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Silver Linings That Make Government Optimistic: Do They Herald A New Dawn?

There is no doubt that the National Government is preparing for the next General Election with hope and confidence and seems anxious only about fixing the most opportune moment to hold the election. The Opposition, on the other hand, seems to take things for granted that the all-round increase in the cost of living will cast such darkness around the record of the National Government that the voters will turn to the Common Programme of the SLFP-LSSP-CP united front for light and guidance. In the contemporary era of flux, change and the unexpected, it will be wrong to take anything for granted, particularly because there are silver linings in the sky which the Opposition tends to ignore and on which the National Government seems to be pinning a great deal of hope.

The peasant, the cultivator, the farmer and the small

landowner are in an embullient mood. They have never had it so good. There are guaranteed prices for most agricultural products and these prices ensure high profits and ample savings. Agricultural loans are readily and easily available on easy terms. Motor vehicles, tractors, fertilisers and a whole host of other commodities are theirs for the mere asking. This section of the population never relied too much on imports like cheese, butter and books which the FEECs have made it unattainable to most urban middle class homes. And if anybody can afford to buy Horlicks at the new FEECs price it is the cultivator who gets high guaranteed prices for his products. It is well to remember that the agricultural and rural sector of the population constitute the bulk of the voting population, be it among the Sinhalese, Tamils or Muslims.

Plantation labour is pro-government under the magic spell of Thondaman and the Indo-Ceylon Agreement. The new class of industrialists, who are reaping millions in profits, will invest millions to ensure the return of the government. The three big newspaper groups are lined up solidly behind the Government. The urban middle classes, the salaried employees and the rural intelligentsia (plagued with educated unemployed youth) are most hit by the increase in the cost of living, the unemployment and the mess in the sphere of free education and the health services. This sector the Government is seeking to woo with cheaper imports, the promise of jobs, and drastic reforms all round.

Government leaders proclaim that a new dawn is around the corner. Will a majority of voters accept this view ?

Headlines Of The Week

THURSDAY, October 10 — A New Fares Board, headed by Mr. K. Sachitananda, has been appointed to go into the standardisation of CTB fares, review its time tables and also report on waste in CTB workshops and CTB purchases—particularly spares. The Government has turned down a Petroleum Corporation proposal to lease out the larger part of the Trincomalee oil installations to foreign interests — because the leasing of these tanks, which have strategic value, will endanger Ceylon's neutrality. The Czech Communist Party is reported to have reached a new agreement in Moscow. The Israel Peace Plan, made known in the UN, is reported to have been rejected by the UAR.

FRIDAY, October 11 — A six-point programme to give relief to the local film industry has been outlined by the Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of State, Mr. Anandattissa de Alwis. The directors of the CTB are reported to have unanimously requested the Government to stay the payment of all its debts to the Government as an alternative to raising bus fares. The House of Representatives yesterday rejected the vote of no-confidence against the Minister of Education, Mr. I. M. R. A. Iriyagolla, by 82 votes to 49 — the breakaway FP voting with the government. USA's Apollo Seven blasted away late in the evening to place three astronauts in orbit on a scheduled 11-day flight. Britain's Prime Minister, Harold Wilson, flew to Gibraltar today to meet Rfolesian leader, Ian Smith, to smooth out (if possible) the longstanding dispute.

SATURDAY, October 12 — Prime Minister, Mr. Dudley Senanayake, has appointed a special committee of six Permanent Secretaries to plan Trincomalee's future including the possibility of operating a free trade zone and the desirability of demarcating a part of Fort Frederick as a "sacred area". The three astronauts in Apollo Seven are reported to be in excellent spirits. President Nasser said yesterday that Egypt would resort to force in the absence of an honourable and peaceful settlement of the West Asian issue. Malaysia has rejected Philippine President Marcos' suggestion that the Sabah issue could be settled by arbitration.

SUNDAY, October 13 — Prime Minister Dudley Senanayake has urged his Ministerial colleagues to desist from making trips abroad unless absolutely essential. A proposal to have arrack taverns in the city open from 9 a.m. to 9 p.m. (instead of 7 a.m. to 7 p.m. as now) is now before the Colombo Municipal Council. The strike in the CTB which started two days ago, because of an alleged assault on a conductor by a passenger, and which had affected 50 routes in the Colombo-Negombo area, was settled today at noon. Capt. Wallis Shirra, one of the US astronauts

in Apollo Seven is reported to have caught a cold and was taking aspirin and decongestion pills. Units of the Panama National Guard had staged a successful coup yesterday to overthrow the regime of President Arnulfo Arias who had sought refuge in the US settlement in the Canal Zone. The 19th Olympic Games opened yesterday in Mexico City with the greatest security screen ever in the history of the Games.

MONDAY, October 14 — Dr. Malalasekera, head of the National Council of Higher Education, has appealed to the Review Board to exempt books from FEECs. The 15th accused in the coup trial-at-bar, Cpl. Sylvester Batuwatte, was discharged yesterday, and the Attorney General has begun his opening address before the three Judges and the Jury. All three astronauts in Apollo Seven are reported to have caught the cold and like Shirra are said to be swallowing aspirin — they are now on the fourth day of their flight. The Anglo-Rhodesian talks in the British naval vessel *Fearless* in Gibraltar are reported to have collapsed. The USA has refused to recognise the new regime in Panama and has suspended all ties.

