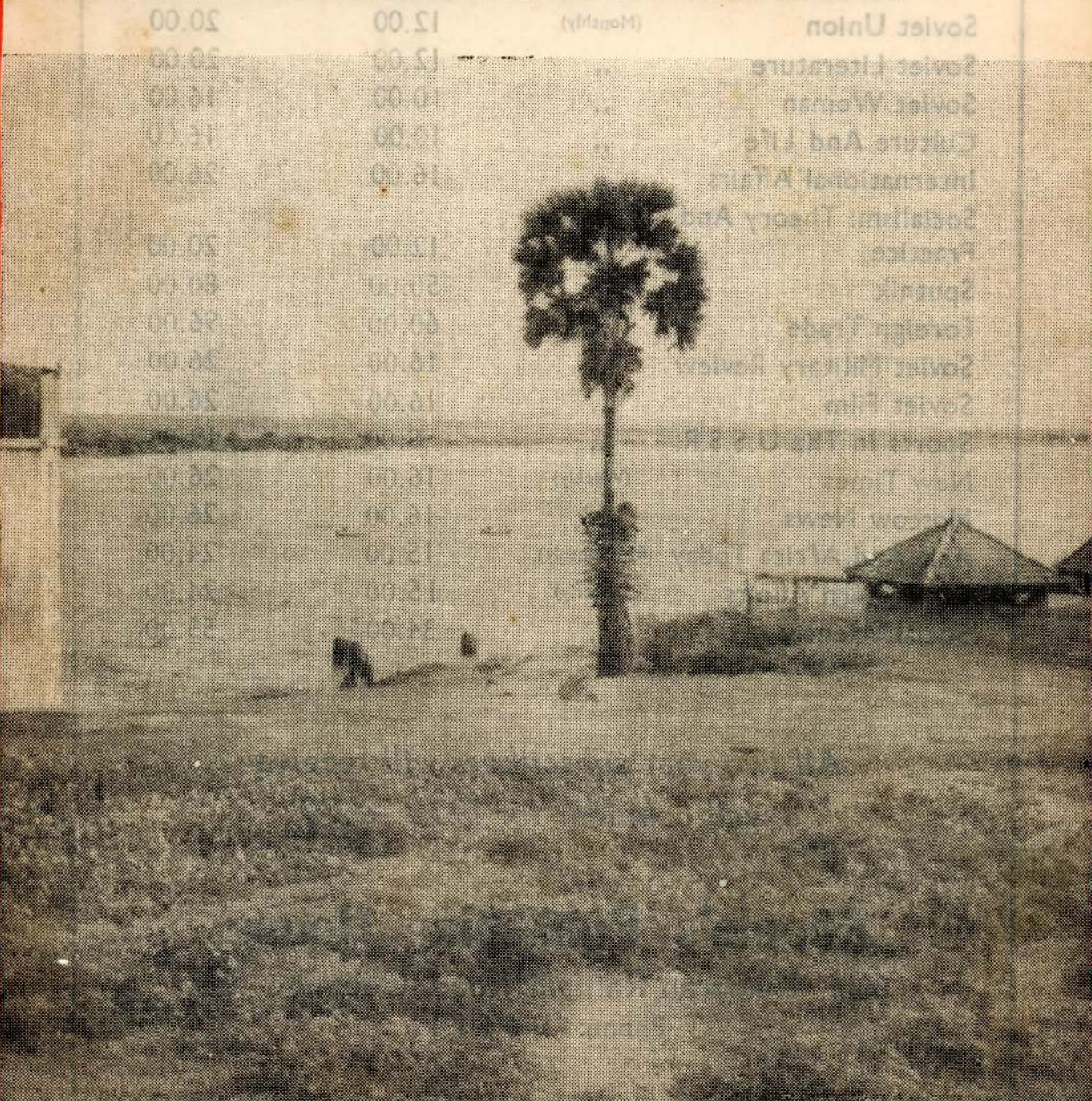


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Letter From The Editor

ON THE COVER stands a lone palmyrah palm on a promontory by the sea. The palmyrah is associated with the Tamils and the North, but this lonely palmyrah stands on the hill overlooking Hambantota bay. The palmyrah is no more Tamil than the North or East are exclusively Tamil. It is true that Tamil-speaking people predominated in the North and East—Hindu, Muslim and Christian—but Tamils for centuries past have lived in amity and concord in all parts of the island. One of the main places of worship for the Tamil Hindus is way down south near Hambantota at Katarama. The Palmyrah is the main feature of the landscape in the drier parts of Tamil Nadu in South India, but there are large tracts in Thailand and North Malaysia where the palmyrah flourishes. It may be that the Tamils took the palmyrah there, but the existence of the palmyrah (which many believe is symbolic of Dravidian Tamil South India) does not make either Hambantota, or parts of Thailand or Malaysia, Tamil areas. It is time that the Tamils in Sri Lanka start thinking on broader lines than they were compelled to do during the difficult days when discrimination had been mounted against the Tamils as a minority. It was difficult in the face of the discrimination, often with a genocidal tinge, for Tamils not to think along sectarian, divisive and separatist lines. The genesis of the cry for Eelam can be traced to the indefensible policies of Sinhala Only. Discrimination in employment, Discrimination in admissions to the University and the Refusal to guarantee Fundamental Rights for the minorities in the Constitution. The Republican Constitution of 1972 made the Tamils of Sri Lanka *de facto* second-class citizens who could hope for equality only by transforming themselves into Sinhala Buddhists. Eelam was a cry in desperation. But today, a new situation has arisen. Mr. J. R. Jayawardene in the Election Manifesto of the UNP had promised a new deal for the Tamils and the minorities. In spite of the disturbances engineered by elements which did not want communal amity, Mr. J. R. Jayawardene without resorting to Emergency not only brought the situation under control but has also, thereafter, created an atmosphere where communal concord has become possible and the foundation laid for national unity. Never before in the history of the island, after Independence, has a situation arisen where the possibility of cementing communal amity and national unity in Sri Lanka have become practical realities. This fact seems to have been appreciated by the leaders of the TULF who seem willing to give President Jayawardene and the UNP time to implement the necessary constitutional changes. The TULF has not yet formally dropped the demand for Eelam, but it has declared that it was prepared to work out an interim arrangement to ensure all-round national development on the basis of, equality. If the interim arrangement works satisfactorily, the cry for Eelam will fade into the background. To the credit of President Jayawardene it must be said that he has been able to persuade not only the leaders of the Buddhist Sangha but also the entirety of the leadership and rank and file of the UNP to talk a new language of communal amity and national unity. Only the bureaucrats and diehards of the Sinhala Only vintage continue to obstruct the implementation of the new policies. Whatever the constitutional framework or the ideological motivation, diverse racial communities in different countries live in amity and co-operate for national development and economic growth. Switzerland and Canada are developed countries where a federal system of government has operated with success (although Canada more recently has had problems with the French-speaking component of the federal state). India with a diversity of races, religions and communities, unknown in any other country, has succeeded in building up a oneness as a nation through a federal union. Under socialism, the federal principle has been utilised to have unity in diversity. There is no reason why Sri Lanka cannot devise constitutional arrangements to make it possible for the majority and minorities to live in peace and amity. What is more important is that a spirit of tolerance and mutual understanding should motivate all action. The President has initiated many measures that have generated an atmosphere of friendliness to bring about communal amity and national unity.

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BETWEEN THE LINES.

BY SERENDIB

• Capitalism • Arson • Standardisation • Police

***FREE ENTERPRISE.** The word "capitalism" is no longer popular. It is regarded a bad word. The Fabians, it is said, had coined the term "free enterprise", because people did not like the term "capitalism". There is no reason why anyone should be ashamed of the word "capitalism" so ashamed that one rushes to take cover under the term "free enterprise". A cynical commentator had once stated: "... the use of the term 'free enterprise' as a Fabian mushword for 'capitalism' is like the practice of a man so ashamed of being human that instead of avowing 'humanity' he proposes himself to be committed to the principle of 'two-leggedness'...."

Lyndon H. LaRouche, J. R. Leader of the United States Labour Party had some interesting points to make on the matter. "Let us look at the use of 'free enterprise' with the greatest possible compassion for those who are duped into such usages. The small businessman, undereducated business executives and numerous ignorant outside admirers of business success are victims of what B. Spinoza defined as *fictitious knowledge* of capitalism. They see the particular business's success—or failure. They ignorantly imagine that skill and other qualities are essentially determining in causing business success. In brief, since skill and so forth are material to business success, those persons base their judgement of a half truth. They see success in particular, without seeing that a certain kind of environment is indispensable to that success. They thus extrapolate from limited information to cover over their ignorance of the most fundamental facts to be considered. Such "tunnel vision"—such efforts to explain particulars one at a time without taking the whole competently into account—is what Spinoza derided as *fictitious knowledge*. Capitalism did not spring into being like mushrooms in a dark, damp cellar. American capitalist development occurred because the collaborators of Benjamin Franklin made an American Revolution for the

included purpose of freeing this nation from the economic backwardness, the bucolic economic imbecility which the British monarchy and its apologist Adam Smith proposed to impose upon us."

In Sri Lanka, today, there is a similar shying away from the term "capitalism". Everyone, including those who are most blood-thirsty-minded capitalists sweetly coo "socialism" each time they want to say capitalist. There was and is as much "capitalism" in the policies of the SLFP and LSSP as in the policies of the UNP, yet all three parties proclaim they are "socialists". The LSSP had pretensions to Marxist infallibility whilst the SLFP believed that the magic word "Bandaranaike" would make even the worst kind of feudal and capitalist exploitation socialism at its best.

It is time that the elite in Sri Lanka stopped being ashamed of the word "capitalism". This country, it would now appear, has to go through the necessary phase of capitalist development before the population becomes ripe and ready for a socialist revolution. The "theory" that it was possible to by-pass capitalism and leap from feudalism to socialism has turned out to be a grand illusion so far as developing countries like Sri Lanka are concerned. But the UNP still believes it must prattle about "free enterprise" and "socialism" when it knows that capitalist development motivated by private profit (controlled and regulated) alone can help this country out of the economic stagnation into which the country has fallen.

***ARSON AND PROFITS.** Capitalism, although it can release the forces of growth, has many unsavoury features. A columnist in an Indian left-wing paper had some interesting revelations about the profit-making potential of arson: "The fastest growth industry in the US is crime. What is the secret of its growth? Arson now accounts for 40 per cent of the damage and about 30 percent of the cost in property losses from fire. Arson, indeed, is more than a crime; in some places it is business. Arson is (business)—that's it. Among the 33 arrested recently for this 'business' in Massachusetts, were 'to the city's (Boston's) embarrassment, prominent lawyers and estate agents; as well as Mr. James DeFuria, a former detective in the state fire-marshall's office, and a retired captain of the Boston arson squad...."

Rings such as this now cause about half of the 150,000- arson cases which occur every year.... Convictions for arson are as low as 1 per cent". What is there for the "ring" in the 'business'? 'The technique of gradually destroying a building to claim the insurance money is well established.' There is a whole lot of technology behind it.... "The landlord first buys property at low prices in a distressed area, usually in an inner-city, and does as little as he can to maintain it. The property then changes hands, on paper several times, each time with a promise then changes hands, on paper several times, each time with a promise to carry out repairs that will earn a rise in insurance value. The fires begin patchily.... while at the same time the copper and lead installations slowly disappear. Arson is then the only way to make a profit.... The building burns down; the insurance company pays". And how does the 'business' thrive? There are reasons why arson is common. A depressed economy will always increase it. Arson is often a crime of rundown commercial districts. But, "no single reason, however, is as persuasive as the simple availability of insurance. Insurance companies are known not to delay payment even when fires are suspicious. It is also the practice of American insurance to cover the financial interest in a property, not its structure...." To top it all, payments for fire-damage in ghettos have in fact been underwritten since 1968 by a federal programme (i.e., US Government) that spreads the costs of insuring high-risk areas evenly over the state and reinsures the companies for riot or civil disorder". Now we know who profits, how, and at whose expense".

There have been a few cases of arson in Sri Lanka to collect insurance. But it has not yet become a commercial enterprise.

***DIEHARD KICK BACK.** News has come trickling in that a group of Sinhala Only diehard chauvinists have started an agitation in the different campuses that the removal of standardisation is a sellout to the Tamils by the UNP.

THE EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK DOES NOT APPEAR THIS WEEK. THE EDITOR IS ON HOLIDAY.

Agitators?

False whispers are being circulated that most UNP "back benchers" were against the removal of standardisation, but that the party hierarchy had ordained otherwise. Further, the delay in the publication of the list of University admissions has given rise to further stories that the Tamils have manipulated to get more than their fair share of admissions through dishonest marking.

At the moment, the impact of the agitation is embryonic and minimal, but unless the government nips the agitation in the bud there may be unnecessary confrontations in a short while. The leaders of this anti-standardisation move come from the old guard of diehards who have wanted to make Sri Lanka a Sinhala Buddhist theocratic state. Some are members of the University teaching staff but others are volatile personalities who want to creep to the top rungs of political power through emotional and jingoistic slogans about race, language and religion. Standardisation is one issue on which all these dangerous slogans can be hung.

***BLACK FLAGS.** Instead of dealing with these dangerous elements which want to trigger another communal holocaust, the police in Kandy have been taking into custody persons who have attempted to protest against the taking away of rice ration books from about half the population of the island and also against the new presidential system. All citizens have the right to protest against the cutting down of subsidies and the new presidential system as long as the protests are within the law. The Police always resort to the standard excuse that they feared a breach of the peace because the supporters of the government would attack those who carried black flags. In such circumstances, it is the duty of the police to protect the black flag protester if they demonstrate peacefully without resorting to violent provocation.

What has surprised many people is that the police should arrest left-wing protesters who were entitled to protest in the way they did, whilst ignoring the activities of the communal agitators who make use of standardisation to prepare for another bloodbath.

The Government and the Police must re-think the way they should deal with agitators.

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THE WORLD TODAY

CUBA AND ETHIOPIA

by The Recorder

Cuba And Ethiopia

Statement By Minister Of Foreign Affairs, Isidoro Maimierca Peoli.

The affirmation that there are Cuban troops in Ethiopia is an invention of the Somalian authorities, confirms a statement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Cuba. Following we give the document's complete text :

Since the Government of Somalia decided to intervene militarily in the province of Ogaden, thus breaking the international commitments undertaken and the solemn promise made diverse heads of state of not resorting to arms for solving its differences in this matter, distinct Somalian leaders have been making statements in which they accuse the Republic of Cuba and its Government of sending troops to the Republic of Ethiopia, so that they can be utilized in the struggle that is taking place on Ogaden. As it deals with secondary personalities although some were of certain standing in Somalia, Cuba has preferred to remain silent on these provocations in its desire to contribute, up to where it is possible, to the elimination of military conflicts between Ethiopia and Somalia and to the solution of the Zones' problems by means of peaceful talks, as corresponds to the relations between countries that belong to the movement of Non-aligned countries.

However, it has been the President of Somalia, Mohamed Siad Barre, who had now mentioned this problem, affirming on two occasions that there are Cuban troops in Ogaden, which, according to his statements, would put the relations between Cuba and Somalia in danger, and at the same time appealing to the international community to request Cuba "the immediate withdrawal of its troops from the area and to refrain from interfering in the affairs of the African Zone." For coming from Somalia's top authority, it has been necessary to put things in their place. The affirmation that there are Cuban

troops in Ethiopia is an invention of the Somalian authorities. The word of the Cuban leaders is sufficiently accredited in world public opinion for it to be known that when Cuba denies something, this negation responds entirely to reality.

