of acts of racial discrimination. For long, far too long, have politicians in power taken the Tamil community for granted, and even Lanka's newly found nationhood for granted. But, in the last quarter of the 20th century, neither in Sri Lanka nor anywhere else, will any one agree

to be treated as a second class human with less equality and less dignity than his fellows and his ethno-cultural community as less equal than any other.

One may, however, question whether the moment has arrived this February Fourth to ask the National State Assembly to recognise "a mandate for the restoration and reconstitution of the free, similar, socialist State of Tamil Eelam"? Will it not be in the realm of wisdom to take a leaf from Mahatma Gandhi's suggestion in his draft constitution of 1920, on the eve of the Non-Co-operation Movement, "the goal of Swaraj within the British Empire if possible and without if necessary"? It has turned out that India is a sovereign Republic, but Empire too has changed into Commonwealth. Our goal then: "Within Sri Lanka, if possible; outside it, if necessary".

The fact is that the manner of historical change cannot be predicted with precision before the moment arrives. For one

thing, the Tamil Community must journey more miles to set its own house in order so as to bear the responsibility of separate statehood and develop too the moral power based on truth and ahimsa so as to earn and sustain that future.

At the same time, is it not still possible by the very manner in which we conduct the liberation movement, to suggest to the leadership of the Sinhalese Community to ponder over the obligations of belonging to the entire nation rather than to one community and be ready to enter into a meaningful dialogue with responsible Tamil leaders to work out a mutually acceptable settlement based on justice and reconciliation?

As we enter this age of global history, will not Sinhalese-speakers and Tamil-speakers capture afresh a vision of Sri Lanka true to herself and truly free.

CHRONICLE

Jan. 16 — Jan. 22

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—Aththa; SM—Siu-mina; SLD—Sri Lankadipa; JS—Janasathiya.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 16: Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Finance and Justice, addressing a meeting in his electorate referred to a statement by the President of the UNP, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, in which the latter said that he would change the constitution if the UNP is returned to power at the next general elections; Mr. Bandaranaike said that it was very unlikely that any party would get a two third majority that is necessary to change the constitution—CDM. The President of the Peradeniya Campus of the University decided against the closure of the Campus though the Senate decided to close the Campus and asked the students to vacate the halls of residence; the President had discussions with the student leaders—CDM. The Government yesterday assured the Government Medical Officers' Association that it would accept the resignations of 35 medical officers: earlier the Association was poised for trade union action following the refusal by the Department of Health to accept the resignations of thirtyfive doctors—CDM. Mr. Kenneth Ratwatte, Managing Director of Consolidated Commercial Agencies Ltd., which was taken over

by the Government yesterday, said that the process of putting into effect the government decision to take over the firm's assets valued at nearly Rs. 30 million was an entirely formal operation conducted with "extreme courtesy"—CDN. Mr. T. B. Illangaratne, Minister of Trade and Public Administration, left for Malaysia yesterday to attend the Malaysian Prime Minister's funeral on behalf of the Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike; on the orders of the Government all state institutions will fly the national flag half mast as a mark of respect to the late Malaysian leader, Mr. Tun Abdul Razak—CDN. According to the Government Printer all employees of the Government Press who were on strike had called off the strike and will report for work from today—CDN. A CTB bus and a passenger compartment of a train were set on fire in Kankasanturai yesterday and Police suspects sabotage in both these incidents—VK. The pillar that had been erected for the second time in remembrance of those who lost their lives at the International Tamil Conference in Jaffna was once again demolished on Tuesday by unknown persons: the TUF leaders who visited the place told Virakesari that they would be personally present and direct operations to put up another monument for the third time. The MP for Galigomuwa, Mr. P. B. Balasuriya, has complained to the Prime Minister that District Development Council do not function properly and state officials appointed to run these councils are unnecessarily wasting government funds—ATH. Famous Sinhala poet and artist, Mahagamasekera, died yesterday—DM. US Senate Intelligence Committee has drafted legislation which would allow the Senate to publicise any proposed secret US intelligence operations it considers improper, ill-advised or damaging to the national interest. Datuk Hussein was sworn in as Malaysia's third Prime Minister following the death

of Mr. Tun Abdul Razak in London. US Secretary of State Dr. Henry Kissinger would visit Moscow from January 20-23 and the trip is centred on an attempt to reach a Strategic Arms Limitation agreement.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 17: Following reports that the Air Ceylon's domestic flights are being run at a loss it had been decided to handover the domestic flights to the Air Force—CDM. Referring to a news item in the *Daily Mirror* of January 15, Mr. Pieter Keuneman, Minister of Housing and Construction, said that it was wrong to say that there were moves to oust him from the Cabinet: Mr. Keuneman said he only referred to some petitions to the Minister of Justice by house owners who disliked the Rent Act that he should be removed from the Cabinet—CDM. A three member team headed by Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwa, Minister of Agriculture and Lands, will begin talks on Monday with a British team regarding the compensation payable to sterling company estates that were nationalised last October: the other members of the team are Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Finance and Justice and Mr. Ratnasiri Wickremanayake, Minister of Plantations Industry: the British team will be headed by Mr. Stanley Tomlinson, who was British High Commissioner in Ceylon from 1966 to 1969—CDN. Peradeniya undergraduates were warned yesterday by the Ministry of Education that no examinations would be held for them next year if they fail to sit the examinations presently being conducted in the Campus—CDN. Mr. P. Manickavasagar, former MP for Kalkudah, died yesterday—DM. The Prime Minister and the President sent messages of condolence on the death of the Malaysian Prime Minister—LD. The *Janadina* referring to the decision of the Ministry of Education to remove socialism as one of the subjects in the GCE A Level examination syllabus editorially said that this was an attempt by reactionaries to block the message of socialism to the future generation: the editorial further said that this act of the reactionaries was very childish. The *Aththa* editorially praised the Government for the action against the Colombo Commercial Company whose principals in London failed to remit the proceeds of the tea sales to the Government of Sri Lanka: the editorial further said that such good turns by the Government would definitely be appreciated by the masses of this country. According to Soviet newspaper *Pravda* the failure of the recent special assembly of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) on Angola was partly because some African countries are still under the influence of the west. US Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, told America's European Allies that Western supported forces in Northern Angola near the border with Zaire have virtually collapsed. China accused the US and USSR, through its deputy representative in the UN, of pursuing a power struggle in the Middle East with neither seeking a real settlement.

SUNDAY, JANUARY 18: According to the *Sunday Times*, channelled consultation practice for government medical specialists is to be re-introduced throughout the island within the next two months: the Government has decided on the re-introduction to curtail the exodus of doctors from the island. According to the *Observer* a bi-partisan Foreign Investment Committee of the National State Assembly consisting of the Prime Minister, the Leader of the Opposition and 5 other members will be responsible for recommending any application approved by the Foreign Investment Authority and passed by the Cabinet: only after this commi-

tee's recommendation and after the application is passed by the NSA the Foreign Investment Authority will be empowered to enter into any agreements with the foreign investor. Mr. Lakshman Jayakody, Deputy Minister of Defence and Foreign Affairs, and the Chairman of the Narcotics Bureau Board, told the *Observer* that it would be silly to deny the drug menace in Colombo schools: he further said that the problem was there but not to alarming proportions and it is necessary to create an awareness about it. The Government appointed a committee headed by Mr. Pieter Keuneman, Minister of Housing and Construction, to oversee and direct all information, publicity and mass media activities in Sri Lanka in connection with the Non-Aligned Conference to be held in Colombo in August this year—CO. Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, will leave the island on Tuesday on her South East Asian tour: she will first visit Indonesia and from there to Thailand and Burma—CO. According to the *Silumina* the Mahaweli waters diverted to the dry zone on January 8 has almost filled Parakrama Samudra in Polonnaruwa and two large tanks in Giritale. According to the *Janasathiya* compensation for sterling company estates taken over last October by the Land Reform Commission will be paid in sterling pounds: the talks will commence tomorrow between a committee headed by Minister Hector Kobbekaduwa and a team of Britishers. The *Janasathiya* editorially said that Minister Kobbekaduwa had already informed the NSA that compensation for estates taken over from sterling companies would be in rupees and as such there was no necessity to have a debate on this matter: the editorial further said that it had been learned the British team which arrived in the island for talks on the compensation has insisted that compensation should be in sterling. The Commissioner of *Janata Committees* decided that in future all complaints against members of Janata Committees will be investigated thoroughly and any found guilty will be dismissed—SLD. It is very likely that the United States will use its power of veto if the United Nations Security Council recognises the Palestinian rights and call for the participation of the PLO in the Middle East peace talks.