TUESDAY, October 15 — The SLFP is reported to have accepted the new statement of the Ceylon CP (Moscow Wing) on the Czechoslovakian crisis in which the CP had stated that military intervention was a "breach of Czech sovereignty". It is reported that a number of public service trade unions are planning to stage a nation-wide strike at the end of November. and the Security Council of the Ministry of Defence and External Affairs is reported to have taken all the necessary precautions in the interests of public safety. The two-week celebrations in Ceylon to mark the 1400th anniversary of the Qur'an were concluded today with an impressive rally at the Sugathadasa Stadium and the issue of a special stamp. Millions in the USA saw the three astronauts in the spaceship Apollo Seven in a live TV. The floods in North Bengal and North Bihar are said to have caused extensive damage, including over 2000 dead and half a million homeless.

WEDNESDAY, October 16 — It is reported that almost 62% of Rs. 59 million lent to co-operative societies during the last Maha season has been recovered by the People's Bank, by the end of August 1968, the bank has recovered Rs. 36.4 millions of its agricultural loans. Referring to the dispute over the uninhabited island of Kachchativu, India's Minister of Industrial Development and Company Law, now on a visit to the island in connection with the 1400th anniversary celebrations of the Qur'an, said at a press conference that: "It is a matter that can be settled peacefully between India and Ceylon. I cannot understand why third parties should interfere." The Philippines Foreign Minister declared at the UN that Manila would not recognise Malaysia's authority over Sabah or its right to speak for its people.

COMMENT ON CURRENT AFFAIRS

● APOLLO SEVEN : one more step towards the moon

The United States has a scheduled programme to land a man on the moon before the end of the decade. A Soviet spokesman has said that the USSR was not in the race to land a man on the moon and had wished the US all success in its effort. Whether this declaration by a Soviet scientist is to be taken seriously is a matter on which we cannot speculate, but we can only say that the USSR has so many 'firsts' in the matter of space achievements that it would be foolish to rule out all possibilities of a Soviet cosmonaut on the lunar surface before an American gets there. Apollo Seven is now orbiting the earth with a three-man crew in a spacious cabin. According to the published programme, the NASA hopes to land a man on the moon with Apollo Ten or Eleven. At the time of writing, it would appear that Apollo Seven will successfully complete its eleven day flight. This is, in itself, a tremendous achievement. In terms of money Apollo Seven will cost NSAA 145 million dollars: 55 millions for the spacecraft, 45 millions for the rocket, and 45 million for launch and recovery. The final mission to the moon is expected to cost at least 300 million dollars. In December, NASA hopes to launch Apollo Eight with a crew of three and this spacecraft is programmed to make 10 orbits of the moon and return to earth. Apollo Nine is expected to blast off in February to make the first test in space of a four-legged landing craft that may lower two astronauts to the lunar surface later next year.

● JAPAN'S SURPLUS RICE : but price more than double the world market price

Japan is the most advanced industrial country in Asia and is one of the first six in the world. But, in agriculture too Japan has forged ahead and she produces the highest yields of paddy per acre in the world. At the moment Japan has a vast surplus stock of rice and is faced with the problem of how to dispose of it. With so many rice-hungry nations in Asia, disposal of the surplus may seem a simple problem; but because the price of Japanese rice is more than double the world market price, there are no ready buyers. There is a further difficulty in Japanese rice; the grain is of the round variety (*Japonica*) whilst countries like India, Ceylon and Indonesia prefer the *Patna* type. The price of Japanese rice is high because the *internal guaranteed price* is extremely high. Japanese rice farmers are a powerful political lobby because of their numerical superiority and in this era of parliamentary elections they constitute a powerful force able to secure the highest possible guaranteed price for agricultural products grown by them. In these circumstances, there is speculation whether Japan will not enact a law similar

to US PL 480 which would enable the Government to ship the rice at lower prices to Asian nations like India and Ceylon. Whether Japan will seek to create counterpart funds in Asian funds (in the same way the US has done under PL 480) is yet to be seen. But, there is growing opposition in Japan itself to increasing its foreign aid commitments, and with the present undisposable surplus, the Government may be tempted to induce farmers to switch over to other crops. Suggestions have also been made that the Japanese rice surplus should become the nucleus of an Asian rice buffer stock, so that in times of distress such as famine or floods, food can be speedily rushed to the victims. Whilst the FAO ponders over the question of creating a rice buffer stocks, Japan may be compelled to utilise the surplus rice to feed animals at home because they cannot be sold abroad profitably.

● MORE RICE GROWN IN CEYLON : will there be self-sufficiency in the 1970s?