We reaffirm that there are not 15 thousand Cuban soldiers in Ethiopia, and neither are there any Cuban combat units as well. This affirmation does not mean, however, that Cuba considers that the Government of Somalia or any other, has the right to attack the right of the Government of the Republic of Cuba to reach agreements with the Government of Ethiopia or any other of Africa of other regions of the world, in the field of technical assistance and even military cooperation, for the purpose of defending the sovereignty of those countries in cases where they were threatened and where they requested such co-operation.

For several years, Cuba has maintained military instructors in Somalia, itself, at a time when their political line, was correct and not characterized by chauvinism nor bloody adventures for the purpose of territorial expansion, or was an object of imperialist threats. These military instructors were asked for by Somalia and still remain in Mogadishu, although without carrying out any function, only awaiting the termination of their stay in that country, which was fixed in the agreements adopted between Somalia and Cuba before the present war promoted by the Somalian army's aggression against Ethiopia. Ethiopia has the same right to receive aid. Cuba would never renounce the rights that other states, big or small, are exercising in that sense. There is nothing more for the Ministry of Foreign Relations of Cuba to do, than explain to world public opinion the fallacy of the above mentioned affirmations which are slightly hysterical and ridiculous.

Cuba, USA And Jamaica

Statements by Fidel Castro and other Ministers

The President of the State Council, Fidel Castro, affirmed that the lifting of the economic blockade implated by the United States against Cuba must be the next step for the im-

proving of relations between the two countries. The government of James Carter has not been characterized by a policy of hostilities against Cuba as was the case of his predecessors in the presidency of the United States, stated Fidel Castro during a press conference held during his visit to Jamaica and transmitted here by Cuban television. He added that Carter has taken some favourable measures like the suppression of the spy flights over the island and the lifting of the prohibition to US citizens to visit Cuba. "If Carter really believes in human rights, then he must feel encouraged to establish relations with Cuba", he pointed out.

He stated that Cuba has products like sugar, nickel, tobacco, rum and others which would be fundamental in the economic relations with the United States. It does not worry us remarked Fidel Castro, if quotas exist or not in the US market: when they want sugar, we will supply it, because we can produce practically as much sugar as we like. He stated that while the economic blockade imposed by the US authorities is not lifted, relations will not be normalized and while the activities of the terrorist counter-revolutionaries are not really suppressed, neither will conditions exist for the residents of Miami to visit Cuba.

He gave the opinion that not all Cuban emigration is negative, neither terrorist, nor counterrevolutionary, nor is it considered in that concept, and even many sons and daughters, today young men and women, disapprove that their parents abandoned the country. There are Cubans who have emigrated that have changed their opinion and we have no objection to their feelings, to their wishes but, on the contrary, we consider it positive, he assured. He added that any moment, when the conditions exist, those wishes will be taken into account.

Fidel Castro pointed out that if anyone helped the Cuban Revolution, it is the people, the workers who have contributed millions of hours of voluntary work purely because of their revolutionary conscience. He defined the relations between Cuba and the Soviet Union as a model of those that must exist between developed and underdeveloped countries. He asked with regard to this matter, why the United States does not increase the price which it pays to Jamaica for

bauxite as the USSR does with Cuban sugar. "I cannot help observing he commented, the big effort that the Jamaican Government is making for the country's progress, although in very difficult conditions, brought about by the economic crisis of the capitalist world". He stressed that the problem of unequal exchange has become very serious for the developing countries, and for that it is admirable how the Jamaican Government works to overcome those difficulties."

He praised health conditions in Jamaica, which today are among the best in Latin America, as well as its advance in questions of education and solution of the problems of housing in the countryside. Fidel Castro stressed that the Cubans went to Angola at the request of the Government of Agostinho Neto, when the South African fascist troops, in a lightning war, imitation Hitler's armoured divisions, invaded Angolan territory advancing 70 kilometers a day. "It was then that they asked for our assistance, and between the Angolans and the Cubans the fascist army which thought it was invincible was defeated", he emphasised.... "We did not go to win independence, he manifested, we went to help a people who won its independence, because we understand that independence is before any other task of the people who struggled valiantly against the oppressors".... "That is what the combatants of Zimbabwe and Namibia are doing; they do not need Cuban troops to win independence", he stressed.

Jamaican-Cuban Communique

"Jamaica and Cuba condemn the overthrow of democratic governments in some Latin American countries and express their hope that the peoples of the hemisphere will continue struggling resolutely against the oppressive regimes. In a joint communique signed at the end of an official visit to Jamaica by the President of the Cuban State Council, Fidel Castro, both countries stated their satisfaction for the different efforts that are being carried out right now for relaxing tensions in the hemisphere. The Cuban leader and the Jamaican Prime Minister, Michael Manley, reiterated their commitment continued and firm with the principles

and objectives of the Non-aligned Movement and the principles of the United Nation's Charter. They pointed out especially the fact that the next summit conference of the Non-aligned group will be held in Havana in 1979. At the same time they supported the liquidation of colonialism, neocolonialism, racism, tyrannies and oppression throughout the world. Fidel Castro and Michael Manley renewed their appeal on behalf of the establishing of a new international economic order which proscribes the economic exploitation of the developing countries. That new order, they said, will have to permit those nations to live and develop themselves on the basis of economic justice and equality.

The communique points out that both leaders reiterated their firm conviction that the achieving of a new international economic order is indispensable for the establishing of just economic relations between nations and for a true world peace. At the same time they reiterated their determination to continue struggling for the victory of the cause of just and lasting peace for all countries and reaffirmed their position in favour of general and complete disarmament. The two leaders, says the document, expressed their preoccupation for the continued resistance of the minority racist regimes in Southern Africa. They also praised the struggle of the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa at the same time that they backed the categorical pronouncement of the OAS in favour of the actual borders in Africa and on behalf of the unity and territorial integrity of each African country.

On referring to the Middle East, Fidel Castro and Manley manifested that Israeli's withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories, the total implantation of the Palestinian people's rights and the recognition of the right of existence of all the states of the region constitute the way to arrive at true peace. In relation to Jamaican-Cuban relations, the document points out that both leaders were in agreement in a series of spheres in which it will be possible that the two countries continue helping each other mutually. They reaffirmed their determined conviction that states with different social political and economic systems must be permitted to develop in accordance with the ways selected by their peoples without any kind of foreign interference.

New Elements In Cuba-USA Relations

With 1977 drawing to a close, this year can be described as a crucial one for the future development of Cuban-United States relations, virtually inexistent for 15 years and now in a careful process of normalization. Cuban Foreign Minister, Isidoro Malmierca, reiterated in his recent United Nations General Assembly speech that his country is not prepared to hold negotiations with Washington so long as the US imposed blockade remains in effect.

New elements were added to this assertion by Malmierca. After returning to Cuba from an unofficial visit to the United States, Foreign Trade Minister Marcelo Fernandez told reporters that the ending of the blockade would not mean the settlement of all the matters pending for a normalisation of trade relations. Any possibility for large scale trade with the US, said the Cuban minister, will depend, not only on the lifting of the blockade, but also in the restoration of Cuba's foremost favoured nation status and the elimination of the credit and financial restrictions imposed by the blockade. Havana political observers, in commenting on Marcelo Fernandez remarks, found new views on the future relations between the two countries. They pointed out that Cuba, speaking in purely mercantile terms with its northern neighbour, now talks in terms of large scale trade.

The Cuban authorities regard the claims raised by US companies that were nationalised early in the revolution with a coldly reasonable attitude on the basis of two points: (1) The US must pay compensation to Cuba for the damage caused to it by the blockade and other aggressions; (2) With the funds obtained in this way, Cuba would in turn pay the US companies for their nationalised property.

Cuba holds that the amount of its own claims for damages is higher than the one billion 800 million dollars mentioned by US sources. If mutual payment is required, the balance, favourable to Cuba would then become a solid beginning, and perhaps an initial guarantee, for bilateral trade relations. Observers recall that Marcelo Fernandez himself announced in the course of his brief Washington visit that his

country is prepared to import a wide range of US products, while he placed volume at about a billion dollars in three or four years.

A number of US business executives are clearly interested in doing business with Cuba, which they regard as potential market with substantial prospects. The contacts held this year by Cuban and US officials, have been satisfactory, with the year looming as a decisive one for the development of bilateral talks.

The Cuban Revolution's foreign policy and the attitude adopted by the Carter administration have promoted advances between the two countries. The 1977 version of Cuba-USA relations is different from that of the previous 15 years, in which they were characterised by open hostility engendered largely by the countless aggressions against the island by the US. Although the authorities of both nations agree that the negotiations for further improvement will be slow, it is plain that calmer winds prevail in Cuban-USA relations

Why The US Outcry Over Cubans In Africa?

By David B Ottaway. *International Herald Tribune*, January 7-8, 1978.

The Carter administration has recently signalled a marked shift in its policy of detente toward Cuba, making a major public issue out of the growing Cuban involvement throughout Africa and particularly in internal African conflicts. The real reasons behind the U.S. decision to harden its stand at this time toward Cuba over its African activities still remain unclear. But here in Africa, at least, it seems the administration is now protesting much more vociferously than any African country other than perhaps Somalia and Zaire. This raises the question of why the United States is putting itself visibly so far out ahead of most African states and whether, in so doing, it does not risk alienating as many African capitals as it may be quietly pleasing.

Cuba, after all, has its own special historical links to the African continent, and it is simply aiding governments of a similar Marxist persuasion that have asked for its help. Elsewhere, it is acting to

further, or uphold, principles enshrined in the organisation of African Unity charter: the liberation of black people from oppressive white rule in southern Africa and the preservation of national unity in the case of Ethiopia and Angola. Whether it is also abetting the subversion of established African governments, like those in Zaire and Malawi, as has been alleged, remains so far unsubstantiated. In any case, it is not over this issue that the Carter administration is taking Cuba to task.

While the US concern about Cuba is certainly shared by the more conservative African states, it is certainly not by a good dozen or more socialist ones. Even a number of moderates, like Zambia and Nigeria, that are seriously committed to the black liberation struggle and have given up on the West as a source of military assistance, are highly appreciative of Cuban help.

Viewed from Washington, Communist Cuba is apparently merely a surrogate of the Soviet Union, furthering Moscow's finely timed expansionist designs on a continent all too ripe for, and defenseless against, foreign intervention of all sorts. The Cubans, it would seem from the administration's protests, are even more dangerous than the Russians, presumably because they are proving far more acceptable and thus effective in spreading the gospel of Marx and Lenin, not to mention anti-US propaganda.

However, to many African countries, Cuba represents something quite different. It is a Third World country of many black-skinned people offering an alternative to the heavy-handed, and often all-too-demanding, super powers pursuing global interests of their own.

Cuba has shown no interest in obtaining bases or port and air-port facilities on the continent, because it has no strategic need for them. A small nation of limited military outreach and manpower, it poses no threat to the all-too-vulnerable sovereignty of most African countries. Indeed, in the two embattled African nations of Angola and Ethiopia, it is providing troops, advisers and other military assistance precisely to help preserve their national unity, in addition to the governments in power.

It should not be forgotten that no issue is more emotional and fear-provoking in most African capitals than that of national unity.

This is precisely because nations on this continent are still such fragile entities in their present-day colonial inherited borders.

Nor should one forget that, viewed from Africa, the United States did not distinguish itself as a dedicated partisan of the principle of national unity during Nigeria's difficult struggle to prevail over the secessionist movement in Biafra from 1967 to 1970. The same is now proving true again, for different reasons and in different times, in the case of Ethiopia and even Angola.

In Southern Africa, Cuba is on the side of the angels so far as black Africa is concerned. It is helping to train nationalist guerillas to overthrow the white minority governments in Namibia and Rhodesia. Black Africa generally hails the Cuban commitment on this issue—and takes note of the unwillingness of Western nations to do as much.

The US hue and cry over the Cuban role in Africa has focussed heavily on the military aspect of it. But it should also be noted that Cuba has sent hundreds of civilian technicians and doctors to, principally, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Angola and Tanzania.

Indeed, Cuba, with a population of fewer than 10 million, is probably now providing more doctors, medical personnel and technicians to Africa than is the United States, with a population of more than 200 million. And this is much appreciated in such countries as Tanzania,

where the leaders are clamoring for more Cuban assistance.

Even on the issue of Cuba's military assistance to Angola and Ethiopia, not many African governments are likely to join, the United States publicly in pressing for the withdrawal of its troops. The main reason for this is that every African leader wants to reserve the right to call upon outside assistance of his choosing to maintain himself in dire times.

Long before Cuba, both France and Britain—the main former colonial masters of this continent—sent troops upon request to bolster threatened newly independent African states, the British to Tanzania and Uganda and the French to Gabon. Cuba is this setting no African precedent in this regard. Another question raised by the administration's outcry over the Cuban presence in Africa is why Washington officialdom has decided to take such a different attitude toward this little Caribbean nation than toward the Soviet Union.

Many U.S. policy-makers dealing with Africa at the State Department and the White House take a cool approach toward the vastly expanded Soviet engagement in Africa, arguing that Moscow has way overextended itself and is pursuing a policy destined to collapse under its own weight. Furthermore, they believe that African nationalism will eventually assert itself against Soviet expansionism and turn it back, just as happened in Somalia and earlier in Egypt and the Sudan.

If Moscow is overextended in its African commitment, Havana, with one-quarter of its entire army now said to be here, is certainly far more so. Why then does the same logic and attitude applied to the Soviet Union not also obtain in the case of little Cuba?

Finally, it seems difficult to separate the U.S. reaction to Cuba's expanding role in Africa from the great difficulty Washington is having in learning how to get along with the radical African socialist states, whose number is no longer negligible.

It is primarily these states that are increasingly turning to Cuba for all kinds of assistance, preferring to work with a small Third World nation seeking to solve the problems of development in a similar socialist manner. For Cuba, it is extremely easy to relate to them; for the United States, it is proving exceedingly difficult.

The Carter administration seems to think that its problems with Angola stem mainly from the big Cuban military involvement there. But there is good reason to believe they go much deeper, to the complex political and ideological difficulties it is having in its relations with radical or socialist regimes throughout the Third World.

Perhaps then part of the answer to improving its relations with Cuba lies with a new, more positive U.S. approach to dealing with the African Marxist countries Cuba is helping.