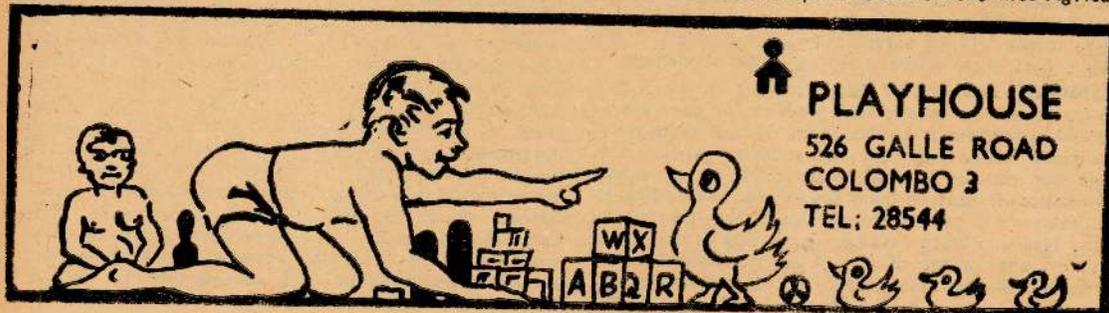
MONDAY, JANUARY 19: The politbureau of the LSSP decided that in its campaign against the SLFP it should first concentrate on SLFP MPs who are considered right wing members: the LSSP has already chosen 41 electorates represented by the SLFP for its campaigns—CDM. According to the *Daily News* in keeping with a budget proposal the Ministry of Finance decided that private companies which are prepared to broaden their ownership will be entitled to a concessionary tax rate of 40 per cent. Five senior government officers acting as competent authorities will take an inventory of assets of Consolidated Commercial Agencies Ltd., the estate agency house which was taken over by the Government last week under the Business Acquisition Act—CDN. The Ceylon Workers Congress has asked the Government that a clear-cut policy statement regarding the estate workers should be made by the Government: the CWC has asked for this following the take over of estates and the state of statelessness of estate workers being changed—YK. The Customs and the Police are investigating into an organised smuggling of dollar, sterling pound bills and opium to Sri Lanka by ships coming through Maldives Islands—DM. Several trade unions have protested to the Prime Minister and the Minister of Education on

the developments at the Peradeniya Campus of the University where students are boycotting examinations—LD. According to the *Janadina* Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Finance, decided to grant bigger loans under the Credit Council scheme only to those officers in Government service who draw bigger salaries: this is in contrast to what the former Minister of Finance, Dr. N. M. Perera, decided—JD. The Youth League of the Ceylon Communist Party commenting on the present situation at the Peradeniya Campus of the University said that this was a plan by reactionary forces to create a stir between the Government and university students—ATH. The *Aththa* editorially referring to talks on compensation for sterling company estates taken over by the Land Reform Commission said that during the British reign of these estates they have failed to provide even a decent dwelling for estate workers and if the Government is determined to put up new houses for estate workers the cost of all such buildings and other amenities which the Britishers failed should be deducted from the amount payable as compensation. President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania defended African support for Cuban and Soviet involvement in Angola but strongly denied that the Africans were fighting for communism: Zaire has formally notified the Soviet Union and Cuba of its decision to inform the UN Security Council of what it terms as acts of aggression by "the Soviet-Cuban coalition" in Angola.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 20: Dr. N. M. Perera, MP for Yatiyantota and former Minister of Finance, addressing a meeting in Mirigama said that when he became the Minister of Finance he had endeavoured to build the economy of the country on a systematic plan through various taxation proposals and fiscal measures but the present Minister of Finance was just destroying all what had been done to improve the country's finances—CDM. Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Finance, addressing a meeting in Divulapitiya said that it was false for certain political parties to classify sections in the SLFP as "right wing" and "left wing"—CDM. Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, addressing a condolence meeting held yesterday on the death of the Chinese Premier, Mr. Chou En-lai, said the late leader was one of the greatest of all world leaders considering the long period of his Prime Ministership and the service he did to his own people and the world—CDM. According to the *Daily News* the Ministry of Plantation Industry will be shortly entrusted with the management of more than half the estates taken over recently by the Land Reform Commission. The first stage of the probe into the affairs of the Colombo Commercial Company which was taken over last week commenced yesterday—CDN. The third test well

for oil exploration will be dug in Pesalal on January 24—CDN. The undergrads of the Peradeniya Campus at a special meeting on Saturday decided to continue their boycott of examinations until such time as those students who are on remand and those who have been suspected are allowed to sit their examinations along with others in the campus under normal conditions—CDN. The Ministry of Labour has made a ruling that all private sector establishments which employ more than 25 people should pay Rs. 15/- salary increase announced in the last budget from this month—VK. Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwa, Minister of Lands and Agriculture, decided to give 80,000 acres of land from those taken from company estates to landless peasants—DM. Mr. B. Y. Tudawe, Communist MP for Matara, and Deputy Minister of Education, addressing a meeting in his electorate said that there is no proper communist country in the world and it is impossible to think that Sri Lanka would become communist—LD. The strike at the Government Press still continues, according to the *Aththa*. Troops of the Soviet backed Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) have launched an offensive against the town of Luso.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 21: The British team engaged in talks over compensation to be paid for the company owned estates that were taken over by the Land Reform Commission is understood to be involved in some hard bargaining over the differences of quantum and currency: the British team is led by Mr. G. I. Glanville, Chairman of the Ceylon Association in London, and the Sri Lanka team by the Minister of Land, and Agriculture, Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwa—CDM. During a tour of the Trincomalee district Mr. K. B. Ratnayake, Minister of Transport, told a SLFP Youth League's rally that the present UF Government would never allow a division of the country—CDM. The Kandy Magistrate, Mr. P. Edirisooriya, refused bail for three students of the Peradeniya Campus of the University who were earlier remanded in connection with an alleged incident in the Campus in which the Campus President had been forced to sign a document conceding certain demands of the students—CDM. President Suharto of Indonesia, Cabinet Ministers and several other diplomats were present at the Jakarta Airport when the Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, arrived there yesterday on the first leg of her visit to South East Asian countries—CDM. Several UF trade unions have drawn the attention of the Government to a pledge given earlier to establish a worker's educational institute to enable working class citizens too to achieve degrees by the university—ATH. The Government has taken steps to establish the first Agricul



tural University at the Pelvehara agricultural training centre in Dambulla—LD. According to the *Dinamina* a separate court house will be set up soon to hear cases arising out of failure to pay income tax and other taxes imposed by the Government. The *Janadina* editorially said that slip of the bureaucrats had precipitated the present state of affairs in the Peradeniya Campus and this sickness had now spread to the other campuses too: the paper requested the Government to take positive steps to solve this problem before it could take alarming proportions: the students of the Vidyalkara and Vidyodaya university campuses boycotted lectures yesterday in support of the demands of the students of the Peradeniya Campus—VK.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 22: According to the *Daily News* all foreign investors will be conditional to the legal requirements that they enter into a joint enterprise with local entrepreneurs within at least 10 years from the date of commencement of their business in this country—CDN. Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, had discussions with the President of Indonesia, Mr. Suharto, on a wide range of subjects including the proposed zone of peace in the Indian ocean and the Non-Aligned summit in Colombo in August this year—CDN. All operational personnel of the Department of Railway struck work yesterday and this has resulted in several trains throughout the country coming to a halt: this follows a demand by employees regarding loan requirements under the credit council scheme: the railway hopes to run a skelton service today—CDN. Mr. D. B. I. P. Siriwardena,

Additional General Manager of Air Ceylon has been appointed Director of Civil Aviation on the recommendation of the Prime Minister: he will function in both posts—CDN. Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Justice and Finance, in a statement to the *Daily Mirror* referred to a statement by Mr. Pieter Keuneman, Minister of Housing and Construction, in which the latter said that petitions demanding the removal of the Housing Minister had been forwarded to the Justice Minister: Mr. Bandaranaike said that he had never received any such petitions addressed to him—CDM. It has been revealed at a top level conference of the CTB that due to the board's employees tampering with ticket machines and passengers travelling without tickets the Board is losing nearly Rs. 34,000 a day—CDM. Mr. S. K. K. Suriyarachchi, Minister of Co-operatives, in a bid to rid the co-operative system of corruption has decided to seek the help of the emergency laws—LD. The *Janadina* editorially said that all indications are that the talks of compensation estates taken over will continue without a settlement being reached unless the Sri Lanka Government prepares itself to face the threats of capitalist countries. The strike at the Government Press entered its second day yesterday without a settlement—ATH. The United States yesterday warned any outside party against intervening in the civil war in Lebanon. The Soviet Union indicated yesterday that it was unlikely to give a sympathetic hearing to US Secretary of State, Dr. Henry Kissinger, if he argues for joint approach on Angola during his Moscow talks with Kremlin leaders.

COMMENTARY

Sinhala Drama Festival

by K. S. Sivakumaran

It's a happy augury that the English language critics are taking note of the development of the Tamil Drama in our country as seen by the recent reviews they wrote in the English press on last year's Tamil Drama festival, and pleasantly the critics were from the Sinhala community.

This will, I hope, ensure greater understanding between the two major communities. So may I take this opportunity as a student and participant in the arts, particularly in the Tamil cultural scene, to give my observations on the plays presented in the Sinhala Drama festival concluded last December.

Last year's Sinhala Drama festival afforded an opportunity to see how political themes could be handled effectively in theatre. The four plays, *Nariya saha Keju*,

Idama, *Ran Lantheruma* and *Spartacus* discussed fundamental political issues, of course with varying effectiveness.