The National Government, and the Prime Minister, have good reason to be proud of the claim that Ceylon's rice production has increased so much that this country could be self-sufficient in rice in a matter of a few years. The Finance Minister in a speech in Washington recently had claimed that this country would be self-sufficient in the 1970s. There is no doubt that much more is being grown today than in 1965, but no reliable statistics are yet available. According to press reports, Government is planning to import about 60,000 tons less in the first half of 1969 less than that imported during the corresponding period in 1965. This is a considerable amount and if this target can be achieved it will no doubt be a feather in the cap of this government. In 1967, Ceylon had imported nearly 380,000 tons from traditional sources, mainly from the People's Republic of China. For 1969, the Government hopes to meet all requirements with imports standing at 260,000 tons. This figure is based on the expectation of an average yield for the next Maha crop, but there is expectation that the Maha harvest will exceed all estimates, in which case it would be enough to import only 200,000 tons.

Whilst these claims no doubt excite admiration for the Prime Minister's food drive, ordinary citizens have to contend with hard realities that make living extremely difficult. The prices of all food commodities have been steadily climbing up, including that of rice. And, the new price levels brought in by the FEECs have created major apprehensions about the future. Furthermore, such staunch supporters of the present Establishment like Mr. Hema Basnayake have voiced doubts about self-sufficiency that make many people sit up and think. The Leader of the Opposition, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, has consistently questioned the claim of the Government that Ceylon would soon be self-sufficient in rice. The proof of the pudding is in the eating and it will no be difficult for the Government to show that more rice is indeed being grown.

From the Pages of History

KANDERODAI: The Ancient Capital Of The North

by

Panditha Ratna C. S. Navaratnam

(Author of *Tamils and Ceylon, Vanni and the Vanniyas*, and *A Short History of Hinduism in Ceylon*.)

(Kadiramalai, the ancient name for the capital of the Jaffna Kingdom, became "Kadiragoda" in Sinhalese, malai — goda (Sinhalese). The name later corrupted to Kanderodai during the time of the Portuguese and to Kanderodai in Dutch times.

It is an established fact that a thousand years before the Christian era the Tamils had established themselves as a great sea-faring people of South Asia. Ceylon being close to South India was known to the Tamils from the time they first learnt to sail. The nearest points from the eastern coasts of South India are the Mannar coasts and northern coasts of the Jaffna Peninsula. At a very early date civilized Tamil settlements grew up on these bridge-heads and when these settlements increased there grew up towns like *Matota*, *Kudiramalai* and *Kathiramalai* (*Kanderodai*). These settlements extended right round the Island especially along the coastal regions. An examination of the place names along the coasts will reveal this fact.

THE NAGAS, who were also a civilized people, had settlements at Nagapatanam in South India; they too had come to Ceylon and made settlements in the Jaffna Peninsula, at the mouth of the Kelani river and in the Hambantota District. It is a great characteristic of this race that they mostly adopted the language of their surroundings no matter whether they lived in Central India or in Ceylon. They were experts in spinning and the dry climate of Uttaradesa was very suitable for the the cultivation of cotton. *Parutiturai*

(cotton port) known as *Point Pedro*, still stands to testify the export of cotton goods from the Peninsula.

In the centuries preceding the Christian era and perhaps in the few centuries after, *Elu* was the spoken dialect of the common people in the interior of the Island and Tamil was the language of the maritime districts and the literary language of the Island.

In the northern coasts of the Jaffna Peninsula there are three place names which are nearly similar; *Kovalam* in Karaitivu, *Sambu Kovalam* (Sambuturai) to the west of Keerimalai, *Kal Kovalam* in Point Pedro. *Kovalam* is the name of a place in South West Travancore. The Mahavamsa in describing events in the third century B. C. says that the Bodhi tree was brought to *Jambukola* (Sambu Kovalam). This reveals that the Tamils were in the Jaffna Peninsula in the third century B.C. *Vallipuram* and *Nagar Coil* in the eastern coasts of the Jaffna Peninsula have their corresponding names in South India. These places must have been the ancient gateways through which peaceful colonists entered the country.

The *Vallipuram* gold plate inscription of the second century A.C. refers to a place *Vadakara Atana* (northern lands). The Minister referred to is *Isigiraya*. *Rayar* or *Ra-yan*, *Devar* or *Devan* are suffixes of ancient Tamil personal names — Villavarayan, Malavarayan. This reveals that there were Tamils in Jaffna in this early period.

THE EXISTENCE of ancient Hindu temples in the maritime districts as *Muneeswaram*, *Tirukkettiswaram*, *Koneswaram* and *Naguleswaram* dedicated to Lord Siva and the prevalence of Murukan cult in South-west Ceylon even before the time of King Dutugemunu at *Kataragama* all suggest the prevalence of a Hindu Dravidian culture in these districts.

Kataragama in the second century B.C. was the seat of a royal dynasty which has left cave inscriptions with the **fish emblem** in the Batticaloa District and in the Hambantota District. No royal dynasty had the **fish emblem** in this period except the Pandyas.

The discovery of **urn-burials** in the Puttalam district in 1955 is a great milestone in the history of pre-Vijayan period. Similar urn-burials were discovered at *Adichchanallur* on the banks of the *Tambraparni* in South India in the years 1926 — 1930. They were supposed to be of the twelfth century B.C.