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Feb. 7 — Feb. 14

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TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 7: While ceremonies in connection with the investiture Sri Lanka's first elected executive president continued in Kandy yesterday, some Ministers of the unchanged Cabinet took their oaths before him at the King's Pavillion; Mr. R. Premadasa is due to be sworn in as PM in Colombo today. The President gave his first address to the nation

from the Patthirippuwa of the Sri Dalada Maligawa in which he pledged that there will be no racial, religious or political bias shown towards anyone—CDN. Publicity for public servants is henceforth taboo; the government has decided that official releases should not refer to officials by name; only their designations should be given—CDM. The President said yesterday that the people should look up to him as their protector. The Peradeniya police have taken into custody three people including a university lecturer and a student who are alleged to have attempted to hoist black flags in protest against the visit of the new President to Kandy—SU.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 8: The President will attend the regional meeting of the Commonwealth Heads of Government scheduled to be held from February 13 to 16 in Sydney, Australia. Socialist, Western and Middle Eastern countries have given firm assurances to the Government of Sri Lanka of their commitment to help this country with her development program and also help her economically. The President has said that the objectives of our missions abroad should be to serve the economic needs of Sri Lanka, Sri Lanka's Permanent Representative and Ambassador to the UN said. The Sansoni Commission appointed by the Gov-

ernment to probe the incidents during the communal disturbances in August-September last year begins sittings in Jaffna today. Revolutionary changes to the EPF will be made before May Day this year to enable the Labour Department to take over the entire administration of the fund. The Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications is to install 2000 new telephones within the city of Colombo by the end of this month. Rubber-based industries which in the past had been neglected both by the private and public sector will be given new incentives shortly. The Coconut Cultivation Board has launched an intensive programme to re-vitalize the country's dwindling coconut industry which reached an all time low in 75-77, a record drop of about 50% from previous years—CDN. A large number of lorries, busses and cars imported under the liberalised scheme have become unserviceable due to the acute shortage of batteries; the government has therefore decided to give priority to the import of batteries for vehicles—CDM. Bungling bureaucrats found guilty of hampering the country's progress through their inefficiency or incompetence are to be sent on retirement with five years added to their service. The right to private practice is now being pursued by all categories of public servants; the latest are the State Counsels in the Attorney General's Department. Charges are to be framed departmentally against three SP's; two are to be charged with looting while the third for leaving station without permission and using his official car for private purposes. The President is expected to appoint an Ombudsman shortly. Sri Lanka is to get a gift of 100,000 tons of wheat flour from America shortly. The Minister of Agriculture and Lands yesterday issued a gazette notification setting up a National Agricultural Diversification and Settlement Authority with a capital of 10 million rupees. The PM has introduced a bill to amend the Protection of Tenants (Special Provisions) Act of 1970—SU. The President will appoint the District Ministers when he returns from Australia. Our own engineers will, for the first time build a 40 mw. Power Station at Kaniyan at a cost of 280 million rupees which the Asian Development Bank has provided—DW. Only three pounds of dry fish have been produced at the fish factory at Dehiwala; it was constructed by the last government under the DDC Project; there is no report on how much this project costs and how much loss was incurred either—LD. The price of rice in the open market is Rs. 2.50, less than the corporation price which is 2.90—DM.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 9: There was evidence of inefficiency, incompetence, lethargy and even sabotage in the bureaucracy of Sri Lanka and the state machinery as it is at present is not geared to development tasks; this is the view of the five-member Parliamentary Committee on Bureaucracy. The UNP has set up an office in 'Sri Kotha' to entertain complaints and initiated action concerning the revalidation of rice ration books. The PM makes his first official visit to Kandy today. Even though the causes for the August disturbances were many, the main cause which set the entire country aflame was the behaviour of the police forces in Jaffna and lack of discipline in the Police Force was one of the main reasons for the disturbances said the Counsel who appeared on behalf of the Tamil Refugees Liberation Organisation before the one-man commissioner, Mr. M. C. Sansoni inquiring into the August disturbances—CDN. Any member of the public or organisation which has suffered as a result of lethargy,

inefficiency, sabotage or negligence of government officials will be given the chance to ventilate their grievances so that the bureaucrats responsible could be taken to task and punishment meted out if necessary. The Parliamentary Committee on Bureaucracy yesterday appealed to the press to expose instances of bureaucratic lethargy, negligence or sabotage. The GMOA and the AMS claim in a press release that over 20 qualified doctors applied to the Dept of Health for Commonwealth Scholarships, only three (one of whom did not have the qualifications) were called for the interview. The production of cigarettes will be normal soon, according to an official source of the Ceylon Tobacco Company—CDM. The President is expected to name the five members this week who will constitute the Greater Colombo Economic Commission which will be responsible for impelmentation of the Free Trade Zone. Passes issued by Kandy's GA to special invitees to witness the Raja Perahera from the special enclosures constructed in the Lake bund had been sold at Rs. 100 per pass to tourists, it has now been revealed—SU. The Minister of Education met members of the Educational Reforms Committee; he said that they would have to examine the general content of the national system of education and recommend changes in the system which would result in an improvement in both the system and the quality of the education imparted—IDPR No. 24. The Income Tax Department earned Rs. 1742 million rupees last year; this is the highest this department has earned. The Health Department has received spare parts worth 40,000 dollars from the UN Children's Fund to repair the unusable vehicles in the department—LD. The Labour Department has taken steps to provide jobs at various level in government development sectors for ex-land army personnel after they recruited; these jobs will be given on merit—DW. The JVP will go from house to house all over the country to collect money for their Rs. 100,000 fund from February 20 to 27. The Minister of Education has ordered the officials in his ministry to appoint the 3000 new teachers with immediate effect—LD.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 10: The proposed constitutional amendments will not only enshrine fundamental human rights but also allow any member of the public to go to courts in the event of a violation of these basic rights, said the PM in Kandy yesterday. The President is not likely to chair the Parliamentary Select Committee now studying draft proposals to revise the constitution. The leader of the Opposition testifying before the Sansoni Commission said that when some police constables started shooting near the Jaffna bus stand on August 16 last year, the ASP and HQI of Jaffna were not in a position to control the men under them: they were literally begging them to stop. Mr. Eamon Kariyakarawana, a former Lake House journalist has been appointed Chairman of the SLBC. The government yesterday admitted that a certain percentage of the population had been deprived of their ration books even though they were within the category of those eligible for revalidation—CDN. Members of the Greater Colombo Economic Commission were appointed by the President yesterday; they are: Mr. Upali Wijewardene, as Director General and Mr. Paul Perera, Dr. Seevali Ratwatte, Mr. A. Y. S. Gnanam and Mr. A. I. Makan Markar. Sales of gems, except to the State Gem Corporation are now liable to Business Turnover Tax, according to an order made yesterday by the Minister of Finance. The UNP's trade Union branch,

the Jathika Sevaka Sangamaya, has been instructed by its high command to expose official building, corruption, maladministration and inefficiency in State Corporations, statutory bodies and other government undertakings. The Parliamentary Committee on the cost-of-living is of the opinion that most drugs are available at prohibitive prices because these prices are fixed to enable the State Pharmaceuticals Corporation to make huge profits—*COM*. A proposal for greater economic co-operation among members of the Commonwealth particularly the Asian members is expected to be made by the President who leaves for Sydney tomorrow to attend the Commonwealth Heads of Government regional meeting. The PM received a red carpet welcome in Kandy where he went on his first official visit. The Customs 1st night raid a textile firm at Ratmalana and seized 28 cases of printed nylon textiles valued at Rs. 160,000. 800 trainee nurses are to be recruited by the Ministry of Health this year. Electricity generated through solar energy and biogases will be available to consumers from next year for the first time—*SU*. There was a well laid plan behind the August disturbances said the Leader of the Opposition testifying before the Sansoni Commission—*EN*. There will be a thrice weekly steamer service between Talaimannar and Rameswaram from the 13 of February in view of the increased number of passengers—*VK*. A high level government delegation from the Republic of Germany will visit Embilipitiya on February 16 to inspect the commercial production of paper from indigenous rice straw that has commenced at the Pulp and Paper Mill with aid from the Govt of the Federal Republic of Germany—*IDPR* No. 29. A training institute has been set up to train the Foremen, Inspectors and Technicians in various technical divisions of the Railway Chief Mechanical Factory at Ratmalana—*IDPR* No. 31. A high level Norwegian delegation of the Private Business and Banking Sectors, is currently in Sri Lanka with a view to identifying the areas in which Norwegian business interests could participate in the development of Sri Lanka—*IDPR* No. 34. The Fertilizer Corporation will import 48.8 million tons of fertilizer this year but there will be no increase in the price. The government has decided to start 5000 new factories all over the country to provide jobs and increase production—*DW*. An officer of the State Pharmaceuticals Corporation has said that the drug shortage at hospitals was due to lack of adequate funds allocated for the purchase of drugs—*LD*.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 11: Sri Lanka's President is scheduled to deliver the first keynote speech at the Regional meeting of Commonwealth Heads of State which will commence in Sydney on Monday. Private sector trade Chamber representatives who met the President yesterday agreed to initiate immediate action to increase their existing workforce by a minimum of 10%. The benefits, rights and privileges enjoyed by employees of the State would be extended to all Local Government employees said the PM at a reception to him by the Kandy Municipality. The government has begun appointing a special officer to each of the 25 ministries to handle requests from MP's. Radical changes to the Medical Ordinance have been proposed by a Parliamentary Committee appointed to examine and report on the country's entire medical structure including the staff and functions of the Health Department—*CDN*. Norway has agreed to give aid to Sri Lanka upto the sum of Rs. 507 million for the years 78 to 81. The PM of Vietnam, Mr. Pham Van Dong, is

expected to visit Sri Lanka on March 2. Not a single Sinhalese civilian in Jaffna was harmed during the recent disturbances said the Leader of the Opposition in evidence before the Sansoni Commission—*CDM*. The Greater Colombo Economic Commission resolved yesterday to embark on its task on a priority footing so that the FTZ could start functioning as soon as possible. Mr. Bernard Soysa, former MP for Colombo South will be nominated by the LSSP as its candidate for the forthcoming by-election for the Colombo West seat. A high-ranking delegation from West Germany will arrive here tomorrow for discussions with the Sri Lanka government on current and future programmes of financial and technical co-operation. There were 99 cases of murder in the country in January this year according to Police HQ's—*SU*. The Fisheries Corporation has signed an agreement with a Japanese firm to export 25,000 tons of prawns and lobsters a month; the corporation expects a profit of Rs. 2.5 million a month—*LD*. Students after passing the GCE 'A' level before entering the University and youths over 18, including Government as well as opposition MP's and government servants will have to work in the Mahaweli Development Scheme; a bill to this effect will be brought by the government soon in the NSA—*DM*.

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 12: The biggest ever real estate deal in Sri Lanka was concluded within the state sector last week when the Insurance Corporation bought the unfinished CWE building at Vauxhall Street for a whopping Rs. 36 million; the stamp duty on this transaction was Rs. 4.5 million. Tired of paying exorbitant private nursing home bills for health insurance policy holders, the Insurance Corporation of Sri Lanka has decided to run its own hospital. The CP of Sri Lanka has denied an SLFP allegation that there was friction within the CP over future co-operation with the Freedom Party. Planned student demonstrations are not expected to distract the 12 Asian and Pacific Commonwealth leaders from their efforts to build an economic and political bridge between themselves. For the first time in the history of Sri Lanka a major casualty surgical operation was conducted under acupuncture anaesthesia at midnight last Thursday—*SO*. Five persons die on the road every day in Sri Lanka; this is more than the number killed by physical violence according to Police HQ's; the Insurance Corporation has paid Rs. 26 million as compensation to victim's dependents. An increase of ten suicides and eight homicides a month has been recorded during the past six months. The private sector may also be allowed to import drugs and the indications are that it will be permitted an allocation equal to that to be given to the State Pharmaceuticals Corporation; the estimated figures is Rs. 80 million—*ST*. A series of informal bilateral talks, particularly with heads of certain Asian states have been planned for the President of Sri Lanka in Sydney next week. Several rail tracks have been removed within the last few days; last night the track at Anuradhapura was tampered with as the Minister of Transport was making an official visit to the NCP. The President will continue to participate in the country's Constitution making; the Parliamentary Select-Committee now revising the constitution will extend an invitation to him to participate in its deliberations—*WK*. Forces that are working against the government have tried to sabotage the visit of the Minister of Transport to certain areas; the plot has come to light—*VK*. The Chairman of the CWE has said that all CWE

outlets will be brought upto the standard of the one in Fort and all salesmen will be given a training—SM. The Central Bank has not done any important research work for the past two years though 50 economists and 120 officers are employed by the Bank for this purpose—SLDP.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 13: Australia would give increased economic aid to Sri Lanka and other Asian and West Asian Commonwealth countries; the Australian PM Malcolm Fraser gave this assurance to the President of Sri Lanka when they met at a 45 minute discussion in Sydney yesterday. A huge explosion today rocked the hotel where the visiting Commonwealth Heads of Govt. are staying for a conference—and police said they believed it had been caused by a bomb; an Australian govt official said all the Commonwealth leaders and their aides and officials were safe. The government yesterday announced that more than 50% of the population which included 400,000 children would continue to receive the rice and sugar subsidies issued on ration books. A series of public meetings in Trincomalee and Colombo will mark the silver Jubilee of the Sivananda Thapovanam, Trincomalee this month—CDN. Several items of equipment consigned to the General Hospital Colombo, through the Sate Medical Stores have been lying uncleared in the Port for over three months. Admission of freshers to the University of Sri Lanka is likely to be delayed as the Department of Examinations has not released the GCE 'A' level marks to the university; the academic year is scheduled for May. oods worth several millions of Rupees are lying idle in many co-operative stores mismanaged owing to pressure by MP's of the previous government who were directors of co-op unions—CDN. Colombo may be the venue of the next Regional meeting of the Commonwealth Heads of Government; the suggestion came from the Australian PM who was hosting Asian and Pacific leaders of the Commonwealth at a tea party this evening. Instant communication—a vital factor in the bid to combat the increase in the crime in the country—is to be provided to the police following a decision to activate the communication centre for continuous operations. The CID are investigating into an alleged attempt to bring about a head-on collision of the Anuradhapura and Batticaloa trains last Friday night—SU. The government of Sri Lanka has appointed HE Mr. Arthur Basnayake, High Commissioner for Sri Lanka in India as Ambassador to the Republic of Afghanistan with residence in New Dlehi—IDPR No. 27/78. The Labour Department has received applications from 70,000 persons for employment in the Middle East; the department has sent 2500 people so far. The Minister of Plantation Industries said that the profits of state owned estates have gone up by 50 million rupees; this is because of cutting down on wastage and excess staff—LD. The Minister of Education said that 2000 Buddhist Monks would be given teaching appointments. A vegetable canning factory is seen to be established at Welimada—DM. Over 500,000 unlicensed radios will be confiscated and action will be taken against the owners as the SLBC is losing around Rs. 10 million as a result of this—DW. Only four corporations have shown an increase of production from January to October 7 compared to the corresponding period in the previous year. Holding the two papers which leaked in the GCE 'O' level again cost over Rs. 500,000 the department has begun a new scheme to prevent further leakage—DW.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 14: Commonwealth leaders from Asia and the Pacific ended their first day's political and economic dialogue in Sydney today in a tense atmosphere following a bomb explosion which killed two men and injured nine others; the Heads of Government representing 750 million people across nearly a third of the globe, condemned the savage attack as a senseless act of violence. Indian PM, Morarji Desai called on other Commonwealth heads of government in the Asia Pacific region to 'strengthen links' where they exist and forge many new links. The early appointment of an Ombudsman is under serious consideration by the Government. The duty of newspapers was to pinpoint the shortcomings of the government and offer constructive criticism but so far, such criticism had been very meagre said the PM. The Crime Detection Bureau of the Moneragala Police has detected what is believed to be an internationally organised narcotics gang engaged in mixing ganja concentrated spirit with ghee exported from Sri Lanka—CDN. 38 persons who were taken into custody by the Kandy police for alleged offences during the disturbances last year and who were remanded and subsequently released on bail were discharged by the Kandy Magistrate yesterday. The Society of Government Pharmacists have recommended the setting up of an Administrative Board of Control of Pharmacists to the Committee to review and amend the health regulations. The police are now preparing a systematic counter-offensive to combat thefts of motor vehicles and telephone wire; they have obtained advice from Scotland Yard and other sources and are expected to utilise modern equipment—CDM. Sri Lanka's President will hold informal talks with leaders of four non-aligned nations on Wednesday; they are the PMs of India, Singapore, Malaysia and the President of Bangladesh. The Minister of Cultural Affairs had wide-ranging discussions in Moscow last Friday with Mr. Pyotr Demichev, alternate member of the Soviet Communist Party's Central Committee Politbureau and the Minister of Culture of the USSR. The Central Committee of the CP of Sri Lanka has unanimously adopted three theses to be considered and adopted at the tenth congress of the CP to be held from March 22 to 26 in Colombo—SU. The Head of the Jaffna CTB depot, testifying before the Sansoni Commission said that about 50,000 refugees were transported from the South to Jaffna in buses—EN. The Minister of Agriculture and Lands will lay the foundation stone for the West-German Maho fertilizer Warehouse project of the Fertilizer Corporation on February 18—DPR NO 38. The Ministry of Overseas Development of the UK has contributed a sum of Rs. 1.2 million to procure necessary material and equipment to construct 45 rural water supply schemes under the agreement entered into between UNCEF and the Sri Lanka government—DPR No. 39. The government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam has appointed Mr. Le Bao as Ambassador to Sri Lanka in succession to HE Mr. Nguyen Van Sinh—DPR No. 29/78. The Minister of Irrigation, Power and Highways has said that the government will launch a scheme whereby Sri Lanka will be self-sufficient in rice in 6 years. Some well-known businessmen are working on a scheme to give jobs to 50,000 unemployed youths—DM. 90% of the allegations of political victimisation made by public servants are found to be true. The Cabinet will not be re-shuffled until the Colombo West by-elections over—DW.