While one stressed a radical approach (*Nariya saha Keju*), the other underlined humanism (*Ran Lantheruma*). The third one (*Idama*) was following a middle path and therefore conventional and the last one (*Spartacus*), though claimed to be an original play, yet it had its affinities with Howard Fast's fiction by the same name.

The Tamil theatre people can learn a lot more from these plays, particularly the theatrical aspects—simplicity, movement of the players on the stage, voice, production, different styles of acting etc.

While the Tamil play *Vilippu* brought to the forefront the versatility of Thassiyus (he is a successful producer also) as an actor, the Sinhala plays *Ran Lantheruma* and *Pariputtuvo* brought to us the acting capability of a fine actor, Jayasekera Aponsu. Speaking of acting, one cannot forget, Vijaya Nandasiri as Lokka in *Nariya saha Keju* and Somi Ratnayake in both *Pariputtuvo* and *Gini Papuru*. Of the women, Mercy Edirisinghe as Mala in *Nariya saha Keju* and also as

Dayawathie in *Idama* played two different roles remarkably well, but it was a pity that the judges couldn't find her worthy of any award. Music in all the plays presented was with taste, but it was Shelton Premaratne who scored well for his imaginative score for *Nariya saha Keju*.

As for the adaptations (*Pariputtuvo* and *Gini Papuru*), I liked Welika as straight drama to Sunil Pinto's production of Samuel Beckett's *Endgame*. What relevance has the Absurd plays of the West to us had been one of the key questions asked by the critics for sometime! Of course, the Western experience should be brought to us first, before eventual rejection, but even in bringing it, we must be selective in our choices, I believe. Edward Albee or Luigi Pirandello or even Camus would have been a better choice than Beckett, for he is difficult to be understood. Further he is less communicable to Eastern audiences, than any other Absurd dramatist.

Naturally all plays presented were not of even standard but as in the Tamil Drama festival, varied experiences were felt and this was rewarding.

WHAT KIND OF FUTURE FOR AMERICA

Reprinted from **U.S. News & World Report**, July 7, 1975 published at Washington, D.C.

As America warms up to the celebration of its Bicentennial, this year's Independence Day commemorates a pivotal moment in the nation's history.

Two hundred years ago, Americans were still British citizens—outraged by what they considered callous treatment by their cousins in England.

Before mid-year of 1775, American protests over "taxation without representation" led to open warfare with British soldiers in the battle of Lexington and Concord and Breed's Hill, more widely known as Bunker Hill. On Aug. 23, 1775, King George III declared the American colonies in open rebellion. The final break—signing of the Declaration of Independence—came in July, 1776.

In the exclusive interviews that follow, *U. S. News & World Report* explores that heritage and prospects for the future. Contributors include leading scholars whose views represent a wide spectrum of opinions.

- * Richard B. Morris describes the "new American."
- * Benjamin R. Barber views U.S. role in world.
- * Gloria Steinem predicts changes for women.
- * Charles Berry sees advances in health.
- * Robert Penn Warren outlines technology's danger.
- * David Packard foresees business growth.
- * Andrew Brimmer envisions flexible planning.

"WOMEN'S LIVES WILL CHANGE IN EVERY WAY" GLORIA STEINEM

An editor of *Ms* magazine and author of many works on politics and sociology, especially in the fields of women's rights and minorities. She is chairperson of Women's Action Alliance, a self-help women's group.

Q. Ms Steinem, will woman reach true equality with men in the United States in the next 100 years?

A. It is difficult to know. The last time we changed from gynocracy to patriarchy—that is, from women-superior systems that existed in pre-history to patriarchal male-superior ones—it apparently took about 3000 years. But with increased communication, change can happen much more quickly now. I would say, though, it will take at least 100 years for the sexual caste system to be eliminated; for human beings to be judged as individuals, not by group of birth. It involves very deep anthropological change.

Q. How will families be affected?

A. Already, there is a variety of alternatives available, and that is the real point of change. It's not that we want to replace the old imperative of the patriarchal nuclear family—father, mother and children—with a new imperative, because any single system would be wrong for many people. There must be a variety of options—so that it becomes an honorable solution to remain single, to live with a group of people, to live with another person, to have children or not to have children, and so on.

Q. Will children gain or lose by this process?

A. I don't see how they could lose. First of all, they would be wanted, not just thought of as something "everybody does." And right now, in addition to being tracked along masculine or feminine or racial lines, kids rarely have any community of their own until they get to school.

In the future, there will be more communal situations in which children will be around a variety of adults, as well as other nonrelated "family" members who are children of various ages. After all, a 3-year-

old learns more easily from a 5-year-old than from a 30-year-old.

At present there's no real understanding that kids also need their own peers in addition to adults in their lives, before they get to school and in their living situations. We badly need more communal situations and less isolation and ghettoization of people according to age or class or sex. We create lonely individuals—and artificial groups.

Q. How will the lives of women change?

A. In every way. Autonomy—the ability to control our own bodies and work identities and futures—is a revolution for women. We're only just beginning to understand what it might be like.

Many may go on for more education. Even now, women are going back to school after they've had kids. The campus is no longer an "age ghetto" of people from 17 to 22—and that makes it more possible for men to go back, too. Education may become a lifelong process for all of us, not just one intense time of preparation.

Responsibility for children won't be exclusively the woman's any more, but shared equally by men—and shared by the community, too. That means that work patterns will change for both women and men, and women can enter all fields just as men can.

It used to be said that women couldn't succeed in work because they didn't have wives. In the future, men won't have "wives" either—not in the traditional, subservient sense.

Q. What will be the effect on men of these changes?

A. Hopefully, men will also have the whole human range of characteristics, emotions and possibilities opened up for them, too. Now, men are cut off from less of these possibilities than women are—it's as if 25 per cent of human qualities were generally regarded as "feminine," while 75 per cent were marked off as "masculine." The male prison is much bigger and more luxurious—but it's a prison nonetheless.

Q. Will there be a woman President in the next 100 years?

A. I don't know. That may happen, but only after all the other male "outs" are elected—a Jewish

Future Of America?

President, a black President, a Spanish-speaking President.

If we can judge from history, sex-based prejudice is the most intimate and deep-rooted: the last to go. Even now in corporate board rooms, minority men are usually invited to join the board before women of any race. White men affirm their masculinity by having a minority man on the board—providing, of course, that there are only one or two and can't outvote them. But to have a woman enjoying the same position, especially at upper levels, just devalues the work. Why should a man be honored by a job that "even a woman" can do?

If there is a woman President, it obviously won't change everything magically overnight. Still, it would be a major change, because at least we would have before us the image of a female person being honored in authority. At a minimum, it would set the dreams of our children free. Girls could then dream of becoming President. And boys could see that human talent comes in all forms.

Women in decision-making positions may also be important in creating a more peaceful society—at least until both sex roles are more humanized, and men feel less need to prove their masculinity with confrontation, toughness and even mass violence.

In fact, the false cultural division into "masculine" and "feminine" may itself be a root cause of violence. The one common characteristic of the few peaceful societies in the world is just that. The sex roles are not polarized. Boys are not made to feel they have to be aggressive or violent, and girls are not made to feel they have to be passive and do the supportive or cheap-labor functions only. It's fundamentally crazy that we are made to feel we have to "earn" our gender anyway.

Feminism brings something else to the political scene that's very important: a sense that change must start at the bottom, organically. It may be attached to theory of course, but radical or revolutionary theories are meaningless unless they have some effect on an individual's daily life. Women realize this especially because the many supposedly revolutionary schemes have left us out entirely. Our lives remain unchanged.

As an actress friend of mine once explained, she had been married to one Marxist and one conservative—and neither one took the garbage out. That's a populist way of putting it, but it's the truth. A revolution that doesn't change heads as well as institutions, that doesn't start from the bottom up, just can't be feminist and therefore humanist.

Revolutionary feminism can hook up our daily lives and our philosophy in a very healthy way.

"MANY AMERICANS WILL LIVE INTO THE HUNDREDS"

DR. CHARLES A. BERRY

Formerly chief of medical programs of NASA's Manned Spacecraft Center, he was widely known as "the astronaut's doctor." He now is head of the University of Texas Health Science Center at Houston.

Q. Dr. Berry, will Americans be healthier and live longer in the future?

A. There's no question about it. Health is a much broader term than medical care. It doesn't only mean the absence of disease, it means a lot of other things which require social action, too.

For instance, health would mean that the individual is not going to be exposed to so many hazards from the environment which are going to cause him trouble, whether it's lead in pipes or air pollutants. It also means that he's going to have adequate nutrition and adequate housing. In all those areas, Americans definitely will be healthier.

Q. Will life spans be much longer 100 years from now?

A. It's very difficult to say, but I think many Americans will live into the hundreds. We already have increased the average life span of individuals born very recently. But we have not increased the life span very much of people who are now 40 or 50 years old.