Sir Paul E. Pieris carried out excavations at *Kanderodai* in 1918 and 1919 and the discoveries he made at that site had attracted the attention of archaeologists and historians. He secured about 35 punch-marked coins from *Kanderodai* and two from *Vallipuram*. All these pieces are stamped with several punches on one or both faces hence they have received the name punch-marked coins. In Hindu books a punch-marked coin is called a *purana* (old). These *puranas* are mentioned by *Manu* and *Panini*. They were current in India in the time of Buddha. Most of the *puranas* that were found at *Kanderodai* were of silver.

Eighteen copper coins of another type were discovered by Sir Paul E. Pieris and they show no traces of design. In shape they are square or oblong with a distinct concavity on one surface. In his opinion they seem to be older than the puranas.

In addition to these finds, Sir Paul also found a series of copper rods. Most of these were collected at

Kanderodai. They are called *Kohl* sticks and were used by the Egyptians in the second millennium B. C. for applying paint with.

In 1885 a labourer in a coconut estate in *Mullaitivu* discovered silver *puranas* numbering 51 and 16 plaques in a well whose sides were ringed with earthenware cylinders? The well was similar to those wells discovered at the *Tirukketiswaram* temple site.

IN THIS CONNECTION it is good to note what an eminent scholar like Rev. Father Heras, an authority on Dravidian civilization and culture, said in 1937 after examining the inscriptions on the early cast and struck copper coins of Ceylon known as *puranas* or *Kahapanas* and by early European archaeologists as punch-marked coins. He says: "The fact the system of writing was not yet developed like the Brahmi scripts of India proves that the coins are prior to the Christian era and even granting that the script of Ceylon did not develop as fast as the script of India the pictographic character of some of the signs of Mohenjo daro and the nominal values of all signs incline me to believe that these coins belong to the first half of the first millennium B.C."

He further concludes that the race that produced the marvellous civilization of the Indus Valley spread over India to Ceylon. The pre-historic tombs of Hyderabad State, designs of the Nilgiris, the pattern on pieces of pottery found in the Tinnevely district and the inscriptions in the cave near Kegalle are indications of the long trek of the Dravidians from the Indus valley to Ceylon. All these indicate the prevalence of a Hindu Dravidian culture in the maritime districts, and *Kanderodai* the ancient capital of *Nagadipa* comes in this orbit of civilization.

NOW WE shall examine the history of *Kanderodai*. Its history may be divided into five epochs (1) The Pre-Anuradhapura period; (2) From the founding of Anuradhapura to the beginning of the reign of Vasa-

bha (337 B.C. — 127 A. C.); (3) From the reign of Vasabha to the coming of the Pandyas (127 A. C.— 433 A.C.); (4) From the reign of the Pandyas to the fall of Anuradhapura (433 A. C. — 850 A.C.); (5) Post Anuradhapura Period.

In the first period *Kanderodai* was the capital of the northern principality. It seems to have had a flourishing trade with the mainland. According to the Mahavamsa there was a Naga Kingdom in North Ceylon. The Jaffna tradition according to the *Vaipava Malai* is that Vijaya landed at a northern port and latter repaired to *Kadiramalai* (*Kanderodai*). As a thanks-giving for his safe arrival he built the temple of *Naguleswaram* at Keerimalai and went round to the other coasts building new ones.

In the second period *Kanderodai* continues to be the capital of an independent kingdom and the Naga kings who ruled it seem to have had peaceful relations with the kings of Anuradhapura. In the 3rd century B. C. when the Bodhi tree was brought to *Jambukola*, the king Devanampiya Tissa placed the Bodhi sapling upon a beautiful decorated car and escorting it led it along the trunk road from *Jambukola* through *Kadiramalai*, *Punakari* and the *Vanni* Districts to the northern gates of Anuradhapura. On the way the king caused the Bodhi tree to be set down at the entrance to the village of the *Brahman Tivakka*. This shows that there were Hindus in the Jaffna Peninsula at the time of the arrival of the Bodhi tree. At the festival of the planting of the Bodhi tree, besides the great Thera Mahinda and Bhikkuni Sangamitta, prominence is given to *Tivakka*. He seems to have represented the Hindus of *Nagadipa* at the great festival.

In this period Devanampiya Tissa erected a Vihara at *Jambukola*, a place consecrated by the landing of the Bodhi tree. One of the eight Bodhi saplings was also planted at this centre. The new religion did not make much headway in *Nagadipa*. From the time of Kakavanna Tissa who married a Naga princess Vihara

Devi of Kalyani, Naga connections with Ceylon kings became stronger and stronger. The royal families of Anuradhapura began to have marriage alliances with the royal families of *Nagadipa*. Another change was also taking place in that country; the Tamils were also intermarrying with the members of the Naga royal families and their progeny were turned *Lambakannas* (those with big ear lobes) by the Sinhalese. These *Lambakannas* had grown so powerful in the courts of the kings of Anuradhapura that they soon began to seize power and became kings.