THE LAST MESSAGE OF A MAN WHO STRUGGLED AND
DIED FOR HIS PEOPLE

The Palestinian Dream

—from co-existence to reconciliation—

By Sa'id Hammami

Sa'id Hammami was assassinated in London on January 4, 1978. He was the PLO representative in the U.K. Why was he assassinated? Did the Zionists fear that he was making headway in winning the sympathy of the British people for the Palestinian cause? Or did some Arab extremists feel that Hammami was becoming too much of a "moderate"? Did they suspect that he would support Sadat's courageous but controversial strategy to win the peace? This article by Hammami appeared in the London Tribune of January 13, 1978. We were sent a cutting of the article by a reader in the UK and we publish it because of its special interest. Hammami's article indicates that he was thinking on the same line as many realists in regard to a settlement of the Middle East problem.—Editor.

TWO years ago I wrote a paper: *A Palestinian Strategy for Peaceful Co-existence*. It met with all kinds of reception. In some Palestinian circles it was bitterly attacked as a sell-out, a defeatist plan which would compromise the historic rights of the Palestinians. Some Israeli Zionists saw it as a blueprint for the gradual destruction of Israel. Yet, at the same time, it was well received by a considerable number of people on both sides of the fence.

The debate that was created by that paper encouraged me to continue to spell out my ideas for a resolution of the conflict from which my people and their enemies have suffered so much.

There can be no question about the rights of the Palestinians in Palestine. The simplicity of the Palestinian cause is at the heart of its difficulty. Any Palestinian can disarm his opponent by putting forward his case in simple terms. We were living peacefully in our country. Foreigners came and, with the support of the big powers, they claimed our country as their own. There was a war. When it ended, we had become stateless refugees. It is difficult for even the most fanatical Zionist to challenge, openly, the right of a Palestinian to return and to live in his homeland.

But in this article, I do not want to brood over old wrongs or to waste time on recriminations about the sins of some of the great powers, of the international community, of the Zionists and their state of Israel, against Palestine and its Arab people.

It is, certainly, my view that the member states of the United Nations, and particularly those which bear a responsibility for the destruction of Arab Palestine, have a duty to look back over the whole record

of events since that sad day in November 1917 when "one people solemnly promised to a second the country of a third." Having done so, they should, I am convinced, come to a decision on the rights and wrongs of the Palestinian problem. On this, governments ought to base their present policies on an informed and moral understanding of the past. If they do that, Palestinians have no reason to fear the outcome.

Much has been said about the past on countless previous occasions, both in the Middle East and elsewhere. Three years ago, before the General Assembly of the United Nations, the Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organisation traced the development of the Palestine problem from its beginnings in the late nineteenth century, through the period of the British Mandate and the four wars since 1948, up to the present. I believe that his speech there should be read again and again and understood, all the more because, at the time, it was widely and perhaps deliberately misrepresented and misrepresented.

However, as I have said, it is not my intention to reiterate the story of past wrongs or to dwell on their present consequences. Rather I wish to invite the reader to accompany me on a journey into the future—a happier and

more hopeful future in which enmity and conflict have been laid aside and the two peoples, the Palestinian Arabs and the Israeli Jews, who both claim Palestine as their own, have begun the task which is their manifest destiny, sooner or later, the task of learning to live together as equal partners sharing the same land and respecting each other's rights.

I want to spell out, in as concrete and practical terms as I can, the vision which we Palestinians carry in our hearts of a secular, non-sectarian state where all citizens can live together in peace and as equals under a mutually agreed form of government. This might appear to be a sort of mental arithmetic or, indeed, an intellectual luxury, to discuss in detail the form of society for which we Palestinians are striving. But I believe that it is of fundamental importance for us, as Palestinians, to discuss our aims in such detail, and to clarify our ultimate goals, so that we can understand, and help all the other parties to the present conflict to understand, that the final solution we seek is not only just and worth struggling for—it is also a realistic possibility.

So I am not asking the reader to judge the morality of our hopes, but their practicality. I also believe that it is important, because Palestinians are not going to abandon their aspirations of their rights in Palestine, nor will the Zionists, from their side, desist from keeping their propaganda machine well-oiled, insisting, as usual, that "the Palestinian secular state is a code word for the destruction of the Israeli people." I am also sure that there will be some people who will say that this is no time to talk about that, since all parties, except the most extremist, now seem to agree that Palestine should be partitioned. To these people, I would like to quote a famous English saying: "Till a matter is done, wonder whether it can be done; as soon as it is done, wonder again that it was not done sooner."

Before I try to elaborate on the Palestinian "dream" of a bi-national Palestine, perhaps I may remind you that we are not the first to think in these terms. Before the Zionist militants succeeded in forcing partition of Palestine, there were a number of distinguished members of the

Jewish community in Palestine who expressed hopes not very different from those we voice today. Some continued courageously to advocate a true partnership between the two people even after the creation of the Zionist state of Israel. Judah Magnes, the first president of the Hebrew University, was one of a number of prominent liberal Palestinian Jews who sought in the thirties to promote an accord with Arab leaders for a bi-national state. Their project was rejected out of hand by the militant, decision-making elite of the Zionist community. But Judah Magnes continued to argue the case for co-operation, partnership and co-existence and courageously insisted that "..... the time has come for the Jews to take into account the Arab factor as the most important facing us. If we have a just cause, so have they. If promises were made to us, so were they made to the Arabs. Even more realistic than the ugly realities of imperialism is the fact that the Arabs live here and in this part of the world, and will probably be here long after the collapse of one imperialism and the rise of another. If we too wish to live in this living space we must live with the Arabs...."

Fair enough, some of you may be saying, but what of the Israeli objection that the Palestinian vision necessarily involves in practice the disappearance of the Zionist state and that therefore Israel is justified in refusing to enter into negotiations with people committed to that vision? No state can be expected to engage in negotiations with adversaries whose avowed aim precludes its continued independent existence. To sit at the negotiating table with such negotiators would imply acquiescence in their aim.

Now this sounds plausible enough, but when you consider it more closely I think you will agree that it contains two fallacies. First, it presumes that the Zionist state of Israel, as it exists today, is sacrosanct and immutable and therefore that anyone who disapproves of it and wants to see it changed must automatically be ruled out of court as an unacceptable interlocutor. Secondly, it implies that it is unthinkable for two contending parties to sit down together and try to work out a *modus vivendi* if the ultimate aim or hope of either party is, in an absolute sense, irreconcilable with the other's continued existence as a political entity. As a general proposition that is illogical.

It would make nonsense of current efforts for East-West detente; and there are plenty of instances from the past where adversaries, each of which hoped some day to see the other disappear, nevertheless negotiated together practical arrangements for continuing to live together.

You will note that the Israeli objection relates not to means but to ends. They do not say: "We cannot negotiate under duress while the Palestinians are carrying on an armed struggle against us." They say, "We cannot negotiate with them at all, because their dream is our nightmare." Just suppose that we took the same line and declared that we would never, never talk to the Israelis because their dream of Zionism was a nightmare to us—and indeed it has become an all too present nightmare. Suppose it was we, and not an Israeli Prime Minister, who declared that "the one and only meeting place is on the battle field"—what would the world have to say about us if we took that attitude?

This vision of a happier and more hopeful future which I intend to explore here is bound to be, in

many respects, a personal statement. The time I have in mind is some 10 or 20 years hence—perhaps even longer. During this time, I am assuming that events have proceeded through several phases. First, after many setbacks and disappointments, a peace settlement is at last reached in Geneva which includes the establishment of a Palestinian state. Then a considerable period of time passes while the two states, Israeli and Palestinian, exist independently, side by side. Gradually the two peoples acquire confidence in one another and develop cultural and other relations. Also, on the political level, a dialogue opens, hesitant at first, but growing in confidence as time passes, between leading Palestinians and liberal, non-Zionist Israelis.

A significant role in this inter-communication between two former enemies would be played by the 500,000 Palestinian Arabs resident in Israel and by Israelis in the former settlements who chose to remain in the Palestinian state, which, of course, would no longer be exclusively Jewish. A large number of Israeli Jews would learn Arabic and,

THE MAN AND HIS CAUSE

SA'ID HAMMAMI would have enjoyed the irony: he had to be killed to be feted by the media as a "moderate" Palestinian spokesman. Only two years ago, I well remember him being denounced as a "terrorist" and a "fanatic" when we unsuccessfully tried to persuade the Liberal Party Conference to listen to him. Yet his message—reflected in this *Tribune* article—remained consistent throughout his stay in London as the Palestine Liberation Organisation representative. He demanded simple justice for the Palestinians; the right to their own homeland. His view that a West Bank homeland was the most realistic solution is controversial within the Palestinian movement. But that did not deflect him from arguing it. For he saw it as an interim solution, to create a stagepost for a future unified Palestine.

He had a unique ability to reach British audiences with his people's cry for help. On several occasions, when we spoke together at public meetings, I saw previously hostile Zionists rise to say how they had been moved by his speech. One individual, who had threatened to disrupt a meeting, remarked to me after hearing Sa'id: "If only we could get the Israelis to talk direct to the Palestinians. We might get somewhere." For someone who had been born in a refugee camp and had come to realise that the only alternative for his dispossessed people was to wage a liberation struggle, he displayed a remarkable lack of bitterness. Although uncompromising and passionate on the basic Palestinian rights, he always argued his case coolly; it was so strong that it could be understated, he felt. And this combination of tolerance and coolness made him perhaps the most effective exponent of the Palestinian cause in the West. But he found exile-diplomacy on behalf of a guerilla movement frustrating at times; he would have loved to use his talents to contribute to the government of a democratic socialist Palestine in which he believed. His assassination is a tragedy, both for his young family and for his people. It should increase our determination to ensure that the voice of the Palestinians is heard loudly and persistently.

PETER HAIN

of course, an equally large number of Palestinians would learn to speak Hebrew. Discrimination not only between Palestinian Arabs and Israelis, but also between *sephardi* oriental Jews and the *askenazis* of European origin, would gradually disappear. This healthy exchange would be encouraged by the United States, the Soviet Union, by Europe, by the Arab world, and by prominent Jewish personalities outside the Middle East. This process of inter-communication would proceed gradually and automatically. I do not underestimate the problems of bringing two hostile communities together but I believe that, once a true dialogue begins, the Israelis in particular would discover that the enmity was nourished on illusions and myths and on an unreal conception of the character of the Palestinian Arabs.

This is the vision of the future which I am trying—perhaps too rashly—to describe. You will understand why I must emphasise the personal character of my views. No one can speak with assurance of what could happen so far ahead and it would be indefensible for me to presume to speak for others or to try to spell out in advance precisely and in detail what proposals the Palestinian negotiators will wish to make once we reach the stage of actual negotiations.

In particular, I would probably go further than most of my fellow Palestinians at this stage in trying to accommodate within the vision of a "state in partnership" the evident desire of the present Jewish population of Israel to retain a distinctive national identity of their own. I believe that, in time, we are bound to recognise and try to live with the claim of those Jews whose home is now in Israel to retain a separate national identity—even while we continue, quite rightly, to reject the absurd Zionist contention that all Jews throughout the world constitute a separate nation centred on Israel, regardless of their present citizenship and nationality.

As a first step towards a state in partnership, I believe that both Israelis and Palestinians will, sooner or later, have to recognize each other's claim to nationhood. I am not sure how best to describe, in legal and constitutional terms, the kind of state in partnership which I am inviting you to visit with me in our excursion into the future. It has some of the characteristics of

a federation, some of a condominium. But, in truth, it is *sui generis*—as it must be to fit the unique circumstances of the case.

It goes by the name of "The Commonwealth of Israel and Palestine". Its people enjoy a common citizenship. But they have retained their separate national characteristics and symbols. The Israeli and Palestinian flags are both flown throughout the country. Hebrew and Arabic are both recognised as the official languages. Both are taught in as compulsory studies in all schools, and public officials are required to have a command of both. There is freedom of movement and access throughout the country, but residence is subject to regulation. The territory is divided into three: an area of predominantly Israeli habitation, which corresponds roughly to that which was earmarked for the proposed Jewish state in the United Nations partition plan of 1947; an area of predominantly Palestinian habitation consisting of the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and the districts of Acre and Nazareth; and an area of common habitation consisting of the remainder of the country.

The Constitution provides for a Presidential system of government, but much of the administrative authority which would normally be exercised by the central government in a unitary state is devolved to subsidiary authorities in the Palestinian and Israeli areas. A President and Vice-President are elected for five years at a time by the whole population voting in common, with a proviso that when the President is a Palestinian, the Vice-President must be an Israeli, and vice versa. Ministerial portfolios are distributed equally between Israelis and Palestinians, and where the Minister is an Israeli, the Vice-Minister must be a Palestinian, and vice versa. The portfolios of Defence, Internal Security and Foreign Affairs are held jointly by the President and Vice-President. The central government

is responsible for foreign affairs, currency, customs, harbours and airports, posts and telegraphs, and also for the local administration of the joint or common area.

Elected Israeli and Palestinian authorities are each responsible for the cultural and religious affairs of their own people and also for the local administration of the areas and predominantly Israeli or Palestinian, respectively. The human and civil rights of all citizens are defined in the basic law of the commonwealth and a constitutional commission is established to hear complaints of unconstitutional actions, discrimination and maladministration, and to order remedies. In economic affairs, the partnership of the two people is an outstanding success. Both peoples are exceptionally talented and hard-working. With capital provided by Arab and non-Arab states and with the high standard of education and technical skills which they have acquired during their years as refugees, the Palestinians will succeed in raising their agriculture, industry and commercial enterprises to roughly the same level as that of the Israelis. All publicly owned corporations and all large-scale private concerns would be required by law to have both Palestinians and Israelis on their boards and in their senior management. The state in partnership would continue to attract substantial support from the Arab world, from Jewish communities outside the Middle East, and from the international community. Its external trade should expand rapidly and its economy would thrive, especially because it would no longer have to bear a crushing burden of expenditure on armaments.