Q. What medical breakthroughs do you foresee?

A. For one thing, there has been a tremendous amount of federal money funneled into cancer research. I can't believe that we can put as much effort as we are putting into the cancer problem and

not find an answer to that problem. Study and great strides in immunology, with the possibility of immunizing people against cancer, may provide a tremendous part of the answer. There are great advances occurring in his area today. If we look at the next 100 years or so, I think we will have conquered cancer by that time. That doesn't say that there still won't be occasional cases of cancer, but not so many as now.

The same thing is true in heart disease. We don't really understand the mechanism of atherosclerosis—a common form of hardening of the arteries—which is the big, big problem in heart disease today, along with the associated problem of hypertension. But we understand a great deal more about it. We've identified the risk factors, and can do something about prevention. I think we will have more and more activity going toward preventing heart disease.

It is possible to conquer both cancer and heart disease certainly within the next 100 years.

Other advances also are going to occur. There has been a lot of experimentation with so-called "living banks" where we have living tissues that are preserved for transplant. These tissues range from kidney's to corneas for the eye. There has been some work done in this area with hearts. The use of living tissue replacements will be fairly commonplace in the future. Also, there will be artificial organs developed in this time period. I firmly feel that there will be an artificial pancreas developed.

There will be all sorts of artificial assists. We have a lot of assisting devices now with hears. Technology will advance to the point where we'll be able to have a lot of things which can be implanted as artificial organs.

We tend to think of aging today as being automatically associated with heart disease and high blood pressure and all that sort of thing. That's not necessarily so at all. Those things can be controlled. We're going to learn a great deal more about the aging process as we continue to whittle away at the things that tend to help "age" us.

Q. How will space research be applied to our daily lives?

A. Already we are benefiting from space research with such

devices as multispectral sensors. With them you can look carefully at large swaths of the earth, thereby making it possible to use our resources better. We use these sensors to recognize water sources, for example. They also allow us to recognize petroleum sources. They give us a better over-all view of what's happening with pollution and help us to solve such problems. Sensors also can be used to spot such things as breeding places for disease-carrying mosquitoes. These reservoirs of disease can be cleaned up and the sources of disease eliminated.

In the future, there will be even more enormous benefits. Technology will make it possible to do more and more things at home or near our homes, instead of travelling long distances.

A lot of things, for example, will be accomplished over television hookups. A lot of business will be done that way. We may even get to the point where you can do shopping that way. Certainly it's feasible, perfectly feasible.

Q. But what is the connection with medicine?

A. That has direct application to medicine, because we have a lot of remote areas in our own country where there are very few physicians. Therefore, medicine practiced by a doctor in one place consulting with patients in front of TV cameras may become a reality. That is coming as a direct result of some of the things I did in trying to look at man 240,000 miles away on the surface of the moon. I had to evaluate, diagnose and treat him at that distance.

The judgement factor of the physician and the patient contact is still here, of course, and will remain so. With the use of this technology as we come into this next 100 years, the physician is going to get some time to utilize all sorts of tools—such as computers, TV and the transmission of electrocardiograms. The physician will have all kinds of data in a very rapid fashion for his analysis. Thus, he will be able to make a much more intelligent, educated and scientific decision as to diagnosis much more rapidly.

We're not at that point today, because a lot of physicians don't believe that technology is the answer, and a lot of patients certainly don't.

We've all experienced getting tied up with the computer in the billing process, with the result that you spend months trying to clear up its mistakes.

People envision that same sort of thing in medicine, and they don't want to get their health tied up in a system like that. But those things are going to be worked out. In the next 100 years, these machines will make the lives of Americans much better, still retaining the all-important human contact—a real renaissance in medicine.

"THERE IS REAL DANGER OF DICTATORIAL POWER"

ROBERT PENN WARREN

Novelist, poet and educator, His works include "All the King's Men" and "Meet Me in the Green Glen." He is the winner of two Pulitzer Prizes and is a member of the American Academy of Arts and Letters.

Q. Mr. Warren, your novel "All the King's Men" was based on the career of a potential dictator. In years ahead, could this country be taken over by a dictator?

A. Yes, "All the King's Men" did get its suggestion—suggestion, mind you—from Huey Long's career. (Huey Pierce Long, a U.S. Senator from Louisiana, was assassinated in 1935). And, yes, I do think that there is real and increasing danger of dictatorial power in the future. But my guess is that in the future such concentrations of power are less apt to come in America in the form of a Mussolini, Hitler or Stalin.

One idea that seems painfully persuasive is that in a world of massive population and exfoliating technology—in the technetronic age, as they call it—the boys who handle the postcomputer mechanisms, or who find themselves in charge of "conditioning" programs, will inevitable be in control—perhaps very high-minded control—with a vast, functionless, pampered and ultimately powerless population of nonexperts living on free time, unemployed and unemployable.

Can we beat that game? There are forces that now want participatory democracy, a democracy

based on both individual need and individual responsibility—a community of mutual respect instead of a mechanistic society. Will they resist or co-operate with the forces that push, sometimes quite high-mindedly, toward the dehumanization of society and the centralization of control?

I am inclined to agree—and how modestly I use that word—with the philosopher Martin Buber when he says that something new is "slowly evolving in the human soul," which he describes as "the most intimate of all resistances—resistance to mass or collective loneliness." We see around us some evidence of the desire to find a humane order for ourselves—to find a democratic order based on a sense of real community. What are the chances? I don't know.

Q. Will Americans forget how to read, and will they get all their information and entertainment on television?

A. I cling to the notion that some significant number of Americans will, in spite of TV and other forces, cling to reading—because only in language can one dimension of the human imagination and self-understanding come into play.

What I mean is something like this: At one end of the scale of literature—reading—we have the muscular and neural experience of utterance, actual or suggested. Beyond this there is the whole complex of association and specificities in language, and the complex interrelated play of image and idea with all other factors. All of this amounts to a special kind of intensification, enactment and fulfilment of the human being—the human self.

What really seems at stake is the death of the human pleasure—and fulfilment—in activity. Reading means activity. Watching TV, in general does not. It is, by and large, passivity. It tends to be a form of the compulsive-consumption characteristic of our society—and it is quite naturally associated with the advertising business. The non-participating viewer—and most programs make no demand beyond this—is a mere consumer. Everything is brought to him. Even "news" is, paradoxically, for his "benefit". Mere novelty takes precedence over significance all too often. World

events are presented for his god-like diversion. All events tend to wind up as mere spectacle—so that cynical detachment and political and social alienation become a logical danger.

This leads to another aspect: The death of reading is associated with the death of the past. In reading we have the major connection with the past. Now we Americans for both good and bad—have a contempt for the past. We set out to make a radically new kind of nation, in all ways, and our successes, beyond all expectation, have encouraged us to agree with Henry Ford that "history is bunk."

The next step—we can see this happening—is to discard the study of the past in favor of social science. And more and more the practical bias of such studies is oriented toward the manipulation of men. Now, I'm not saying that social sciences should not be studied. I'm saying that they should be studied in a humanistic context, and should not replace the sense of the past—the story of human action as human.

Your question asks if Americans will be "getting all their information and entertainment" from TV. Isn't there more to expect from TV—as well as from stage, screen and newsprint and books—than "information and entertainment?" What about the general life of the mind, the ethical sense, the constructive imagination—and, to be very old-fashioned, nobility and beauty?

Q. Are good books read more now than, say, 100 years ago?

A. Here we must take questions of population and the percentage of literacy into consideration, too. In America in the Civil War—America being the New England States and the spotty civilization of the Middle West—Tennyson sold books by the carload, and in 1866, "Snow-Bound" made Whittier rich. From 1871 on, Mark Twain was sold door-to-door in quantities to make the Fuller Brush man frantic with envy, and Henry James made an honest living.

In the last generation or so, really beginning in the 1920s, a more sophisticated public has been created, small but real. But is the real question a matter of recognition, critical awareness and sales? No—the real question is what

gets written. So, looking back, we may ask how many Coopers, Hawthornes, Emersons, Melvilles, Mark Twains, Eliots, Pounds, Frosts, Faulkners and Dreisers we have lined up for the Bicentennial. That's where the rub comes.

I've been talking only about literature. Books are transportable. Pictures, for instance, are not. Early Americans could read Shakespeare and Milton, but they could not see Raphael. I never saw but one decent painting until I was 20—and there were no good reproductions, even that late. There are obviously great gains in the availability of painting and the creation of painting.

There's one other point of gain—even in literature. Dreiser was the first American writer—writer of significant scale—not of the old WASP (white Anglo-Saxon Protestant) stock and tradition, and his "Sister Carrie" didn't appear until 1899.

The range of American literature has definitely been broadened, if not necessarily deepened. We can only trust that depth will come.

"I'M VERY OPTIMISTIC ABOUT THE FUTURE OF BUSINESS"

DAVID PACKARD

Chairman of the board of the Hewlett-Packard Company, He served as Deputy Secretary of Defense from 1969 to 1971, and will head the financial operations of President Ford's re-election campaign.