FROM THE death of Devanampiya Tissa 297 B.C. to the beginning of the reign of Vasabha A.C. 127 no mention is made of *Nagadipa* by the author of the Mahavamsa. This reticence might have been due to the independent position enjoyed by the northern kingdom.

In the third period, *Vasabha* of the *Lambakanna* clan, whose home was in the Northern Province, became king of Anuradhapura. He was followed by his son and his illustrious grandson *Gaja Bahu I*. The latter married a Naga princess of *Nagadipa*. He introduced the cult of *Kannaki* in his kingdom. A temple for the goddess was built at *Kanderodai* and caused a colossal statue of his to be erected before the temple in order to impress the public of his edict. The statue was found in a broken state by Sir Paul E. Pieris in the premises of the temple and was later removed to the Jaffna museum. Even to this day during festivals the "poosaries" who officiate at this shrine sing the praises of the goddess from old Tamil manuscripts that were handed down to them from generation to generation. It is strange that the author of the Mahavamsa has given a defective treatment of *Gaja Bahu's* reign although he contributed much to the welfare of his people in many ways. He gave equal support to Hinduism and Buddhism. The *Konesar Kalveddu* says that he gave cash endowments to *Koneswaram*.

The kings who came to the throne of Anuradhapura after Gaja Bahu I tried to spread the religion of the Buddha among the people of Nagadipa. Mahalla Naga (196 — 202 A.C.) who succeeded Gaja Bahu I, though he built many viharas in different parts of the country, did not fail to build one in his native country Nagadipa. Kanittha Tissa (227 — 245 A.C.) repaired the edifice constructed over the Cetiya at Nagadipa. Muha Naga, the Minister of Voharika Tissa (269 — 291) built a wall round Tissa Vihara in Nagadipa.

THE fourth period (433 — 850 A. C.) of *Kanderodai* begins with the rule of the *Pandyas*. In this period Hinduism began to regain its lost position and in the succeeding centuries Tamils became very powerful and Anuradhapura stripped of its riches became unsafe for Sinhalese kings to live in. To state briefly, the sixth, the seventh and eighth centuries were a period of strife between rival monarchs in Lanka. Sinhalese princess were fighting for the throne with the aid of Tamil armies.

Describing events at the end of the eighth century the *Vaipava Malai*, a Chronicle of Jaffna, says that in A.C. 795 Ugra Singan, a Kalinga prince, made a descent upon Lanka with a numerous force from *Vadathesam* (India). This Jaffna king ruled from *Kathirimalai* (Kanderodai) and was the last to use it as the capital of the northern kingdom. He later shifted his capital to *Singai Nagar*, a town on the eastern coast of the Jaffna Peninsula. Why he changed his capital is not known. Probably *Kathirimalai* might have been sacked when Sri Mara Sri Vallabha, the Pandyan king invaded Ceylon and sacked Anuradhapura in the reign of Sena I (831 — 851).

In this connection it is good to note the observation made by *Cosmos*, the Greek traveller, with regard to the Jaffna kingdom. He says that there were two rival kings in Ceylon in the sixth century one of whom possessed a famous gem and the other governed the coast districts

(perhaps from *Matota* or *Kathirimalai*) where trade was carried with foreign nations.

In the last period of *Kanderodai*, the post-Anuradhapura period, this ancient capital sinks into oblivion. Its decline coincides with that of Anuradhapura. On the other hand during the reigns of Parakrama Bahu I (1153 — 1186) and Bhuvaneka Bahu VI (1450 — 1467), when the Jaffna kingdom was directly ruled by these sovereigns, some Viharas might have been built for the Sinhalese fishermen who had gravitated to the peninsula for business purposes. The religious edifices mentioned in the Sinhalese work "*Nampota*" of the fifteenth century might be those founded during the reigns of these kings and those founded by the early *Lambakanna* rulers.

The founding of a few viharas does not mean that the people of the peninsula were all Buddhists at one time. The *Suta Smhita*, a Sanskrit work and a part of the *Skanda Purana* of the sixth century has referred to *Naguleswaram* (Keerimalai) among the ancient places of pilgrimage. In the fifth century A.C., the Pandu king of Anuradhapura drove away the Tamil fishermen of Keerimalai from those coasts "for desecrating the *Naguleswara* temple wells."

Granting that a good number of Tamils once belonged to the Buddhist faith as in South India at that time, the great revival of *Saivism* that originated in Tamil Nadu in the seventh and eighth centuries had its own repercussions on our Island. Hinduism once more regained its lost position, when the Anuradhapura kings lost their influence over Jaffna especially after the fifth and sixth centuries. The Kalingas, the Cholas and the Arya Chakravarties helped the propagation of Saivism in the Northern Kingdom.