This new commonwealth, which would be rather like Switzerland and with its French, Italian and German areas, would play a significant role in the Middle East. Of course, we must expect that some thousands of Israelis of European or American origin may well find it impossible

SPOKESMAN Books and the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace are shortly to publish a book, "War or Peace in the Middle East?", outlining the essential preconditions for a durable settlement. The book, which is edited by Peggy Duff, includes contributions from Noam Chomsky, Lord Caradon, Claude Bourdet, Professor Daniel Amit (Israeli editor of "Israleft") William Blackmore (an American journalist) and Sa'id Hammami who was assassinated in London January 4. THE "TRIBUNE" (Britain) published this week the article by Sa'id Hammami as a tribute to a man whose deep humanity was only equalled by his commitment to the Palestinian cause.

to reconcile their deep-rooted Zionism and their antipathy towards the Palestinians with the new state of affairs and will emigrate from Israel as the partnership begins to take shape; but the fact is that many of them are already leaving. Indirectly, this will have a beneficial effect, because there will be a shift in the Israeli leadership to the Oriental Jews, who, before the intrusion of Zionism, showed a welcome capacity to create tolerance and harmony between the various religious sects in the Arab world. I think I have said enough to give you a general understanding of the kind of vision which inspires Palestinians when they speak of a "state in partnership." There is much that I have not covered, and some of what I have said could, no doubt, be better expressed and better thought out. But I am concerned here, essentially, to outline the general shape of our dream. Details must await the give-and-take of negotiations and developments in the years to come.

Also I must emphasise that, in outlining very clearly our ultimate aims, one does not alter one's attitude to interim agreements. On the contrary, this contributes to mutual understanding and establishes a common ground for reconciliation. I well remember Leonid Brezhnev's famous remark to Richard Nixon at their first meeting: "Your son will be a communist," and I can imagine Nixon muttering, "and your son will live in a democracy".

Never in history of human conflicts have two adversaries willingly agreed to compromise out of goodwill to the other side. The Palestinian-Israeli conflict is no exception. But, we should, perhaps remember that, after three wars during the past hundred years and after the occupation of much of Western Europe by the Germans in the forties, West Germany is accepted as an equal member of the EEC and distrust of Germany has gradually faded.

Similarly, in the United States, many years after the Civil War divided its people and although the Confederate flag can still often be seen, so I am told, in the South, it has become possible for a southerner to be elected President.

Nevertheless hypocrisy is no better than extremism. If Palestinians and

Israelis learn to live together, it will not be a marriage of lovers, nor can it be a spontaneous historical process. It is the destiny of two nations who belong to one country and not what either of them would prefer. No fairminded Israeli can claim more right to live in Palestine than a Palestinian; and no realistic Palestinian can deny an Israeli the right to live in a country to which he feels he belongs.

Within this framework, the relationship between Palestinians and the Arabs world should be maintained, and indeed, strengthened; just as Israeli associations with Jewish communities abroad should also develop in a constructive way. But no one can guarantee that the Israeli identity will survive for ever in the Middle East. In a united Palestine, the Israeli people may well become a Hebrew-speaking community of the Arab Mashrik.

I hope that what I have said about our Palestinian "dream" of a secular non-sectarian state as the ultimate solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict will help to convince all those who seek a just and lasting peace in the Middle East that the establishment of an independent state for the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip is a first essential, but should be only a step towards a final peace based on a *modus vivendi* accepted and created by both Palestinians and Israelis.

(With acknowledgement from Spokesman Books and International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace).

SINGAPORE—3

Amnesty International's Briefing

This the third instalment of Amnesty International's Briefing on Singapore and deals with the number and analysis of prisoners. The concluding part will appear next week

In an interview with *The Times* of London on 25 May 1977, the Prime Minister of Singapore, Lee Kuan Yew, said that 61 men and women were detained without trial under the Internal Security Act. However, this figure does not include at least six political prisoners who are de-

tained indefinitely "awaiting deportation" under the Banishment Act. Nor does the figure take into account men and women who have been detained initially for questioning and who may later be served with formal detention orders permitting their indefinite imprisonment. In this latter category are an unknown number of people whose arrest was not publicly announced by the government. In view of these factors, it is clear that the number of people detained at any one time for political reasons in Singapore is higher than the figure of 61 given by the Prime Minister. The periods of imprisonment without trial range from less than one year to more than 14 years. Arrests of political suspects continue. The prisoners may broadly be grouped as follows:

(i) Three men who were first served with detention orders in February 1963 during "Operation Cold Store", a massive security operation (intended to stifle left-wing opposition to the merger of Singapore with the Federation of Malaysia on the terms proposed) in which more than 100 opposition leaders, students, journalists, trade unionists and others were arrested. To Amnesty International's knowledge, these three are the only "Operation Cold Store" detainees still in prison today. One of the three Said Zahari, former editor of the *Utusan Melayu*, is well known as a poet; another, Dr. Lim Hock Siew, whose brother is also in detention, was a leading member of the *Barisan Sosialis* (Socialist Front) opposition party.

(ii) Eight men detained on various dates between 1956 and 1973, with a possible ninth prisoner, a woman. One of the eight, Chia Thye Poh, is a former opposition member of parliament who resigned his seat shortly before his arrest; one, Lee Eu Seng, is the managing director of the *Nanyang Siang Pau*, a leading Chinese-language newspaper; the remainder were students, former students or workers involved in trade union activities at the time of their arrest.

(iii) Five or six men held on Queenstown Remand Prison or the Moon Crescent Center under banishment orders (see 2(i) above), and one woman held under a banishment order in Changi Female Prison. It is known that two of the men were born in

China, two in Malaya and that one was born in Singapore but has no birth certificate. Since they refuse banishment to China or Malaysia, they are detained indefinitely awaiting deportation. One of the men, Lee Tse Tong, was originally detained in October 1963 shortly after being elected member of parliament for the Bukit Timah constituency representing the *Barisan Sosialis*. Another was a student at Chinese high school at the time of his arrest.

(iv) An unknown number of men and women detained since 1974, including people detained during a wave of arrests in June 1974, a number of people arrested in 1975 described by the government as leading members and activists in the illegal Malayan Communist Party, and men and women detained for political reasons throughout 1976 and 1977 (see Preface above, page 1). The arrested men and women were of varied backgrounds, including opposition politicians, journalists, businessmen, students, construction workers, members of the armed forces, civil servants and at least one medical practitioner and one prominent civil rights lawyer.

Political detainees at present include those who have criticized the Singapore government for curtailing the application of the rule of law, restricting freedom of the press and of speech, and denying opportunities for normal trade union activity, for free political activity and for the establishment of a true parliamentary opposition. The majority of the detainees are of Chinese ethnic origin. This pattern to some extent reflects the underlying assumption of the government allegations made against those detained, namely that they are revolutionaries, or potential revolutionaries, who draw inspiration from the mainland Chinese Maoist example. Most of the detainees were born in Singapore and have (or had) Singapore citizenship although some of those arrested in 1974 were known to hold Malaysian citizenship. Said Zahari, the best-known of the "Operation Cold Store" detainees, is a Malay who was born in Singapore.

The Political Context of Detention Without Trial.

The People's Action Party (PAP) headed by Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew, which first emerged as an anti-colonial party avowedly committed to the creation of a demo-

cratic and socialist society, has remained in power since 1959. There are no opposition members in the 65-seat parliament. Having brought the PAP to power in 1959 by "riding the tiger" of leftwing groups (particularly in the trade unions), Lee Kuan Yew would seem to be convinced of a need to incapacitate potential political opponents, on the basis that they would displace him if given the opportunity.

The Internal Security Act invests the Singapore government with sweeping powers of arbitrary arrest and detention by executive order. Political prisoners in Singapore are almost invariably held without trial under the act's provisions for preventive detention on the grounds that, as alleged members of or sympathizers with the banned underground Malayan Communist Party (MCP) or MCP-front organisations, they threaten the security of the country.

In 1948 the MCP was responsible for launching a campaign of guerilla attacks in Malaya in an attempt to disrupt and eventually overthrow the British administration. This was the beginning of the period known as the Malayan Emergency, which formally came to an end in 1960. In what is now West Malaysia there has been significant escalation of guerilla violence by the MCP since the early months of 1975.

From 1963 into the early 1970s, the number of political prisoners in Singapore fluctuated between a maximum of more than 200 and a minimum of just under 100. By early 1974, however, the total had apparently dropped to about 20. Detainees were released in the period January 1973 to May 1974 on the grounds that Singapore had made great social and economic progress, such that they no longer posed a threat to the life of the country. In June 1974, however, the apparent trend towards freeing detainees was reversed when more than 30 persons were arrested under the Internal Security Act in the first phase of a security operation which was said to be the largest since "Operation Cold Store" in 1953. The detainees in this new group were alleged by the government to be members of the Malayan National Liberation Front, an arm of the MCP.

When announcing the arrest of three alleged communist activists in November 1975, the Singapore government claimed that the MCP

was consolidating and expanding its structure through underground satellite organisations with the ultimate objective of staging armed revolution in Singapore.

From the evidence of many cases in the past it is clear that, as distinct from the function suggested by its title, the Internal Security Act has very frequently been employed as a means of repressing and discouraging legitimate, non-violent political opposition in Singapore. As noted above, political prisoners in Singapore are almost invariably detained on the grounds of two basic allegations, namely, that they are members of or sympathisers with some branch of the illegal MCP and that as such, they pose a threat to national security.

Location of Detention Centers.

Newly-arrested detainees are held initially for interrogation either in the Whitley Road Holding Center or on the top floor of the Central Police Station. They are held in solitary confinement under extremely stringent conditions.

Since, May 1970, almost all long-term political prisoners have been held in the newly-built Moon Crescent Center, a special wing of Changi Prison. Once it has been decided to serve a two-year detention order on a person, that person is likely to be transferred to the Moon Crescent Center.

Most of those held under banishment orders are imprisoned in the Queenstown Remand Prison awaiting deportation.

(To Be Concluded)

REPORTAGE

The Road To Ibbagamuwa

—a tale of discovery, as it was related to Titus Handuna by the spirit of the Roads—

A late start, as my men visited friends nearby at Divulapitiya, and he stayed in one of a row of cottages, some one-roomed, some made into two, tidy, a sort of cell reminiscent of a monk's for contemplation. His friend conducted his own classes in English, and his companion still studied. These cottages were part of a larger set up.

Anuradhapura

The next day he went straight to the Cheshire House on a former coconut estate near Negombo. Cheshire had been, perhaps, the true contemplative, and a man of action, Royal Airforce and its representative at the dropping of the first atomic bomb on Japan. In his own words, as I had read years before he had gone on to look after an old woman dying of cancer, in a cottage where he cared for her, bathing her every day like all good nurses, as I have seen our own Tamil and Sinhalese lads do in the Colombo General Hospital for their patients, and attending to their own most intimate wants. In this case, there was a pantomime every time, the woman objecting to nothing but the removal of her socks, which were taken off only after a great deal of persuasion on the part of Cheshire. Cheshire Homes are for incurables, and they are kept going by the contributions of the affluent, and, when I first visited them, owe to an ordinary Home for the Aged, as a Tourist Hotel to a resthouse.

My man had his own particular friend there, and it is quite likely that it is only the care of the Cheshire House that has kept him alive all these years. He only very occasionally gets a visit from a relative. The finger of God is in that Home.

My man moved on by stages. A bus he caught finished its round at Wennapuwa, and so he went to yet another kind of community house, not knowing who he would find there. It happened to be friends who knew him. He had arrived at lunch time. Would he stay to lunch? Would he like a shower? Would he like to rest? He must be sure to have some tea before he went off—he would find it on the table in the refectory. Yes, he could leave the key in the door; only, please be sure not to carry it away.

The next stop was Rajakadalawa on the road to Puttalam. It was getting on towards dusk, and he had come to find a friend whom he had not seen for years. He, my man, knew nothing of this man's other life, whom he was involved with in those earlier days, for instance. He had not asked, nor had, I think, the thought occurred to him. It had been personal, family reasons, which had prevented him from keeping in touch for years, until one day, some time ago, he thought he must make the effort to find out if the man was still alive. The events of 'seventy one were

still fresh in his memory, or rather the horrifying part of them, and there was the fear that this friend might have been one of those who had been bumped off, rather, as we have been told, has been happening in Brazil these days.

My man heard he was still alive, but his friend was away, and this was his next effort in trying to meet him. He was successful this time, and his first remark was, How like his brother he had grown!

He moved on through Puttalam and stopped at Kala Oya on the Anuradhapura road. It was dark. The topography of the place had changed. "Up on the hill", buildings had been improved, new ones put up. "Down by the bridge", there seemed to be a dearth of people, but it might have been due to the late hour. He chose not to visit his former dwelling place, which was in a lonely spot. The people there had moved, he was told, and their house had been burnt. An even older inhabitant of that site said that the road to the place was full of snakes now, and he refused to accompany my man. What with one thing and another, and the long lapse of time since the last visit, and the news about the family that had moved, the short trip was not made, and a bus came along and took my man to Anuradhapura. It was very early next morning before he got to bed, which was on a mat on the floor of a house near the Water Tower.

All his friends at Jaffna junction failed him, by not waking up and letting him in, or by their absence. This was his first visit to Anuradhapura since the Sinhalese-Tamil troubles, and he was anxious to know what had happened to people he knew; but, of this presently.

The people of the place where he eventually kipped down had never failed him yet. They never gave him food, but they had never failed him a bed, no matter what the hour, and in spite of his disappearances, or, rather departures, for he never left without saying so, before dawn. Over all his previous visits the house had not yet been completed. And as he used to just walk in, speak and sleep. This time his entry was barred, but they let him in. All the beds were occupied, and the master of the house had a little trouble finding a mat.

The next day was like all his days in Anuradhapura, much reading

of the *Observers Romano*, English edition, using the Hospital canteen, and, after many visits, bathing in the Nuwara Wewa once again. He upbraided his hefty young Tamil friends, born and bred in Anuradhapura, for leaving the place for Vavuniya during the troubles, and he upbraided even more than very good-looking Sinhalese friend and boon companion for not protecting them at that time. They all took it in good part.

And so to Kekirawa, and then to Galewela, where he stayed with a family who have never failed to take him to their heart. Then to Melsiripura, all by stages, and Ibbagamuwa, the name of the place which has inspired this tale, for there he made a great discovery. It was in the first magazine that he picked up in the reading room of a community institution there. It was the name of Bede Griffiths, a Benedictine monk, that drew his attention, in a publication from Bangalore in South India. On the supposition that anything by Bede Griffiths is worth reading, my man found himself browsing through the most perfect exposition of the Roman Catholic Faith and the Christian religion and of life that he had come across. He read it through to the end reflectively, pausing often to ruminate on the words, like a cow chewing its cud, and he took such a long time about it that he was able to stay for the lunch to which he had already been invited but had declined.

The master of the establishment was not there, but after lunch he visited the cow, a magnificent yielder, and he saw the people doing this farm work, for the people of this set-up are basically farmers. The place does not neglect cultural pursuits, to witness, their library and their stage plays, of the village kind, I gather, for I have not been able to be present at one yet, from time to time.

And thus my man moved on to Kurunegala.

CARAVAN FAMILY-4

Ruhuna

—Hoomane, Mulkirigala—

by Ina Trimmer

Early was their awakening next morning. A hurried dip in the sea in one of the rock-bound little inlets where the waves came through a narrow opening and a delicious meal of hot hoppers which Simon brought from a house close by, they set out again, turning further South.