Q. Mr. Packard, will American business continue to have the vitality it has had for the past 200 years?

A. I'm very optimistic about the future of business. We have been through a period over the last few years that has been traumatic but in terms of the fundamental research-and-technology base that is being built for business, and the progress that's being made in the management area, I think the future is very bright. Business is now becoming more responsive to the problems of society. This is as it should be. Business will continue to make contributions in the material area, but also will make increasingly

important contributions to large social problems.

Q. What kinds of new businesses and new jobs are ahead?

A. It's very difficult to predict. We don't see a new automobile industry. We don't see a new radio and television industry. We do foresee, however, some very interesting developments in the field of electronic data processing—the ability to do things with hand-held devices that 15 years ago took a very large installation or were not possible at all.

There are tremendous problems in dealing with the future of energy health and the environment, and I see great opportunities for business and industry through the judicious application of science and technology. The future, in my view, is just as bright as it has ever been.

Q. How long will the work-week become?

A. Here again, we are seeing improvements in productivity. The application of technology will generate further improvements in productivity. The means that we will be able to provide our food, energy and environmental requirements with fewer hours of work.

One troubling development is we seem to be hiring more people in Government, and there are more rules and regulations. If this trend continues, there may not be a shorter week, but simply more people doing those kinds of things.

There is, however, a very high probability we will have a work week of about four days. We're already doing some experimenting along these lines within our company. We have flexible work hours now, and there's a great interest in providing better opportunities for personal satisfaction of people who have to work.

It's very important in the summertime, for example, to allow more time for people to enjoy the out-of-doors. The combination of time for work with time for personal aspirations is something that's going to have to receive more attention in the future. We can make progress without reducing productivity. In fact, I think we'll see an increase in productivity.

Q. Do you foresee any basic changes in the relations between free enterprise and Government?

A. There is already a rapidly growing trend for more regulation of business and industry by Government. This has been initiated and encouraged by people interested in environmental problems, occupational health and safety, and related matters. In some of these areas, the country has gone too far in imposing Government regulations.

Nevertheless, there is a need to improve the environment and to improve working conditions in many areas. The real problem is whether an effective balance can be found between the freedom of management to manage its affairs and the ability of Government to encourage the achievement of larger social goals.

Q. Will Americans continue to work as hard as they did in the past two centuries?

A. I don't sense any significant trend toward people wanting to work less. There's been a good deal of talk about that, but the experience of our company is that we have many people who are very enthusiastic about what they're doing. They work hard because they enjoy it, and they feel that they are accomplishing something. The goals for personal satisfaction that come from doing a good job will continue to encourage hard work. I don't think we're going to see a serious deviation from the old Protestant work ethic.

Q. Will democracy continue in America for another 100 years?

A. I'm convinced that democracy will continue in America. I don't think the problems we're facing today are as serious as some of the problems this country faced over the past 200 years. I see no reason to be concerned about the vitality of democracy today. It will change and be adaptable to meet changing situations. But I think we've demonstrated here, particularly in the last two or three years, that our democracy has a great resili-

ence and a great strength. I'm confident it will survive all challenges.

"WIDE RANGE OF INDIVIDUAL CHOICE WILL CONTINUE"

ANDREW F. BRIMMER

Thomas Henry Carroll Ford Foundation visiting professor at Harvard University's Graduate School of Business Administration. He was a member of the Federal Reserve's Board of Governors, 1966 to 1974.

Q. Mr. Brimmer, will the free-enterprise system continue in its present form in America for another 100 years?

A. No. I say that because the free-enterprise system 100 years ago—and even 50 years ago—did not have the form it has today. Consequently, as I look ahead, I would expect to see continuous modification of the free-enterprise system. The basic underpinnings of the free-enterprise system will remain pretty much the same. We have in this country a market economy. It is in the marketplace where the basic decisions are made as to what is to be produced, and how and for whom production is to occur. That will continue.

A wide range of individual choice also will continue. Purchases in the marketplace will influence production and distribution decisions in private enterprise, although there will be some modification in the range of choices.

Q. How much control will the Government exercise over private enterprise?

A. Even now, there's a debate over the extent to which we need some kind of rational planning in this country.

One of the key people in that debate is Wassily Leontief, the Nobel Prize winner in economics. He's been one of the leaders in this effort to bring about some degree of what he calls informal or democratic planning. Robert Roosa of Brown Brothers Harriman has joined in that effort, and so has Leonard Woodcock of the United Automobile Workers, among others. Their argument is that the economy is so complex that decisions about investment and consumption are made in a way which would not provide much guidance for the long run.

My own view is that we won't end up with a codified national plan presented by the President and adopted by the Congress, which would be a framework for co-ordination of national economic policies along with private economic policies. Our system is much more amendable to amendments on an *ad hoc* basis along the way. As needs arise, machinery will be devised to cope with those needs, and we will end up with much more-precise forecasting of risks and benefits involved in very large-scale projects.

Let me give an example: Already there has been a great deal of attention given to long-term investment requirements in the energy field—such as huge power plants. Investors would be reluctant to undertake too much risk on those projects unless they had some reasonable assurance that the properties they are supporting with their resources would not be undercut drastically and left to float as debris on a sea of bankruptcies.

It looks more and more as if there will have to be some kind of assurances for investors if these huge, essential projects are to be built. Possibly, there will have to be guarantees against losses, which some people say might require federal ownership or participation in some way.

It is this need to pool the risks which I believe will lead to a somewhat more centralized, co-ordinated effort involving private enterprise and the Federal Government.

But those are the exceptions. They would not be the rule. The vast range of investment, production and consumption decisions will continue to be made in the marketplace.

Q. Will minorities reach economic and social equality with the majority of Americans in the next century?

A. Yes—economically, at least. When you look at what has happened in the last 100 years, or even in the last 50 years, there is a basis for optimism.

This is what it will take to improve the lot of blacks, Indians, people of Oriental and Spanish descent, and the other "left out" groups: an enormous investment in skills. That can be financed only by outside help—mainly, the Federal Government. Clearly, these minorities themselves cannot, thro-

**HELD OVER FOR
NEXT WEEK**

CHANGING WORLD

— After Chou

Railway Station Burglary

ugh their own savings, finance an investment in skills of the magnitude required.

Also, there has to be a reawakening in this country—among whites as well as among blacks and other minority groups—of interest in equality.

If these things happen, I see no reason why economic equality should not be achieved. So I'm optimistic.

(Concluded)

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BATTICALOA'S BIGGEST BURGLARY—2

Culprits Caught

By V. Segarajasingham, AMIT (Lond), Trains Controller, CGR, Anuradhapura

Remindful of the disastrous consequences that followed when, in the C.T.C. Four Lakh Robbery, a Senior Inspector in charge of a Police failed to check on an anonymous postcard relating to the case, Inspector Thavarajah checked every anonymous letter received by the C.I.D. This meant visits to vice dens, low dives, illicit hooch shops frequented by suspicious characters of the underworld of the City's burglars and violent criminals. He and sub-Inspector Cameron Selvanayagam took the grave risk of being 'spotted' as cops in plain clothes and in disguise and given a beating up by the thugs who were either under the influence of strong illicit hooch or ganja and opium.

On the 12th of July, 1957, a reliable informant of Mr. Krishna Iyer, A.S.P., C.I.D., passed some information about the activities of a person named Piyadasa who was reported to spending money lavishly on wine and women. The trusted associate of this man Piyadasa, one Velupillai, was also seen in his company very often. Investigations were then centred on these two individuals who did their utmost to evade arrest. After Piyadasa was arrested, he admitted having participated in the most cleverly planned and daring burglary.

He related how the conspiracy was first conceived, master-minded by Arachchige Don Edward Jaya-

koddy alias Edward who was employed as a fitter in the Railway Running Shed of the Nanu-Oya Station and executed by the rest of the gang. Piyadasa's role was to lure the watcher away from the main entrance to the Batticaloa Railway Station by "staging" a brawl with another accomplice. If the watcher were to offer resistance, he was to be eliminated by blows with a heavy iron rod. On the day the cash—the salaries and pensions of the Batticaloa staff was transported from Colombo to Batticaloa under Police escort, they travelled by car, stopped at Polonnaruwa to ensure that the cash was in fact being transported by the passenger train from Colombo to Batticaloa. The gang who had set out from Minuwangoda continued their journey by car by road timing their trip to reach Batticaloa at almost the same time the train reached Batticaloa Railway Station.

Having reached Batticaloa, they abandoned their vehicle temporarily with instructions to the driver to wait for them at a safe and convenient spot on the road to Sinna Muhathuwaaram. They, then, watched the movements of the two Shroffs of the Railway Department, Messrs Sivagnanam and Alahakoon who handed over the metal box with the cash and left the Railway Station. Sivagnanam took one of the keys of the safe with him in compliance of the instructions to ensure dual responsibility.

Having successfully lured the watcher Vishnurajah by staging the pre-planned "fight", the master schemer Jayakoddy and his chief lieutenant opened the door of the Station Master's office using a key which Jayakoddy had turned out some months ago, entered the office, wrenched off the additional cross bar fastened over the key hole of the safe by using an iron rod and opened the safe with a "duplicate" which Jayakoddy had 'manufactured' using malleable soap and putty on earlier occasion when the opportunity was afforded him.