NIGERIA

OIL AND BLOOD

Examining the extent to which Western oil interests contributed to the outbreak of the Nigerian civil war, the London *Tribune* cites some interesting facts. Nigeria has become a major oil-producing country in recent years. From 5 million tons in 1964, production soared to 28 million in 1966. It was at this same time that opposition to the Federal government intensified in the Eastern Region, whose people had managed to live in peace with the country's other tributes for many years, and Eastern separatism developed. *Tribune* traces a connection between the two things. The oil is being worked by Western interests, but not, it need hardly be said, on a basis of share and share alike. After "major squabbles" and infighting, "the British (Shell-BP) hit the jack-pot, later accounting for some 85 per cent of the total production' The American oil tycoons, accustomed to be first everywhere in recent decades, came off badly this time: Gulf Oil only managed to secure about 10 per cent of the total prize, while the French Sefrtap group had to make do with the balance of 5 per cent. The other American and West European companies which wanted to get a look-in were left out in the cold altogether. To produce a situation more to their liking, dissatisfied oil interests helped to foment Eastern separatist feeling, and it was not without their encouragement that the East was proclaimed, in May of last year, the "Republic of Biafra". And when this led to civil war, they proceeded to help Biafra fight it.

In Retrospect

Kandyans Want Three Kingdoms: FP Pickle: CP's Re-Assessment Of Czech Crisis

The *Daily Mirror* on October 9 had a front page splash that "KANDYANS WANT A SEPARATE KINGDOM". The report stated that "the Kandyans are on the warpath. They too want a separate kingdom for themselves and wish to have a United States of Ceylon, which is in fact, is federalism. Thirty Kandyan leaders who met over the week-end decided that they should go all out to have Ceylon divided into three separate states: Northern, Kandyan and Ruhuna. They also decided to call upon the Prime Minister, Mr. Dudley Senanayake, to postpone the General Elections and hold a referendum on the subject to ascertain the views of the nation. They were however averse to using the terms 'federal' or 'federalism' and preferred to call them separate states. They were strongly of the view that the country's present linguistic and communal problems could be solved only by the creation of three separate states on these lines... At this conference three communities were appointed to devise ways and means for securing a separate state for the Kandyans..."

Though much attention has not been paid to this at the present moment, the fact that a conference of Kandyan activists (the names of the participants suggest that they are men who mean business) should have been convened it at this stage is significant particularly because a large number of pan-Sinhala enthusiasts are today clamouring to "Sinhala-ise" the whole island. That a significant group of Kandyans who want a separate kingdom in which they will be free of all foreign exploitation, including exploitation from the Low Country, is a matter which cannot be brushed aside lightly — looked at from the large-range point of view.

The idea of three kingdoms in Ceylon is not new. For the greater part of the two to three thousand years of the written history of this island, three separate kingdoms had in fact existed. It was only for short periods that one monarch had reigned supreme over the three regions. When the westerners came to Ceylon there were three kingdoms. The Northern and the Low Country coastal kingdom fell first, and the last to succumb was the Kandyan Kingdom.

When the era of independence dawned after the first world war, no less a person than S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike in an article in 1926 had urged that Ceylon should consist of a federation of three states, but in Sinhala-Buddhist revivalism that marked the Donoughmore and the Soulbury eras, this concept of three states had become submerged under the weight of the pan-Sinhala nation concept to embrace all three sections. Even Bandaranaike's attempt to restore some sort of autonomy to the three regions through Regional Councils was defeated, and the fate of the still-further diluted District Councils is fresh in everybody's minds. It is therefore interesting that the concept of three states should be revived once again — by the Kandyans who feel that they have had the worst of the bargain in the onrush on the pan-Sinhala era in which stalwarts from the Low Country have captured most of the prizes and the larger share of the booty.

THE FEDERAL PARTY, which had soft-pedalled its federalism for the last 3½ years in the hope of getting some concessions in language and some sort of regional autonomy through District Councils, is once again harping on its old federal

demand. For the FP, Ceylon was to be two states: Sinhala and Tamil. But the Kandyans want three kingdoms, and it is likely that the Muslims too will throw in a demand for an autonomous region — if a new trend develops towards reorganising Ceylon on a new basis. In the meantime, the FP has started to urge its case for a federal state (after rejecting the demand by a section of the Tamil youth for a separate sovereign Tamilnad similar to Suntharalingam's *Eelam*).

In a recent speech, FP General Secretary A. Amirthalingam, (vide *Daily Mirror*, 10/10), stated that "the political history of Ceylon since Independence has proved beyond all doubt that the unitary form of government was a colossal failure in this country. He said that a unitary government such as they had in Ceylon would never be a success in a multi-racial country like Ceylon. That was why they of the FP were agitating for a Federal form of government for Ceylon. For the last 20 years the Tamils in the country had undergone untold hardships. Nine governments have been in power but none of them was able to solve the problems of the Tamils, because all the governments were elected by the majority who had no concern for the minority.

"He further said that a democratic government based on majority rule was good if they had only one race in the country — like Britain. But an Ceylon where there were more than one race it would never be a success. But if a federal form of government was established racial problems would not arise at all and all communities could rule themselves without any interference from one another.

“ Mr. Amirthalingam further said that several people including some newspapers had suggested to them to drop the Federal cry. But all those persons had failed to suggest any solutions to the problems confronting the Tamils since independence”.