Fishing villages followed each other in quick succession with little thatched huts under the coconut palms and boats beached on the shore little more than a hands breadth away. Of Ancient design, never changing throughout the centuries, these boats so narrow that only one man could stand or sit inside on a little plank, yet long enough to accommodate about six or eight men, and with never a single iron nail in it, are mistakenly called Catamarans. The real Catamaran is made of logs lashed together while the fishing boat or canoe seen most often in the Southern and Western coasts of Ceylon is hollowed out from the trunk of a tree, usually a "Domba" or "Dhel" (Breadfruit). An outrigger is attached by two long curved wooden arms which keeps the boat steady even in the roughest sea.

Jason purred along the sunlit road, towards Tangalle. Suddenly Daddy asked Simon to slow down. "We must make another diggression," he said, "about six miles from Tangalle is one of nature's marvels. The English word for it is prosaic and utterly unimaginative and does not do justice to one of the most beautiful of natural displays. *Blow Hole*. What does it convey of the wonder of this curiosity. The Sinhalese are far more poetic and descriptive. They call it *hoomane*—an onomatopoeic word that expresses well this peakish act of nature. Do you children know the meaning of that word?"

A chorus of "No" was the answer.

It is a word in imitation of the sound of the thing meant. "Listen!" They had by now gone down a narrow sandy path towards the sea having first parked Jason by some cottages about half a mile

away from the main road. A strange sound greeted their ears, a moaning *hoo-o-m*, a sound they had never heard before.

As usual a crowd collected as soon as they had stopped, inquisitive, pushing around the caravan, and peering into it, each one appearing to act as a guide. Daddy picked one and they had set off walking briskly through a *Koorooka-pada* (short cut) to the sea. Along the firm wet sand of a delightful little bay they trudged, a playful sea trying to chase them away. They jumped over a *Kadulle* (stile) and climbed a steep slope to the headland where the *hoomane* moans.

"This is not the best time for the *Hoomane* display", said the guide. "Early June when the South-West monsoon has just broken, or in July is the best time to come. However, we shall do our best to make this demon of the seas to come up to scratch."

He mentioned to the urchins who had followed them and there was such a shouting that as Daddy said later "any self-respecting *Hoomane* would have been annoyed".

"Hooo-hooo! Hooo-oom-mane!" they screamed clapping their hands vigorously 'Hoo-O-OO!'

"What's the great idea?" asked Daddy.

"We are making fun of it. Then he gets angry and bursts out with rage, "Hooohoo" they shouted again, clapping hard.

Sure enough, the *Hoomane* obliged. First came the finest spray like from a Flit gun, about thirty feet high, then in this tree of water followed the heavier foliage, branches of efferrescing foam, flung upwards with a force that was dynamic. As suddenly as it appeared, it disappeared, the sea sucking back its own with a long-drawn deep subterranean note from which the *Hoomane* gets its name.

"Did I not tell you?" said the guide triumphantly. "We know just how to annoy *Hoomane*."

Again they shouted. Mummie quickly put up her umbrella as a shelter from the waterworks. Again and again the crowd of urchins yelled and clapped, and again came this marvellous waterwork display.

"It's a pity you didn't come in June", said the guide. "*Hoomane* is really angry then. You couldn't stand where you are now. You

would be wet through. The sea is calm today. You must come when it's really rough; then the water is thrown up to the height of three or four coconut trees and we hear the hoom to the road about a mile away!"

Mummie asked whether she could not see from where the jet of water comes.

"Come this way then", the guide replied.

Holding his hand tight and followed close by Daddy, she picked her way gingerly from boulder to boulder till she stood by the opening about the size of an ordinary zinc bath tub. She peered down through this aperture through which the water is forced up and saw far below the surging water forming in a narrow tunnel that led to the sea. At the land-side of the tunnel is the hole that causes all the "doings" of this phenomenon.

Daddy also peered in. "I could imagine what it could be like when a heavy sea is running and a large volume of water enters the tunnel and is shot up through this small aperture", he said.

They left the height on which they stood and came down to the little bay which the head-land shelters. Young coconuts were waiting for them on the sea shore and never did they appreciate a drink more. Daddy sipped his thoughtfully.

"What a wealth of tourist potential lies here", he said. "That marvellous water-works display provided by nature free and unrestrained. This beautiful bay for safe sea-bathing. What more can a tourist want. Any other country would have built a palatial hotel near the headland which would give its clients an uninterrupted view of the *Hoomane* and its activities, a view that few places in the world could provide. Something unique? Yet it is left for a few unappreciative village folk who think that the *Hoomane* is something unfortunate".

"What makes you say that?" asked Mummie.

"I am judging by something the guide said, that they do not like the meaning sound of the *Hoomane* because it is an unlucky sound. I won't be a bit surprised if they block up that aperture in the headland one of these days. These people are quite capable

of doing it regardless of Nature's gift to them which they are unable to appreciate. Well, let's be going now. We have a full day before us".

They speeded along the road towards Tangalle, and as they reached the crest of a steep hill, at the entrance to the town, there before them was a panoramic view of the lovely Tangalle Bay, its blue waters glittering in the sunlight.

"What lovely seascapes there are all along this coast, even right through, from Colombo", said Mummie. "Just look at this one before us, bays and little inlets sparkling, and so very blue."

Daddy guided them to the Rest House by the sea. "This is one of the rest houses we must visit. It is a very old building, A remnant of the Dutch times. The date is engraved on the step. I can have an iced beer while the children frolic in the little sea pools close by. They are quite safe, enclosed by rocks".

Mummie suggested having lunch there to which Daddy agreed, so they all enjoyed a delicious fish curry and string hoppers.

On the road again leaving all the beauty of sea and sky of Tangalle and turning further S-East, they took the road to Beliatta. "We will now make another digression, to see an ancient Rock monastery, a place of worship for 2000 years, a historic monument of devotion since this part of Ceylon, then known as Ruhuna, embraced Buddhism as their religion."

Soon the great rack appeared, towering 350 ft. to the sky from the plain, encircled by forest trees and scrub. There was a grandeur about its lonely splendour that made them all gasp.

"My goodness, what a marvelous sight!" said Mummie.

Simon stopped the caravan, locked it and they all walked up the narrow path that led to the gigantic rock, standing supreme in its isolation in that lonely plain.

No one spoke. Even the children were silenced, awed by the grandeur of the stupendous effort of nature that lifted this monstrous block of stone from the depths beneath.

Thoughtfully Daddy said, "children, this great rock is twice the height of the Dondra Light House". Turning to Mummie, "Imagine the forces of nature, the

cataclysm that took place millions of years ago when this solid, irregular mass of stone was thrown from the bowels of the earth, upward to the skies."

"Daddy, is this a holy place?" asked Varuni.

"People have worshipped here for over two thousand years, but it has historic connections as well. You all must have heard of the Mahavamsa, the most celebrated book on Sinhalese history, of all times. Thanks to a Britisher, one time Government Agent of Ratnapura who became a clever scholar in Pali and Sinhala, George Turnour, under the tuition of Buddhist monks realized that there must be a key to this marvellous book which no one, so far, was able to understand. Early in the 19th century, Turnour and his Buddhist monk tutor, found a commentary on the Mahavamsa in the temple of Mulkirigala. With this book of explanatory notes the two of them translated the Mahavamsa, one of the greatest achievements in the study of Ceylon history. But come let's climb the famous rock and see for ourselves where such knowledge was hidden."

From terrace to terrace they clambered, up steps cut out of the rock, to the very top where a pure white Dagoba shining in the sun threw its reflection on a little tank far below. The final ascent was steep indeed: a series of steps all out into the rock like a huge step-ladder. But the effort was worthwhile, worth all the panting and perspiration. The expanse of the flat countryside was vast, a panoramic view of one of the most important areas of the ancient kingdom of Ruhuna right down to the sea brilliantly blue, on the horizon. Towards the east the hills of Morawak Korale, and Sabaragamuwa stood boldly against the skyline, and yet further away clear in that clear atmosphere, the Uva mountains piled high, an irregular mass of mountains country covering a vast acreage. Not far away, reckoned as a bird would fly, Kataragama reared a proud head from a plain as flat as one's hand, while the sea in the distance flowed on towards Galle on the Western coast and Hambantota, in the East.

They would have lingered here taking their fill of all the beauty that belongs to Ceylon and to this earth but Daddy was impatient.

"We have yet much to see", he said, "we must visit everyone of the three terraces where the ancient rock temples are. From the Raja Maha Vihare, the last of them, on our way to this summit, we climbed 345 steps, all hewn out of the living rock. Think of that labour performed by hands long dead! We will now retrace them to see all the relics that are hidden in caves in each of the terraces."

They came down slowly, step by step, for the way was steep, till they reached the Uda Maluwa. Here hewn out of the rock were four temples and a rock pool. In each little temple were statues of the Buddha, some standing in the attitude of blessing some recumbant, and others seated. In all the caves were large clay jars, two and half feet in height, with mouths nearly two feet in diameter, all very, very old.

"Now to the next terrace", said Daddy, "to see more cave temples." So down more steps cut out of great Mulkirigala, they clambered, and into more vaces, all very much alike, all with statues of the Buddha in different positions, and the inner walls which were the Shrine rooms covered with frescoes, the rough ceilings adorned with lotus flowers in many colours. There was other statuary as well, of the Kataragama Deity, the Forest God whose chief shrine they had observed when standing on the top of the rock. No derogatory word could be said of him; that person would be punished instantly. He was given a place of honour in the vaces, also Vishnu, the god to whom it is said, the Buddha entrusted the custody of Ceylon and the protection of Buddhism.

Down past more caves, and the Bana Preaching Hall, down to the base, where a few unpretentious modern buildings stood, in which the monks who served and attend to religious matters are housed. They greeted Daddy who gave them a contribution for their work in that lonely spot to help villagers who come to them for religious and secular instructions freely and without payment.

Taking their leave with deep Salaams, the little family walked down the path to their caravan, turning every now and again for long last looks at the lonely mountain monastery, when mummie sud,

denly exclaimed, "Whatever is Daddy saying. He seems to be reciting something, or talking to himself."

Daddy burst out laughing. "So am I. I am reciting an old doggerel we learned from our servants long ago."

"Say it again, I wish to hear it, and say it slowly."

Laughing still, Daddy obliged.

"Mula-giri—Gala Gala Vattakora
Us Pol-gas-pas—Vissai.

Translation— Right round
Mulagirigala is five times twenty
tall coconut trees."

"Wherever did you learn this?
asked Mummie.

"We of south Ceylon know more
of ancient tales and legends, and
poetry than you Colombo folk."

"Tell us more", shouted the
children.

"Go on", said Mummie laughing.
"Don't you know any more of
your wonderful rhymelets?"

"Again Daddy obliged.

"Unchilli chilli, chila malai,

Valai, thigeta Nelum Kallai,

Kaddala thiang Lokku Akkai,

Matte-nung barri, Katoo Ussai."

"More", said the children.

"Not today. We are due at
Hambantota before the sun sets,
so off we go."

Soon they were on their way
again, Jason with his nose turned
further eastwards.

* * *

FLASHBACK

Arumuga Navalar, Karun- guli And The Dikshadars

by K. Arumainayagam

The reforming zeal of Arumuga Navalar of Nallur, who was considered to be the "Luther or John Wesley of Saivites", very often made him the main target of attack of the Christian Missionaries and his co-religionists as well—the latter sometimes threatened him with bodily harm. A close study of Arumuga Navalar's preaching and writings will show that he harboured an inborn hatred against all those who stood against Saivite Orthodoxy—the code of ethics and principles as laid down by Saiva Agamas. He was particularly

harsh against those Brahmins who violated the Saiva Agamas.

Arumuga Navalar made scathing criticisms against the officiating Brahmin Priests of South India and Jaffna for not obtaining *Siva Dhikshai* (for not undergoing the Initiation ceremony). He advocated that all those who officiated in temples should first obtain *Siva Dhikshai*, and the devotees should not accept the Holy Ash given by such Priests. The worst offenders in this matter, in the eyes of Navalar, were the *Dhikshidars* of Chidamparam Temple, the highest seat of Saivite learning and Orthodoxy. He openly campaigned against the *Dhikshidars* and his act infuriated the *Dhikshadars*.

Besides the above, another incident made Navalar angry. During this time one Ramalingapillai of Karunguli (popularly known as Ramalinga Vallalar among his disciples and noted for his devotional songs) composed some devotional songs, compiled them and classified as *Arudapa*—meaning sacred songs. Many temples in South India especially Chidamparam temple, began to give prominence to Ramalinga pillai's hymns and this virtually relegated the sacred "Thirumarais" of Appar, Sundarar, Manikar and Sampanthar, the four Saiva Saints and others to a position of secondary importance. Navalar refused to condone this action of the disciples of Ramalingapillai and other Saivites. He declared that Ramalingapillai's songs cannot be considered on par with the sacred songs of the Saiva Saints and issued a pamphlet entitled "*Poli Arudpa Maruppu*"—a refusal—in the name of Theagesa Mudaliyar. He also condemned Ramalingapillai masquerading like a true Saint. He considered these acts as nothing short of blasphemous.

Navalar's sustained campaign against the Brahmins of Chidamparam and Ramalingapillai, compelled them to summon a meeting of their supporters at the Chidamparam temple hall in June 7, 1869 to devise ways and means to contain the campaign of Navalar. It was said that at this meeting Ramalingapillai abused Navalar in a contemptuous and defamatory manner, giving ten different interpretations to his title "Navalar", while the chief priest Saba Nadesar, expressed his desire to bring Navalar to the Sabai (Navalar was staying only few yards away from the tem-

ple) and beat him up. They also called him a *Shanar* meaning a low caste. The incident was further aggravated by the publication of a printed marvel entitled "*Perampala Prasankam*" (lecture at Perampalam). This was the work of three participants of that meeting—S. So Sanmugapillai, S. A. Velauthapillai, S. Ra. Arumugapillai and was meant to defame Navalar. Navalar promptly took the offending parties to court on charges of criminal intimidation and defamation.

Navalar was ably assisted by his countryman, who was then a leading lawyer of the Madras High Court, Soundaranayagampillai. The reports of the cases published hereafter as they appeared in the *Jaffna Freeman* issues of December 16, 1869; Jan. 20, 1870 and Feb. 3, 1870 throw some light on the subject and the controversy that ensued.

However, most of the protagonists of respective parties, are still unaware of the existence report of these cases in black and white. Many a research student has gone astray trying to do a guess work of the incidents connected with this particular case. The fierce battle that was fought between the orthodox Saivites and others during the life time of Navalar and Ramalingapillai was continued even after their demise. There had been some peacemakers like *Suddhananda Bharathi*.

Anti-Navalar factions in Sri Lanka too made use of these incidents to attack Navalar. Navalar, in a pamphlet published in 1876—*Mithiyaratha Nirasanam* answered his critics how he humbled the *Dhikshadars* and Ramalingapillai, and put an end to the offending language used by the *Dhikshadars* to describe Jaffnese as *Shanars*. This appears to have quietened his critics.

FREEMAN 16th December, 1869

Mr. Arumuga Navalar In Cuddalore

Our readers will be surprised to hear that this enterprising Saivite Pundit and Reformer has lately been engaged in certain criminal suits against the Brahmin Priests of the Pagoda at Chidambaram, and another Pundit and Hindu devotee, Mr. Ramalinga Pillai. We

Arumuga Navalar

give a full report of the cases as it has come to us from our correspondent.