This was when he was employed in the Railway Running Shed at the Batticaloa Railway Station. The rest of the operation was easy. They made a quick get away in the car but missed the road at Oddumawady where the point

after passing the Railway Bridge was misleading at that time of the night. Instead of turning right on to the road they had gone along the rail track at fairly high speed leaving tell tale tyre marks on the wooden sleepers.

Checking the statement of one of the 'Socius Criminis' was a very difficult task. He was under the influence 'canabis Sativa' at the time of the commission of the crime. His brain was befuddled and it took all the patience and intelligence of the Inspector handling the investigation to get Piyadasa to re-enact the crime. The C.I.D. officer was able to get Piyadasa to re-capitulate facts and landmarks. Several trips along jungle paths infested with wild animals and poisonous reptiles finally resulted in tracing the spot in the jungle off Galewela where the culprits had chosen a secluded spot far from the main road and distributed the spoils with the aid of a torch light. They had taken the trouble to take the metal box with the words "C.G.R." painted in white on the top lid into the thick jungle to prevent anyone from spotting it and giving information to the Police.

Piyadasa admitted having got his share but his weakness for liquor, women and gambling had reduced the amount 'acquired' to about Rs. 5,000/-. The others were more careful. They purchased motor vehicles. One bought a Ford Anglia car, another bought a Station Wagon and the third bought an Austin Cambridge. The task of recovering these which were purchased from the proceeds of the stolen cash was a considerable one involving in travelling to almost every part of the Island except Jaffna. Had it not been for the first major clue of finding the number 8907 which was first written on sand and later scrawled with a nail on the wall of the Railway Gate Cabin by Gateman V. Kanapathypillai, the C.I.D. would have been up against a blank wall.

The evidence in the Magistrate's Court was most carefully led by Mr. S. Krishna Iyer, Assistant Superintendent of Police assisted by Inspector Thavarajah. The Case was heard in Eastern Assize Circuit by the present High Commissioner for Sri Lanka in Canada, Dr. Henry Wijayakone Thambiah, O.C., B.S.C., L.L.B. (Hons), P.H.D. (Lond), Jus-

tice of the Supreme Court of Sierra Leone, author of many invaluable treatises and textbooks like "Landlord and Tenant in Ceylon", Laws and Customs of the Tamils of Ceylon, "Law of Insolvency" with Mr. E. S. R. S. Coomaraswamy, "The Dominion of Ceylon" with Sir Ivor Jennings and the recent "Principles of Ceylon Law".

The prosecution was most admirably conducted by the present Bribery Commissioner, Mr. Ian Wickremanayake, who was Senior Crown Counsel attached to the Attorney-General's Department assisted by Mr. C. Naguleswaran, Senior Crown Counsel. Mr. Wickremanayake who is now also the Competent Authority for Textiles is a veritable 'Human Dynamo' generating energy and energising those who work with him, studied the case paying attention to the minutest detail, analysed the evidence, anticipated possible defences and made a very convincingly analytical presentation of the case which satisfied both the Learned Judge and the Jury.

The trial lasted over three weeks and about fifty witnesses were examined to establish the strong chain of evidence against the miscreants. The Accused were defended by Messrs. K. V. Subramaniam, Advocate, prominent and respected doyen of the Batticaloa Bar, T. Karunaratnam, Advocate who later functioned as District Judge, Mulla-tivu and others.

A unique feature of the case which was commented on by the Learned Trial Judge was that the evidence of the C.I.D. Officers was accepted *in toto* without a single question being asked in cross-examination by any of the Counsels for the Defence. After trial all the six accused were found guilty by a unanimous verdict by the Jury and sentenced to eleven years rigorous imprisonment.

His Lordship, Dr. Tambiah sent for Inspector R. C. Thavarajah and addressed him thus in open Court:—"I must, on behalf of the State, commend you and all those who worked with you for the splendid work you have done in this case. If not for your diligence and dexterity, I do not think the offenders would have been brought to book. I direct that a copy of this be sent to the Inspector-General of Police."

It is a pity that Mr. Parasuraman did not live to hear the memorable

judgement delivered by the Learned Judge "an impeccable dispenser of unalloyed Justice". Death preceded the final conclusion of the case. He did not get a refund of the Rs. 8,000/— stolen from the same Railway Station on a previous occasion by the same gang and which he made good. Suffice to say that he lived at least to see the team of the Criminal Investigation Department of Sri Lanka perform yet another job and doing it well.

(Concluded)



BUILDING A VILLAGE HOUSE—67

Dinga Does Duty

By Herbert Keuneman

It is a platitude, of course, though one of the kind whose truth not more and more becomes taken for granted with each repetition but proves itself instead more poignantly true, that an old—one might even say an accustomed—anguish can seem at one and the same time such ages experienced yet so agonizingly renewed.

Yesterday (as I write this) was the 18th of January, the fourth dark anniversary of my wife's burial. Yet, this year I had been promised, on this very day of dark days, a joy with which in some measure to brighten it: Dinga's new baby, to whom—though not, I think, without her and Banders' willing approval—I had appointed myself a kind of foster grandfather since the time when she was still no more than a hope and a prayer.

Yes, 'she', Dinga had been given strict injunctions both by me and (what was much more to the point) by Banders that she must produce a daughter; and that, good girl that she is, was just what Dinga did! Not but what Banders and I had had our fears. There was a small spate of Ehetuwewa babies around December/January, and every single wilful unco-operative one of them was stubbornly a boy. In addition, the families—Banders' family (with the exception of six-year-old Aunty Sumana) as well as Dinga's own—actually wanted a boy although after more than five years of babylessness on the young couple's part they would be willing to settle for either.

Or, preferably, perhaps for twins: one of each! Banders' scarcely-dared-to—be—expressed partiality for a daughter was far from the conventional village ideal for a proper firstborn. And as for me... my openly cast vote for a baby girl was dismissed as one of those droll (not to say positively cussed) aberrations typical of my extrinsicity and therefore not be seriously considered.

But Dinga, thank goodness! did take me seriously, but no doubt she gave due weight to her husband's more circumspectly indicated predilection also; and little Miss Galkadawala, Imihamy Mudi-yansela-ge Nilima Hemamali Galkadawala, was born in Kurunegala Hospital at 1.09 p.m. on 29 January 1975. (*Only a small charge will be levied on anybody who wishes to cast her horoscope!*)

But I am still uncomfortable when I recollect how easily things might not have gone as well. Banders, I think, has no such inane hangover of fear. He is pragmatic villager enough to believe that what ends well is all well and must therefore have been incontrovertibly well from the word Go.

This makes for complacency, which can masquerade as a kind of (superficial) serenity. I wish it might not be so. When to have escaped a danger—and often, to have escaped it unconsciously; or, worse still, callously—tends to obscure the fact or promote the illusion that the danger did not in the first place exist, what is bred is not serenity but carelessness! For all that the village calls its pregnant mothers *leddu*, as though they suffered from some disease, they are treated as though their 'disease' is a minor one, in about the standing of common cold, against which no really serious precaution need be taken: one generally recovers from it and the turns for the worse it can take are matters of destiny rather than imprudence. Of much the same sort are the karmic matters of procreation and/or conception themselves.

In the issue of *Tribune* for last year's December 6 I described somewhat of the inhibited position in which one finds himself who feels a moral responsibility for the welfare of an expectant mother of whom he is warmly fond but over whose affairs he has no official

jurisdiction, and who being an earnest (though hitherto uninvolved) disciple of Dr. Spock can discover none in the village family that owns and exercises such jurisdiction a single member who has heard of that practical man or would yield him the least authority over the village old wives even if he (or she) had. But the frustrations of his then position fade into insignificance before those that face him as his protegee's pregnancy advances, the baby's arrival draws nearer and finally actually takes place, and the confrontation between the old wives and Dr. Spock becomes more eye-to-eye. And such has been the dilemma by the horns of which I have wracked for the past two months now.

I will admit that Dr. Spock is not the prescribable oracle for the Ceylon village *primipara* (and her relatives) that he is for the American one: even absorbent 'nappies', to say nothing of sterilized feeding-bottles, belong to a different obstetrical religion. Maybe rightly so? Maybe a bit of rag to wipe up the mess is no more unhygienic, or not markedly so, than an absorbent nappy (provided that, in today's Ceylon, anybody has a piece of rag to spare; and, in today's Ceylon, nappies whether absorbent or merely status-symbolizing cost the earth) and maybe it is better to build up immunity from the bottom than to start with the illusion of sterilized feeding-bottles and progress to the consumption of unboiled unfiltered drinking water! But is it too much to expect localized and practicalized Dr. Spocks? Apparently there are such: I heard of two Sinhalese publications—of un-assayed merit—equivalent to his; but hunt as I might, not a copy of either could I find in print. The fact would seem to prove something; but I leave the reader to conclude what.