While the leaders of the FP seem to be in a bit of a pickle as to what they should do now, the breakaway ex-FP Navaratnam, MP for Kayts, seems to be busy organising his Tamil Nad movement. He is even more critical about the top leadership after their quitting the National Government. At a recent meeting in Pungudutivu, Mr. Navaratnam had stated that *“the relations the FP had with the UNP had not altered one bit despite the so-called ‘quit drama’ staged by them. It was only a farce. The FP was still the Government and the only difference was that the FP did not now come under the Government Whip. A speech delivered by an FP parliamentarian after the ‘quit drama’ amply revealed where they stood now. . . . In effect Mr. Dudley Senanayake was still ‘their beloved Prime Minister’ inside Parliament and a target of mock attack only when they came to the north and the east. . . .”*

JUST AS the FP seems to be in a pickle about its federal stance, the Opposition has got themselves into a bigger pickle about the stand of the CP on the Czech crisis. The SLFP, egged on by the LSSP, had taken the position that non-alignment and neutrality demanded that the Warsaw Powers should be “condemned” for their military intervention in Czechoslovakia. The CP had at first issued a wishy-washy statement trying to explain the conduct of the USSR and the Warsaw Powers in relation to Czechoslovakia, but this was rejected by the SLFP High Command as it was the subject of ridicule and criticism from LSSP sources. The LSSP, urged on by the big daily papers, had called upon Mrs. Bandaranaike and the SLFP to throw out the CP for not conforming to the non-alignment clause in the Common Programme.

Even though two months have nearly gone by since the “intervention” in Czechoslovakia and even though other more pressing events have overtaken the world, the pressure was kept up against the CP to “re-assess” the situation. Last week, the CP drafted a new statement on the question (according to reports it was a majority decision with a strong minority dissent). This statement was sent to Mrs. Bandaranaike (whilst at the same time CP leader Dr. S. A. Wickremasinghe went to Moscow probably to explain matters). Mrs. Bandaranaike is said to have accepted the statement as “satisfactory” and released it to the press from the SLFP headquarters. There has been much comment in political and newspaper circles that the statement of the CP should have been released from the SLFP headquarters and not by the CP itself. The statement was hailed by the *Daily News* as one which “condemned” the USSR and the Warsaw Powers, although the text revealed that the CP had only very gingerly stated that there was “a breach of sovereignty”. For the record, the text of the statement as it appeared in the daily press is as follows:

(1) “Our party does not consider that the attitude taken by us in our statements of 25 August and 10 September 1968 infringe any of the provisions of the Common Program that our party has signed together with the SLFP and the LSSP. We reaffirm our complete agreement with the policy on foreign affairs set out in the Common Program and with the principle that every state should respect the independence and sovereignty of every other state.

(2) “It is the view of our party that the five Warsaw Treaty powers did not decide to send their troops into Czechoslovakia on 21 August 1968 for purposes of aggression or conquest but in order to defend both the security of the socialist community of which they and Czechoslovakia are members and the security of the Czechoslovakia itself from the threat

of a counter-revolution that was supported by imperialist and other reactionary forces abroad.

(3) “In the absence of confirmation that the Czechoslovak authorities had authorised the entry of troops of the five other Warsaw Treaty powers into their country, it would appear that there has been a breach of Czechoslovakia’s state sovereignty in terms of international law. This is a matter for concern and regret.

(4) “It should, however, be stated that multi-lateral and bi-lateral treaties and agreements concluded between the five socialist countries concerned and Czechoslovakia confer on all of them collective and individual obligations in regard to defending the security of the socialist community as a whole, as well as ensuring the security and the gains of socialism in each country.

(5) “In regard to the question of the withdrawal of troops from Czechoslovakia, we are glad that an agreement has now been reached on this matter between Czechoslovakia and the five other socialist countries concerned. Our party strongly supports the implementation of this agreement and hopes that the troops will accordingly be withdrawn as soon as possible.” How much the CP will be able to get out of this “re-assessment” which is a retreat from its proletarian internationalism, is yet to be seen. How much the CP will get from the SLFP or Mrs. Bandaranaike for toeing the line is problematic, but discerning political circles have begun to ask how far the CP will be willing to compromise on its principles in order to “be united” with the SLFP.

The original CP stand on the questions like language and national minorities was modified in order to come into line with the SLFP-led anti-UNP front. What the future of the CP will be, with its independent position as a national party being submerged under SLFP-LSSP pressure, is a matter which even seasoned politicians find difficult to assess.

In Tito's Land

Organised Employment Of Yugoslavs Abroad: No Conflict With Socialist Principles ?

by Zvonko Simic

Belgrade,

Yugoslav workers are employed in 62 countries in all continents. The most numerous are those working in the West European countries: more than three hundred thousand of them together with the members of their families. The mentioned figure is based on the data of Yugoslav and foreign employment agencies. The latter register only workers with correct labour and stay permits. Employment outside one's own country has a tradition here which is at least a century old. People from mountainous regions where existence could not be ensured from agriculture and where no other sources for existence could be found, used to leave their homes. The near East and far-away America have been the main directions of labour migration, although people have been reluctant to leave their poor households.