The charges preferred against the Brahmins were two, viz; Criminal Intimidation against five of them; and Defamation against one. Ramalinga Pillai was charged with only defaming the Navalar. The facts of the cases are as follows:—

On the 7th of June last, the Brahmin Priests (or Thitchadar as they are called) of Chidambaram held a meeting which was attended by a very large audience; and while discussing some points published in the Navalar's school Reports regarding the propriety of the Thitchadars performing puja without obtaining thitchai, they fell to abusing the Navalar and calling him a Shanar and an illiterate fellow. The chief thitchadar grew so hot while making use of the expressions referred to and similar others, that he rose from his seat and expressed great willingness to go up, and bring the Navalar and beat him well: he wanted the others to assist him, but they would not go

The offence of Mr. Ramalinga Pillai consisted in analysing in the above mentioned meeting the word Navalar in ten different ways and giving ten different meanings, most of which reflected on the moral and intellectual character of Mr. Arumuga Navalar. Among these meanings were Poyan (Liar) vittai—illatavan (illiterate) and navitpalee chollai odaiavan (babbling). Soon after the meeting of the Brahmins broke up, three of those that were present put their heads together, and wrote down what fell that night from the lips of the thitchadar and Ramalinga Pillai, and published the whole in a small pamphlet.

The complaints were prepared for the Navalar by Mr. Savundranayagam Pillai, and sent down to him from Madras. The cases came on for hearing before the Court of the Joint Magistrate of Cuddalore, Mr. Roberts, on the 18th ultimo. The Navalar first appeared by a Native Pleader of the Cuddalore Court and conducted the cases; but seeing from the proceedings of the 18th ultimo that the cases were of a nature that he could not manage, without an able lawyer, and seeing too that the opposite parties were too strong for him, and that there were more

than one pleader employed by them, of whom the chiefest was a graduate of the Madras University, he arranged to retain Mr. Savundranayagam Pillai, B. A. and B.L. of the High Court Bar in his cases and brought him down from Madras at a high cost. Mr. Savundranayagam Pillai appeared at the Cuddalore Court on the 22nd ultimo, the day for which the further hearing of the cases was adjourned. There were 9 witnesses in the list originally put in by the Navalar, and Mr. Savundranayagam Pillai proceeded at once to call his witnesses and examine them. The examination of the 1st witness alone occupied the whole afternoon. Two more witnesses were examined the next day (the 23rd) and one on the 24th, and the evidence of these witnesses having been in the opinion of Mr. Savundranayagam Pillai sufficient to prove his case, he on Thursday the 24th ultimo, when the Court met, said he had closed his case. The day after Mr. Savundranayagam Pillai appeared, a European pleader, Mr. Shaw was retained as an additional lawyer on the side of the Brahmins, and it was he and not the native pleader that was thenceforward the spokesman (except when Mr. Shaw was absent). The first day, Mr. Savundranayagam Pillai opposed the native pleader on the other side very sharply, whenever he found that such opposition was indispensable to the ends of justice and on the 23rd he had to fight with Mr. Shaw instead of with the native pleader. There was a large concourse of people in and about the Court, owing to the novel character of the cases tried, the fact of a member of the Madras Bar having been retained in them, the splendid manner in which Mr. Savundranayagam Pillai conducted his cases and from the fact of Defts being men for whom the people of Chidambaram, Cuddalore & C. have very great regards. As soon as the cases for the prosecution were closed Mr. Savundranayagam Pillai rose and addressed the Court in an able and very eloquent speech which occupied 3/4 of an hour. He opened his speech by showing the character of the most important charges brought, viz! defamation. He then expatiated on the position, rank, intelligence, education, religious zeal, patriotism & C. & C. of Mr. Arumuga Navalar the prosecutor, and laid particular stress on the

injury his reputation has suffered by this defamation. He referred to the Navalar's education in Jaffna, to the posts he held under the Rev. Mr. Percival who bore testimony to the ability and character of the Navalar in the certificate already filed in the court—he spoke of the Navalar's intellectual abilities and religious zeal which raised him far above his class of people in Jaffna and pointed him as a Luther or a John Wesley of the Saivites:—he alluded to the unprecedented patriotism of the Navalar and of his great zeal for his cause—he referred to his having done all he could for Jaffna and his coming to propagate his faith in Chidambaram, the centre of Sivaism in Southern India and in such other parts of the Presidency as are most favourable for his purpose. Such was the person, he said that the Defts were charged with defaming. He then went into the evidence in the cases tried and showed that the charges against the last and 6th Defts were clearly and fully proved, while for that against the remaining Defts, there was not such strong evidence. All the material parts of his address he based on passages quoted from one of the best works on Libel and Slander, viz; Starkie. There was perfect silence in Court while he spoke: and the Magistrate seemed to all ear.

As soon as he resumed his seat Mr. Shaw made a few remarks regarding the cases, and when he had finished, the Magistrate proceeded to frame the charges against the 1st and 6th Defts. Then case on the most critical moment, Mr. Shaw said he wanted time to put in a list of witnesses for the defence, when Mr. Savundranayagam Pillai opposed him, and referring to one of the sections of the Criminal Procedure Code he urged the necessity of Mr. Shaw's putting in the list forthwith. He showed what the object of the law was in requiring such lists to be put in "at once". The Magistrate held this objection good and valid, and insisted on the list being put in immediately. Mr. Shaw then left the Court and Mr. Subraya Ayar his assistant proceeded to prepare the list which occupied him for an hour and a half. As soon as the list was put in, Mr. Savundranayagam Pillai moved that such of the witnesses as were present be examined at once, in order

to prevent all concoction. The Magistrate agreeing to do so, ordered their names to be called, when not one of them answered. Mr. Savundranayagam Pillai then said he was ready to prove that every one of those was present at the time that the list was prepared they went away immediately after their names were given and he further said that these circumstances sent a great way against the credibility of their evidence, and the weight due to it. He then moved that they must be examined the next day to which the Magistrate consented. But when the next day (Friday the 26th) the Court sat and all were anxious to know what the witnesses who were who had disappeared the previous day would dispose on behalf of the prisoners, Mr. Subraya Ayar, their pleader said that he had dispensed with those very witnesses. Then, there was nothing to be done that day and Mr. Savundranayagam Pillai moved the Court to place on record all the circumstances connected with this matter of the witnesses disappearing when called & C. and the Magistrate took a note of the whole matter. The prisoners were then, on the motion of Mr. Savundranayagam admitted to bail.

The cases are adjourned for the 18th instant, when the witnesses for the defence, who live at some distance from Cuddalore, will be examined and when, it is hoped, Mr. savundranayagam Pillai will again appear for the Navalar.

FREEMAN 20th January, 1870.

Arumuga Navalar's Case

(from a Cuddalore correspondent)

On the 18th ultimo this case came on again for hearing when the witnesses for the defence were examined. Their examination occupied two days the 18th and 20th. Mr. Savundranayagam Pillai appeared for the Navalar as was expected. The witnesses examined on both these days were four in number, and all of them went to show that on the night in question Ramalinga Pillai was seen at the tank of the temple at 7 p.m.—that he hence accompanied the first two witnesses to the Perambala Sabai where until 11 at night, he sat along with a few of the Thitchadars and talked of perform-

ing Kumbabishegam and executing some repairs to the temple—that after 11, he left that Sabai, came up to the car, stood in company with the first two witnesses, and then separated from them—that the Sabanadesa Thitchadar (the 1st Defendant) was not seen in the meeting at all.

Mr. Savundranayagam Pillai occupied a long term in cross examining these witnesses and succeeded to break them down, and after Mr. Subraya Ayer had summed up the evidence, Mr. Savundranayagam Pillai addressed the Court in a speech which occupied about half an hour. He showed how and where the witnesses broke down—that the discrepancies were not material—that enough had come out in the Court to throw discredit on the evidence for the defence—that what the defendants had endeavoured to prove was a sort of indirect alibi—a plea that is not unfrequently resorted to in the Mofussil (upcountry) Courts; and he concluded by remarking that if the defence deposed to, he would move the Court to allow prosecution to introduce fresh evidence to rebut that adduced by the dependents to prove the alibi. In support of his motion he read out Bentham's and Nelson's remarks on this subject for the purpose of introducing fresh evidence adduced to prove the alibi.

As soon as he resumed his seat the Magistrate Mr. Roberts, without a moments hesitation, wrote off his Judgement which we hope shortly to publish in extens. Its substance we give below: Judgement—That the 1st Defendant, the Thitchadar (Saba Nadesa Thitchadar) be fined Rs. 50, or in default be kept to simple imprisonment for one month; and that Ramalinga Pillai be released.

FREEMAN 3rd February, 1870

Arumuga Navalar's case and the Mofussil Guardian

Our Madras correspondent finds fault with us for publishing an extract from the Mofussil Guardian which, as he says, is full of mistakes. Indeed we are sorry to see that our Indian contemporary is so unfortunate and careless as to fall into such serious mistakes which a little care and diligence would

have prevented altogether. Certainly our contemporary can have no excuse, seeing he has written on an affair which occurred in Cuddalore and regarding which he must be supposed (being an Indian writer) to be much better acquainted than ourselves. We hope our contemporary will no more fall into similar mistakes. We will now leave our correspondent speak for himself. He says:—"What you have extracted from the Mofussil Guardian is full of mistakes—and those too of a serious character. The "defamatory matter complained of," says the Guardian, "is said" to have been published in the form of a printed marvel in which the complainants' character was grossly defamed in Tamil verse." This is a gross mistake. The defamatory matter was published in prose not in verse.

Again the Guardian says:—"Mr. G. P. Savundranayagam Pillai the "Head Master of the Cuddalore Normal School", appears for the prosecution. Now, who ever heard of a Headmaster of a school appearing in a criminal case for any prosecution. Indeed common sense should have been enough to prevent the Editor from falling into this ridiculous error. Mr. Savundranayagam Pillai is a Pleader of our High Court. And, again, there is no Normal In Cuddalore; for the school there is known as the Ziffah School; and the Headmaster is no other than Mr. Parret, a European

"The trial of the case "says the Guardian" has been postponed to the 15th instant in order to allow the defendants an opportunity of "employing one of the Barristers of the Madras" bar. This is a reason that was not even heard of at Cuddalore. The fact that no Barrister appeared at the second hearing, is itself sufficient to show that the above was not the reason why the case was postponed. It was adjourned for the 18th December (not the 15th as the Guardian has it) in order to enable the defendants to subpoena the witnesses, who as their vakil said lived at some distance from Cuddalore.

Indeed, I think you ought to know better than to publish extracts like the above which are only remarkable for the mistakes and errors they contain. Not, as you edit our paper in Jaffna while this matter has reference to some thing that occurred here in India

you have a good excuse for taking upon trust what the Mofussil Guardian, and Indian paper has published on an Indian subject, and believing all that as therein stated regarding the Normal School at Cuddalore, the defamatory matter appearing in Tamil verse and "of one of the Barristers of the Madras Bar", but indeed your contemporary of the Mofussil Guardian cannot possibly shelter himself under any sort of excuse."

+ + +

Gramma Sastra-5

Scribblings on Uva Villages

The Lure Of The Rural

by Gamiya

One day I got a lovely letter which went thus:

"I was greatly taken up by 'The Love of People', Gamiya's article of 7th January '78. For quite some time I have been thinking and dreaming of Uva, of its past prosperity and present poverty. I am a half-baked accountant employed in a certain firm. I took to it more due to circumstances than any love for commerce. Only a lack of land and capital prevented me, and still prevents me from becoming a farmer. I would like to meet the people mentioned in Gamiya's article and get more information. I may be able to find a way of leaving the hot dusty absurdity of Colombo and living with the rural folk."

I like that letter: frank, open, sincere, but may be much more reflection is needed, cultural motivation, right orientation. Dusty Colombo has its counterpart in Dry Zone Uva, but when the dust has settled, it is the urge of young men like these in whom the thirst for getting back to the land truly lies. The thrust and the urge and thirst may originate from 'dusty Colombo', may even look selfish, but the self-emptying in leaving figures for true facts, in leaving rows of accounts for the masses of people, the "rural folk" is unmistakable.

Some day this young man will be in Uva working alongside them and knowing, not the call of the

wild, the call of remoteness, or the desire for adventure, but the love and the lure of a long-suffering people. I know of a priest who worked in Uva for 4 years who said:

"I have worked with these people and known them so much that Uva has grown into my soul", adapting to himself the words of Charles Lamb in his Essays of Elia.

Then I went back to Tennekoon: "The people of Uva and Wellassa provinces had declared that the new regime of the Britishers was no better than Sri Wickrema's regime, which they had rejected, and that in the light of the occurrences during the last two and a half years they could not place any confidence in the British government. Having thus failed to win back their loyalty, Brownrigg ordered Major Macdowall that all men above eighteen should be killed, all houses pulled down and burnt, and all trees bearing fruits of use to human beings, felled. All grain should either be destroyed or confiscated, irrigation tanks and canals should be breached; cattle belonging to the people, which were in excess of the requirements of the army should forthwith be destroyed. These positive injunctions were carried out to the letter as well as in the spirit. Men, women and children who could escape the sword of the British, watched from hilltops in calm and dispassionate resignation, their houses, cattle, paddy, trees, all in fact that they possessed being destroyed by the British army. The British governor himself took pride in the ruthless rapidity with which the armies depopulated the region" (Vimalananda Tennekoon, The Great Rebellion of 1818, Gunasena and Co., Ltd. Colombo 1970, p.xlii. (pp.482).

Compensation-seekers for the estates, abound, Who will compensate the peasantry?

Come, my dear accountant, try it out, help these people, flesh of our flesh, bone of our bone, and you and I can give an account of the misdemeanours of people who will now say of their ancestors: "Hey, that's not cricket, man"! Let's hope so.

+ +

LETTERS

Buddhist Bhikkus

Sir,

I am sure that practising Buddhists, who rally and truly have the welfare of the Sasana at heart, would have been highly amused to learn that the Board of Management of the Colombo YMBA, one of the leading Buddhist Organisations in the land, are perturbed over an University-educated (LLB, Sri Lanka) monk's application to practise law six weeks hence, and had unanimously passed a resolution appealing to the CJ and the other Judges of the Supreme Court to disallow the application since 'the purpose of destroying all suffering and attaining Nibbana' will be defeated thereby and furthermore "It is being completely destructive of the Buddha Sasana and ruinous of the solidarity and integrity of the Sasana."

It is indeed difficult for one to conceive of bigger hypocrisy than this. Are they and kindred organisations that are said to be contemplating action on similar lines, wholly unaware of other equally improper, if not more reprehensible, actions of Bhikkus throughout this land, once a 'Dharmadipa', now unquestionably an 'adharmadipa' pure and simple? They appear to be blissfully ignorant of Bhikkus practicing medicine, astrology and black magic, composing "seth" and "vas" kavi, teaching in schools and campuses, conducting private tuition classes and schools in temple premises, functioning as 'Kapuralas' in their (own) temples, and as Directors of State Corporations—all for GAIN? Do they not know that some Bhikkus even own and live in houses like Natobs, travelling up and down in limousines, wearing costly flavouring red silk robes? Is it their considered view that the Buddha founded the Sasana for such purposes? Do they opine that such acts are not 'destructive of the Sasana' and are not 'ruinous to the solidarity and integrity of the Sasana'? What hypocrisy is this? Are they so naive as to pretend that they are unaware that the majority of those so-called 'Buddha puthras' (euphemistically called 'Pottanikarayas') are money-making, politics-dabbling, worldly men who, day in and day out, flagrantly violate the Vinaya rules

laid down by their Master for their guidance and eventual emancipation, and who, for this reason, are despised and shunned by practising Buddhists? Why turn a blind eye to these things? Why attempt to deny that it pays certain people to do so—for political reasons of course? Who does not know it?