One kind friend, knowing my anxieties as a prospective foster-grandfather, sent me a Christmas present of a little—but I should think quite adequate—local hand-guide to happy motherhood, in English. It was a most thoughtful gesture and (but for circumstances beyond the control of either of us) I believe it could have made me a proficient mother as well as a happy one! But as an oracle the book is no use: by the time I have passed its message on it has become my message and therefore

subject to doubt if not downright ridicule! If only I could show them (the old wives and the village *multiparae*—dear God! how multi, yet how unconscious whence the multitude sprang—and especially the not inconsiderable few who in these matters waver between belief in the efficacies of *game sirit* and *ingirisi behet*) if I could only show them in the sacred medium of print, it could, I imagine, go a long way towards reinforcing my arguments. As it is, all the influence I can exert is through the 'village' faction's disinclination to hurt me, on the one hand, and its desire not to appear backward in my sophisticated eyes, on the other.

I have described in my earlier article how (thanks to the personal advice and supervision of a Colombo specialist) were enabled to rid themselves of the village reproach of childlessness after more than five years of grudging condescension, most of which poor Dinga—as the woman and automatically blameworthy—had to bear. On the strength of that success—mine in its own way not less than Banders' and Dinga's—I was able to persuade them, once the baby's reality had been established, to consult their benefactor monthly during the pregnancy; and eventually even to decide that Dinga should have her baby in Colombo where their own doctor (as they thought of him, and still think: one of the baby's names commemorates their gratitude) could watch over the delivery. Or so I believed.

I had every reason so to believe. On the 8th of December they returned from their final consultation in Colombo with, as it appeared, everything pretty well settled; Dinga even had an official slip authorizing her admission into hospital on the 15th. This was early—the date predicted by the specialist was the 28th—but the village midwife (knowing, as village midwives are prone to do, so much more than mere doctors, even the most eminent ones) had excited Dinga by a confident prophesy that the baby would be born on the 18th; and the doctor was far too good a one to state categorically that his date could not be out. Meanwhile Banders' mother complicated Dinga's state of mind further with the confident assertion that the birth would take place around the middle of January! In the circumstances, to enter

hospital on the 15th seemed a safe, as well as generous, provision. Everything else had been laid on also. Kind and concerned friends had guaranteed Dinga's transport to and from Colombo; others had opened their homes to guests from the village when they might go to visit her. And all—I would not mention this but that I must—at no cost at all, save travel on the visitor's part, to Banders or Dinga or their people.

The evening of Banders and Dinga's return from that final consultation seemed like a party. We had dinner ready for the couple, including a favourite dish of each; and Banders and I drank the baby's health—in (gifted) whisky, if you please—as we had excuse to do; for the doctor had pronounced everything normal and Dinga in good shape: a purely medical judgement, obviously, for she had long lost all the lovely shape she used to have! Only one rather remote doubt remained: the doctor strongly recommended that even if Dinga could not have her baby in his hospital—and here he showed more insight than I possessed into the mutability of the human mind—she should have it in some hospital where a competent doctor was on hand: after all, she would be 29 next birthday; it was impossible to guarantee another baby if anything happened to this first one; and under the best auspices no reasonable precaution is amiss. Banders and Dinga seemed completely to agree.

Pema and I (Pema, you may remember, is the boy who joined our household to help Dinga with the heavier housework) ate a lonely dinner, for we judged the happy couple would wish to eat in Banders' own home in celebration of so auspicious an occasion; but for me, at all events—naturally Pema had no strong feeling in the matter—it was a most cheerful one. It seemed to me a most sensible decision had been made, and I was glad of any part I had had in it.

I was seated upstairs when Banders and Dinga came back to sleep in the bungalow, and I thought nothing of it when Banders—alone—came as I thought to smoke a cigarette with me. But then, and you could have knocked me down with much less than a feather, he announced that the thing

had now been thoroughly talked over and it had been finally decided that Dinga should have her baby 'in the gama'!

I fear I was very upset; and so, I believe, was Banders too, though I suspect for a different reason. I was upset because I wanted for Dinga and her baby—and for Banders himself, of course—every possible safeguard against any shadow of tragedy. As I pointed out, though not to let the possibility, however remote, of tragedy rear itself, there had been the difficulty (which might recur) of having any baby at all; there was the possibility of danger not only to the baby but to Dinga herself, slight perhaps but nevertheless present; and both these possibilities had been acknowledged not only by the doctor in Colombo but also by the local one whose ante-natal clinics Dinga had attended—the DMO from Galgamuwa—who had also advised a hospital delivery and not at his own hospital eight miles away but at least at the Provincial Hospital in Kurunegala more than forty miles off. Doubtless Banders was aware of these facts; but I could not avoid the impression that what was most upsetting him was the desire not to upset me.

I do not think I am magnifying disproportionately his regard for me. And I hope I am not belittling his assessment of risk to his wife and longed-for child: he had made (as next week I shall try to show) a comparison of values and come up with a judgement very different from mine. Of the two of us, I was the more upset by far.

(To be Concluded)

.. ..

Inania of this, that and the other

Bishop Overseer: Good For You

Some time in A.D. 65 Saint Paul wrote to a bishop-friend of his, Timothy, whom he addressed 'My son' and in his first Letter tells him: "Warn those who are rich in this world's goods that they are not to look down on other people and not to set their hopes on money" (I Tim. 6:17ff).

Such warnings may have been given but perhaps the bishops (episkopoi meaning overseer) have not been listened to in some instances. Take Rafael Trujillo, dictator of Dominican Republic until 1961. "He had at his death a hoard of terrible proportions: 235 million \$ in foreign (Swiss esp) banks, 22% of local bank deposits, 30% of the land, 25% of livestock of the country. In Ceylon it used to be said that the main industry was the government services" (C. R. Hensman, *Rich versus Poor*, p. 153-154)

At the end of December 1975, in the same Dominican Republic, the newspapers published a long document in which all the Bishops of the country called the people to an examination of its national conscience in the face of the terrible scourge of corruption. The evil lived after Trujillo, 14 years later. It appears that corruption has attained unprecedented proportions in that country and it "threatens to destroy everything. Nothing remains when it pervades practically every domain. It is out in the open, everywhere. The Bishops make a long list occupying two columns in a newspaper, presenting the types of corruption prevalent in that country: abnormal rise in prices of primary commodities, excessive fees as professional fees, siphoning of public and private funds, appropriation of privileges meant for all, by only a few, abnormal interference in the exercise of justice, the abuse, by some people, of their administrative position for their personal advantage, notorious sell-out of the dignity of a person in devious ways, manipulation of the means of communication, illegal sale of drugs and stimulants to youth."

The Bishops 'Letter goes on: "In public administration, corruption is especially detestable, because the state employee is a servant of the people. We are a poor people, large sectors of whom have their basic needs unsatisfied. Before God, before mankind, before history, we will all be guilty of not having known how to profit from circumstances favourable to our development. We are guilty of having duped the hopes of an entire people and especially of the poorest ones of the land. One cannot be son of God and brother to ones brothers, to other men, with a corrupt heart. All, rich

and poor, learned and ignorant, managers and workers and consumers, churchmen and faithful, we feel that the finger is placed on the wound, but we can cure our illness. It is always time to do good". (transl. from the French of *Inf. Cath. Int.* p. 30, 15 Jan. 1976, n. 497)

"It is always time to do good."

I am reminded of Venerable Kapugama Sumanarama who in a *Silumina* of January 1965 said: "There was no nekath velava (auspicious time) for Lord Buddha. Whatever he did was done in good time. Whenever good is done, that is nekath."

It is always time to do good. Would we like to avoid any stain on our leadership? Then work and hope for running counter to Trujillos and for putting an end to corruption. In S.E. Asian countries, where the vast majority of the rural poor have their basic needs unsatisfied, is there any hope that the overseers (episcopoi) would have enough courage to champion the cause of the under-dog?

TOPICAL

Why Shakespeare?

by R. C. Thavarajah
Retd. Supdt. of Police

An exceptionally illuminating and scholarly treatise entitled "Why Shakespeare?" which appeared in one of the daily newspapers of the 24th of January has prompted me to express my own views. In doing so, I must admit that, unlike the literary 'giants', I have not mastered the great works of the Bard of Stratford-on-Avon. I cannot even claim an inkling of the esoteric expertise of pedagogic pedantry. As a 'flat-footed, dull-witted, Cop and an Ex-Cop at that—I am the least qualified in the art of literary criticism, which according to Alexander Pope is where "Ten censure wrong, for one that writes amiss."

I have no desire whatever of being an unctuously ardent Anglophile spurred ingratiatingly by any effusive jingoism to support the study of English Literature. I am one of those who like to read and recite Shakespeare in its original form for the sheer delight of his

poetic excellence, rhetoric brilliance and profundity of didactic content.

HOWEVER, after reading the somewhat ponderous prognosis, I feel that some sympathy should be extended to those who have been harshly condemned for the inadequate translations of William Shakespeare (1564-1616) prescribed as text books for some of our school examinations. The point I wish to make is that, merely because some attempt has been made, though considered feeble by the Grand Cavaliers of the Shakespearean School, it would be unpardonably ugallant to write disparagingly of a sincere effort to acquaint the students with something of what the great Poet and Playwright contributed to the world of Literature.

Is it the fault of the translator that he has not been weaned on the nectar of Western Classics? Is it his sin that he did not have the where-withal to sail or fly to Oxford or Cambridge to get ingrained in the quintessence of English Drama and Poetry? Is it his crime that—to quote from Shakespeare's HAMLET, (III, ii. 293) —“the glass of fashion and the mould of form” had eluded him? My considered view is that those who have had the good fortune of attaining a stature both in maturity of reasoning and academic superiority should not dwarf it by penalising those “more sinned against than sinning.”

For reasons of expedience or some inscrutably urgent convenience, we discard the study of English, realise rather belatedly the folly of such a course of action and now ridicule the humble efforts of those who display at least a spirit of nationalism if not literary genius to spend their valuable time in translating some of the treasures which William Shakespeare bequeathed to posterity. I will, without wasting neither time nor energy unhesitatingly commend to these critics the forthright judgment of George Eliot who wrote:—

“No story is the same to us after a lapse of time; or rather, we who read it are no longer the same interpreters.”

To those pundits who pontificate on what they themselves, somewhat condescendingly, admit as “well-intentioned”, I would also refer to what Henry Wordsworth

Longfellow most trenchantly referred when he said:—

“Some critics are like chimney sweepers; They put out the fire below and frighten the swallows from their nests above; They scrape a long time in the chimney, cover themselves with soot, bring nothing away but a bag of cinders and then sing out from the top of the house as if they had built it.”

I would also pose another pertinent question—In the Western world of today with the all too time consuming emphasis on nuclear physics, electronics, and ‘scientific progress’, who will have time for William Shakespeare? Is it not commendable that we in Sri Lanka are expressing our appreciation of the Great Bard by at least attempting to interpret some of his works in our native tongue? We talk of “Western traditions stemming from dramatic verse.” Do we not find an abundance and tremendous potential in our own poetry and song both in Sinhala and Tamil?

Instead of indulging in an exercise—quite gratuitously of course, which requires “more labour than capacity, more practice than genius”, I would suggest that these critics devote their leisure to the task of “educating” the translators.

A noble work—in fact, to quote again from Shakespeare's HAMLET V, ii 36—to do “YEOMAN'S SERVICE—”, can very easily be accomplished if only we discard our favourite ‘blinkers’ which some of the elite have acquired and find difficult to dispense with through fear of losing the prestige of that precious status symbol—the self-styled entity of the so called “ENGLISH EDUCATED.”

FOR THE RECORD

Pericles: Ideal Democracy

No society produced so many brilliant men within so short a space of time as the small Greek city-state of Athens of around 400 BC. First citizen and elected leader of Athens, at the peak of its political influence was Pericles, part of whose classic oration on the ideals of Athenian democracy is quoted below. His speech, as recorded by the contemporary historian Thucydides was made at the funeral of men killed at the outset of the Peloponnesian War,

in which democratic Athens was pitted against militaristic Sparta.

—Editor

OUR CONSTITUTION does not copy the laws of neighbouring states; we are rather a pattern to others than imitators ourselves. Our administration favours the many instead of the few: this is why it is called a democracy. If we look to the laws, they afford equal justice to all in their private differences; advancement in public life falls to reputation for capacity class considerations, not being allowed to interfere with merit; nor again does poverty bar the way, if a man is able to serve the state, he is not hindered by the obscurity of his condition.

The freedom which we enjoy in our government extends also to our ordinary life. There, far from exercising a jealous surveillance over each other, we do not feel called upon to be angry with our neighbour for doing what he likes, or even to indulge in those injurious looks which cannot fail to be offensive, although they inflict no positive penalty. But all this ease in our private relations does not make us lawless as citizens. If we turn to our military policy, there also we differ from our antagonists. We throw open our city to the world, and never by alien acts exclude foreigners from any opportunity of learning or observing, even though the eyes of an enemy may occasionally profit by our liberality.

We trust less in systems and policy than to the native spirit of our citizens, while in education, where our rivals from their very cradles by a painful discipline seek after manliness, at Athens we live exactly as we please, and yet are just as ready to encounter every legitimate danger. Nor are these the only points in which our city is worthy of admiration. We cultivate refinement without extravagance and knowledge without effeminacy; wealth we employ more for use than for show, and place the real disgrace of poverty not in owning to the fact but in declining to struggle against it. We Athenians are able to judge even if we cannot originate, and, instead of looking on discussion as a stumbling block in the way of action, we think it an indispensable preliminary to any wise action at all.

From Thucydides' "History of the Peloponnesian War".

Confidentially

Text Book Scandal

IS IT NOT INTERESTING that a Minister of the United Front government should openly fire a broadside against the work of another Ministry? That this kind of open criticism is unknown in the system of parliamentary government anywhere in the world? That in totalitarian regimes too such criticism would not be tolerated? That even during the traumatic Cultural Revolution in China such criticism assumed personal formulation rather than inter-Ministerial or inter-Departmental attacks? That the *Daily News* of Wednesday January 28, 1976, spread a banner headline across its front page: **PRESCRIBED TEXTS NOT EVEN WRITTEN: MINISTER ON INSIDE STORY OF DELAYS: SEVERE CRITICISM LEVELLED AGAINST EDUCATIONAL PUBLICATIONS BOARD?** That these headlines were for a report of a press conference by the Minister of Information and Broadcasting Mr. R. S. Perera? That he had specially convened this press conference "to tell the true story of the text book issue"? That Mr. Perera had set out the aim of the Conference as follows: that as a parent he was disturbed as anyone else, even more than the authorities at the office of Educational Publications, that school textbooks were not available; that His Ministry was being blamed for this because the Government Printer and the State Printing Corporation who were responsible for the physical printing of the textbooks came under this Ministry; that it was not his task to blame anybody else but it was his duty to place the true facts before the country; that each year his officials and the officials of the Ministry of Education held discussions and agree on the number of books and the number of copies of each together with the deadlines for handing manuscripts and printing required for the next school year; that accordingly such a conference was held last year and it was decided that the Government Printer be allocated 45 textbooks for printing and

the State Printing Corporation be given 26 books; that all manuscripts were to be handed in before April 30, 1975; that printing deadlines were set for December 31, 1975 and June 30, 1976; that to date the Government Printer had not received manuscripts for 26 books; that the State Printing Corporation had not received manuscripts for 13 books? That after setting out these facts, the Minister had demanded in high rhetoric: "**How can we print books that have not yet been written? It is like casting a horoscope of a child yet unborn!**"? That Minister R. S. Perera had thereafter gone on to say that "most of the manuscripts" they had received had been delivered several months after the deadline of April 30, 1975? That however out of the 19 books for which manuscripts had been received five books had already been delivered on time at the end of last year? That 13 others were only due at the end of June but that most of these were complete despite the delay in submitting manuscripts and delay in returning proofs? That only a single book has been delayed past the deadline and that too chiefly because of the delays in returning proofs and now because of the strike? That where the State Printing Corporation was concerned of the 13 manuscripts received five had been printed on time but that the Educational Publications Department had asked the Corporation to hold on to them as they had no storage space? That accordingly there were 300,000 copies of books being held by the Corporation until stores space was found? That of the balance books three were classified as low priority by the Educational Publications Department who indicated they were in no hurry for them but that two of them had nevertheless been completed and the third only needed the finishing touches? That the balance five books would be ready on time if the proofs were not unduly or deliberately delayed? That the Minister had drawn special attention to the fact that the proofs were unnecessarily delayed because they were sent back to the authors who discovered their mistakes only at that stage and corrected them sometimes adding several paragraphs at a time and that this involved further work and expense? That corrections in one particular book had cost as much as Rs.

14,000 which had been borne by the State Printing Corporation although it was no fault of theirs? That the Minister had also pointed out that the Government Printer and the State Printing Corporation were only contractors for the physical printing of the books and that they were not responsible for the selection of the books that were printed nor were they responsible for distribution? That Minister vigorously asserted that no book sent for printing at either of these institutions had been directed to a private institution? That he concluded his press conference by detailing the difficulties faced by the Government Press—outdated machines, lack of spares, etc. etc.—and said that given the machines these two institutions were capable of printing all the textbooks the country needed? That this Ministerial blast evoked an immediate response from the Minister of Education? That the *Daily News* of Friday January 30 frontpaged a story that Minister Baduddin Mahmud had directed his Secretary to appoint a high-powered committee to inquire into the whole matter as a prelude to his taking stern action about this scandal? That the Minister had wanted a full report within a month? That he said that he welcomed constructive criticism—meaning thereby that he took no offence with his ministerial colleague for making public some of the closely guarded secrets of the Ministry of Education? That by the time the Committee completes its work the scandal about the textbooks would be forgotten? That what cannot be forgotten is that the bureaucrats responsible for launching the NCCE system of education had done so before making sure that the necessary textbooks had been written and that they would be thereafter printed in time?



NEXT WEEK

- MULTINATIONALS
—by Tissa Ealasureiya O.M.I.
- MAHAWELI
—by R. Kahawita
- NOT SO UGLY AMERICAN
—by R. C. Thavarajah

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