The Buddha exhorted his disciples thus: "Go ye, O Bhikkus and wander forth for the good of the many, for the welfare of the many, in compassion for the world, for the good, for the gain, for the welfare of gods and men. Proclaim, O Bhikkus the Doctrine glorious, preach ye a life of udines, perfect and pure *Mahavagga Vinaya Pitaka*. Alas! How many of these so-called 'Buddhaputhras' of the present day can stand up and conscientiously declare, "Verily, I am a true follower of the Tathagatha"? How many Mahanayakes, Anunayakes, Nayakes of the needlessly many 'Nikayas' (which are often at variance with one another) can claim to have set an example worthy of emulation by their pupils and other Bhikkus by following in the footsteps of their Master? Why should they bother to do what He asked them to do when all what they have to do is to make themselves comfortable in their temples, send their acolytes with a tiffin carrier to one of their wealthy, albeit misguided, "dayakayas" for a sumptuous meal, gobble it and sleep soundly on a comfortable bed until it is time for their 'gilanpata'? If this is not 'Nirvana' what is it?

For the sad and deplorable state the Sasana is in today, both the hierarchy as well as influential, all-powerful organisations like the Mahabodhi Society the Buddhist Theosophical Society, the All-Ceylon Buddhist Congress and the YMBAs throughout the land must accept full responsibility. They cannot disclaim it. Obviously they have done nothing to stem the rot and deserve the strongest condemnation of the Buddhist world for their inertia and indifference. It is certainly too much to expect them to do anything to remedy matters at this stage, since their only concern appears to be material gain at any cost.

Unfortunately for Buddhists, there are newspapers today that unashamedly ponder to the whim, and fancies of so-called Buddhists giving their activities undeserved prominence for obvious reasons—front-page news! To what low

depths has journalism sunk today! Has a single editor ever had the courage of his convictions to condemn unBuddhist actions of the yellow-robe fraternity in an earnest, sincere attempt to purify the Sasana? I know that no one of them will publish this letter. That is why I have sought the courtesy of your columns for the purpose. If you could contrive to find the space for it, you will be rendering an unestimable service to Buddhists, placing them under a deep debt of gratitude to you.

C. E. J. Alles

113, Anagarika Dharmapala
Mawatha - Dehiwala.
28.1.78

Christian Rebel

Sir,

I stand corrected as to whom and when Jesus spoke the words I quoted in my letter to you under the above pen-name.

But this does not diminish the thrust of my letter which was that Jesus wanted love for him shown by feeding (tending) his sheep rather than by singing his praises. Tending a people cannot exclude giving them their needed nutrients.

I wonder if Ref. Father Jannacone knows that unless the child is provided with needed protein nutrients in the womb and in the first two years of life that child will remain mentally retarded for life with no hope of deliverance. No amount of protein nutrients given later will undo the damage done to the child's brain in the first two years of life, when 80% of brain development takes place.

Malnourishment among expectant mothers and children is widespread among the poor, of whom there are a 1000 million living in the Third World and the number is growing.

Gay lights and good cheer once in the year are not good enough.

Christian Rebel

Colombo.
28.1.78

What Shall The Religion Of The President Be?

Sir,

A claim has been put forward that the President (and the Vice President as well) should be, by the Constitution, always a Buddhist. Aware as one is of our Buddhist friends' susceptibilities, and with no hurt meant, we nevertheless feel that looking at things from a higher and dispassionate angle, in the present critical moment when all are trying to hammer out a united nation and usher in an era of permanent peace so much needed for development and prosperity, we feel, I say, that the above claim, if implemented, could spell the ruin for good of all our efforts at reconciliation and harmony.

Not that we find anything wrong with State Religion—though the theory is being more and more abandoned in modern constitutions, as it has been found defective in practice and has serious drawbacks especially in a pluralistic society.

We in Sri Lanka do swear at every turn that we wish to stand by the perfect equality of all citizens. Shall we, too, have people more equal than others?

We swear also that merit and only merit shall henceforth determine a person's fitness for a government office in our Dharmista Society. Are we going in the same breath to annul that oath in the case of the two highest officers in the country?

On the other hand, will the fact of being a Buddhist automatically make one the fittest person to govern well this pluralistic nation?

Let us suppose for a moment that after the principle is accepted and a law is passed that the President has to be a Buddhist, a non-Buddhist seeks election. Suppose he is the most experienced and efficient—a man of the highest integrity, in fact the very best man we have in the country. Must he be put aside because of his religion? If so, isn't the whole country

the real loser? Does not such a situation bring on the feeling of 'not belonging', a sense of being tyrannized over, a smart of being a second-class citizen in the hearts of non-Buddhists? A union of hearts among our people becomes more and more a far-away dream.

Or perhaps the non-Buddhist candidate for the Presidency, just for political expediency, turn his religious coat without any sincere conviction. We shall have then a President who earns at the very outset the scorn of all decent people and draws contempt on the very religion he thus embraces.

When Mahatma Gandhi fought tooth and nail for the perfect equality among the citizens of India—the 'India of his dreams'—he proclaimed, "Religion is no test of nationality but a personal matter between man and his God. In the sense of nationality, there are Indians first and Indians last, no matter what religion they profess ...The State is bound to be wholly secular." (quoted in *Daily News*, Oct. 1, 1977)

What was the result? The President of India has been mostly from among the Hindus, but at times a Muslim has also held the office, and there has been no misunderstanding nor jealousy on the score of religion.

It is well known that the former President Kennedy of the USA was a Catholic. Mr. Carter, the present incumbent, is a Baptist. Constitutionally in the US nothing can prevent an animist, Negro or Jew from becoming President of the USA. If he is found the best qualified for that office, the right minded American will feel conscience bound to vote for him.

In peaceful and prosperous Switzerland—a land of democracy—you will find at one time a Protestant from a German speaking Canton at the helm. Later on it will be a Calvinist from a French Canton or even a Catholic from an Italian Canton. No one worries about where the President goes to church. No religion has a monopoly on presidential capabilities.

The days are over (so we hope, at least this side of the iron curtain) when the religion (or the non-religion) of the ruler was the religion of the whole country; when the king or queen could order the massacre of St. Bartholomew's night and a long Thirty Years War in the name of religion. People now want religious freedom as a funda-

mental human right. No coercion; no moral pressure; no privileges.

If we are serious when we speak of giving people their rights, then we must draw all the logical conclusions and flinch before none of them. There should be equal chances at every step. Only then will our Tamil brethren and all other minorities join in the chorus and sing with full-throated conviction: "NAMO, NAMO MATHA"—Sri Lanka, the common mother of all; with no bastards or step-children. Only then will Eelam lose its grip on them. Only then will true equality have the universal appeal that make a nation, even a small nation like Sri Lanka, the envy of the world and a true blessing to everyone of her citizens.

Let the religious authorities manage their own affairs, and if the President is declared the 'Custodian of Religion' let this not mean privilege for anyone, let it be a duty to be performed toward all religions which have an equal right to be protected, just as all the children, big and small, have an equal right to their parent's love and protection.

C. Jannaccone, S.J.

Deniyaya.
30.1.78

The Land Acquisition Act (Cap. 460) as amended by the Land Acquisition (Amendment) Act No. 28 of 1964

Revocation of Vesting Order under section 39 (1) of the Act. Ministry's Ref. No. J. 73 L.G. 814 G.A.'s ref: LD/E/222.

WHEREAS by Order No. 291 of 1977 dated 4th. July, 1977 made under Section 38 proviso (a) of the Land Acquisition Act No. 28 of 1964, published in the Govt. Gazette No. 274 of 15.7.1977 of the Republic of Sri Lanka, the land more fully described in the schedule hereto has been vested in the Republic of Sri Lanka.

AND WHEREAS possession of the land has not yet been taken over on behalf of the Republic of Sri Lanka, Therefore I, Ali Ahamed Abdul Majeed Acting Minister of Agriculture & Lands, do hereby notify for the information of all concerned that by virtue of powers vested in me under section 39 (1) of the Land Acquisition Act No. 28 of 1964 I revoke the said

order No. 291 of 1977 dated 4.7.1977 published in the Govt. Gazette No. 274 of 15.7.1977 of the Republic of Sri Lanka.

M. A. Abdul Majeed
Actg. Minister of Agriculture
and Lands.

24th. Nov. 1977
Ministry of Agriculture & Lands
Colombo 3.

SCHEDULES

The following 3 allotments of land called Hapuangawatte totalling in extent 1A. 2R. 31. 3P situated in Mulgampola village, Ward No.2 Mulgampola within the Municipal Limits of Kandy, Kandy and Gangawatte Korale D.R.O's Division, Kandy District and more particularly surveyed and shown in Advance Tracing No. Maha 73/532 prepared by the Surveyor General and bounded as follows:—

Lot 1 Hapuangawatte — Assmt. No. 670 Sirimavo Bandaranayake Mawatha.

Extent about 1A. IR. 07. 2P

North: Primrose Estate Assmt. No. 39 Mable Cooray Mawatha claimed by M. Cooray and lot 2.

East: Lot 2 and premises bearing Assmt. No. 664, Sirimavo Bandaranayake Mawatha claimed by D. D. Rosalin.

South: Remaining portion of same land premises bearing Assmt. No. 672 Sirimavo Bandaranayake Mawatha claimed by N. Seneviratne and others.

West: Premises bearing Assmt. No. 672 Sirimavo Bandaranayake Mawatha claimed by N. Seneviratne and others. Lot 2 — Hapuangawatte — Assmt. No. 670 Sirimavo Bandaranayake Mawatha.

West: Premises bearing Assmt. No. 672 Sirimavo Bandaranayake Mawatha claimed by N. Seneviratne and others.

Extent about OA. IR. 24. 1P

North: Primrose Hill Estate Assmt. No. 39 Mable Cooray Mawatha claimed by M. Cooray and premises bearing Assmt. No. 662/1 Sirimavo Bandaranayake Mawatha claimed by H. D. R. Perera and others.

East: Premises bearing Assmt. No. 662/1 Sirimavo Bandaranayake Mawatha claimed by H. D. R. Perera and others.

South: Premises bearing Assmt. No. 664 Sirimavo Bandaranayake Mawatha claimed by D. D. Rosalin and lot.

West: Lot 1.

Confidentially

Code Of Conduct—1

IS IT NOT A FACT that the tabling of the Code of Conduct for MPs is a landmark in the political history of the country? That for over two decades, parliamentarians, Ministers and even Prime Ministers have talked glibly about a Code of Conduct for MPs? That, for reasons known and unknown, for reasons said and unsaid, the Code of Conduct has so far been only a mirage that everybody kept chasing in the growing desert of corruption that had rapidly enveloped the island in the last three decades? That, finally, only former Prime Minister, now President J. R. Jayawardene, was able to formulate a Code of Conduct for MPs that was suitable and adequate to cope with the problems and temptations confronting MPs today? That the Code of Conduct has now been tabled in the NSA? That it should be discussed, debated, and, if necessary, amended and adopted to have greater validity? That, in like manner, such Codes of Conduct should be formulated for all government functionaries—the armed services, the police, bureaucrats, technocrats, CTB men, Railwaymen, in fact everybody? That there should be a Code of Conduct for journalists? That a study of the Code of Conduct for MPs shows that a great deal of care and thought has been expended in drawing up this Code? That one of the best things said is that a person is not elected to Parliament to make money; that if a person wants to make money he should go into business: that as long as a person was in politics, a member of Parliament should set an example to the community by leading “a simple and clean life”? That in the context of what has happened over the years, it was necessary to make this the first bedrock of the Code? That for a long long time many MPs have utilised their political positions to make money, sometimes directly, but more often indirectly through relations and nominees? That it is hoped that this Code will help to end the scandals that arise from MPs who are “in business”? That the Code

further calls upon MPs to lead “simple lives”? That it is true that though most MPs try to lead simple and clean lives—otherwise they will be thrown out by the voters at the next elections—there are a few black sheep whose ostentatious ways of living and unclean (immoral) lives taints many of the MPs belonging to the same party? That in this a great deal also depends on the ways of living of the spouses of MPs? That the ordinary man in the street often keeps a tab on the new and fabulously expensive sarees that the wives of MPs sport at different functions? That voters have a way of knowing whether an MP is living “beyond his means”? That they know when an MP has acquired a Hi-fi set worth Rs. 20,000/- to Rs. 30,000/- on the local market (before the latest devaluation)? That they keep track of refrigerators, deep-freezers, electric cookers, washing machines and other gadgetry that some MPs seem able to acquire without any difficulty? That they keep themselves informed about the small number of old suitcases MPs and Ministers take when they go on trips abroad and the number of new suitcases (multiplied enormously), bulging with goodies, they bring back on their return? That another important index, so far as the ordinary man is concerned, of the “clean life” of an MP is the kind of car the MP rides in and the number of times an MP changes cars every year? That it is known that MPs get cars at concessional rates from the Government Stores which takes over cars of diplomats who leave the island, but ordinary people know a luxury air-conditioned car from a work-a-day car and also what it cost the MP to get his car? That in the last regime there were MPs “in business” who were able to import and sell cars (and lorries) every few months? That there was at least one MP who had at any one time “owned” (through nominees) at least six cars and three lorries? That there are several similar indicators regarding the wealth, ill-gotten and otherwise, of MPs?

That the Second clause of the Code is an admonition that MPs should at all times conduct themselves in public and in their personal affairs in a manner that will win “public approbation and regard”? That in this regard, the Code recommends that at least,

once every year, Ministers, Deputy Ministers and Members of Parliament should attend a “self-correction conference”? That this will be an excellent measure if the self-correction conference is an open affair when voters and others concerned are permitted to attend and participate in the “self-correction conference”? That this procedure may savour of the “confessional” of the Roman Catholic Church or the personal confessional statements required by other sects of the Christian Church but this is no reason why it should not be incorporated in the Code of Conduct in a largely Buddhist-Hindu country? That it is well to remember that Christian “confession” inspired the “self-criticism” and “rectification” campaigns of the orthodox communist parties? That the “self-correction” envisaged in our Code of Conduct, however, is probably derived from the “Know thyself” dicta that is regarded as the basic catalyst for the self-improvement of a Buddhist or a Hindu? That it would be an excellent exercise if the “self-correction conferences” takes place every month? That one year is too long a period in between such “self-correction” conferences? That those who find such conferences once-a-month too irksome, should at least organise them once every three months? That the ideal would be for every MP to examine himself or herself every morning to see whether any “self-correction” was necessary because of anything he or she had done during the previous 24 hours? That one thing every MP should check is the “reputation” (among ordinary people) of those who hang around him everyday and who attach themselves to him? That an important indicator as to the way an MP was going to see who his new friends and attachments are? That if the new hangers-on are well-known “contact men” and “power brokers”, then people would infer that an MP was on the greasy downward path? That the third point in the Code is advice to MPs of the need to keep contact with the people, to know their difficulties and be alive to their problems? That this was imperative if the Party, to which he belonged was to retain the confidence of the people? That, in concrete terms, the MP has been told what he should do to be a “people’s MP.”?

(To be continued)

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