But, employment is not a question of patriotism, but an economic problem. This is how it is viewed in Yugoslavia.

A trade union leader has said in this connection these days that no one socio-economic system in itself is immune from unemployment. And, employment in economy in which two or three men perform the work of one and actually share a single wage is economically very unsound, the more so if a country exerting the maximum efforts to develop her resources is in question.

A reply to the allegation that unemployment is irreconcilable with socialism and that Yugoslavia violates socialist principles by allowing many of her workers to seek employment abroad is contained in this attitude.

THE DEPARTURE of the Yugoslavs for work abroad has become more intensive since the economic reform of 1965. The efforts to abandon extensive in favour of more intensive economic activity, the bringing of investments into realistic frameworks and other measures have introduced significant changes into the internal labour market.

A more intensive economic "opening" towards the world has also played its role. Yugoslavia has got broadly included into world migration movements. Differences in the level of production and economic development between Yugoslavia and the countries of immigration have become to act powerfully when economic and other barriers have been lifted.

Many Yugoslavs leave the country to solve some of their economic problems. The most frequent are the purchase of flats, estates, the means of production for independent hand-craft shops, while some people are inspired by the desire for professional training and specialization.

Employment abroad has contained much more elements of spontaneity in previous years than at present. This problem has now penetrated into all Yugoslav plans and engaged many services. The number of workers leaving the country on their own, into the unknown, is steadily decreasing. The Federal Institute of Employment has recently announced that about 30,000 Yugoslavs were employed abroad in the first six months of 1968 in an organized manner (in Austria 14,000, Federal Germany 8,000 and the remainder in France, Switzerland and Sweden). All of them have gone abroad on the basis of contracts made with corresponding institutions in the employers' countries, with labour cards guaranteed social insurance and all other labour rights.

Yugoslavia has concluded agreements on the employment of her workers with France, Austria and Sweden. All of them are of a recent date. The oldest one — with France

— was signed three and a half years ago. These three countries are the main "importers" of Yugoslav workers in Europe — if West Germany is excepted. About a hundred thousand Yugoslav workers are registered in this country. But, their number is believed to be considerably higher. Germany is a country to which the Yugoslavs most often go to work and where they are readily accepted as workers.

It was precisely with Germany that the Yugoslav side first initiated talks on the employment of her workers in 1963. After this, talks were conducted about this question on three occasions — in 1964, 1965 and 1968. But, no agreement has been signed till the present day. It has been controversial during the last negotiations whether unskilled workers should be covered by an agreement. Yugoslavia insists on this since the most numerous among her workers employed in Germany are those unskilled. Yugoslavia has signed social insurance conventions with twelve countries. The greatest practical significance at the moment are those concluded with Austria, Switzerland, France and the Benelux countries.

The Yugoslav Trade Unions hold that the interests of workers employed abroad can best be protected in co-operation with the trade unions of countries in which they work. This is what inspires a recommendation to Yugoslav workers to join their professional trade unions abroad. For countries with a number of different trade union organizations, it is recommended to Yugoslav workers to join those trade unions they believe most likely to give them the best protection.

On this platform, the Yugoslav Trade Union Confederation has developed very good co-operation with a series of trade union centres in the European countries, particularly with the Austrian Trade Unions. And, this co-operation is not limited merely to the central forums but covers a whole series of local and professional organizations.

The Czech Crisis

The Danger Of Counter - Revolution: The Security Of The Socialist Alliance: A Major Tragedy Averted: Complex - Tasks Ahead.

by Iqbal Singh

Although this article was written, shortly after the first Moscow Agreement, at the end of August, it still has a great deal of validity today. The writer is the European Correspondent, stationed in London, of the Link-Patriot newspaper group in New Delhi. Over the years, Iqbal Singh has built up a reputation as a knowledgeable commentator on contemporary European affairs.

TO SEE any human situation steadily and to see it whole is never easy. It is demonstrably a counsel of perfection when confronted with a situation as tangled and complex as the one which brought to a head the crisis of confidence between Czechoslovakia, on the one hand, and most of her partners in the Warsaw Pact, on the other, culminating in the entry of the forces of the Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria and the GDR into Czechoslovakia last week. For much in the situation remains obscure and, for obvious reasons, is likely so to remain for quite a while. Many of the self-justificatory arguments advanced on either side are bound to be exaggerated and overlaid with considerable ambiguity of intention and purpose.

What is more, most of the news put on the mass media in the West — and not only the West — during the past few weeks has been so patently doctored, if not wholly prefabricated, that normally no serious observer would be persuaded to accept it as adequate basis for accurate assessment, much less sweeping condemnatory judgment.

Yet sweeping judgments have been passed by eminently honest and even highly sceptical minds, partly because of what has been called the "Munich syndrome" which has made it relatively easy for Cold War propaganda agencies to generate an ambient climate of perfervid emotion and almost hysteria to confuse the issues. It is safe to assume that in time, instant judgments will be revised.

In the meantime, since an accord has been reached between the Soviet and Czechoslovak leaders which, given a degree of goodwill on each side, should clear the way for return to normalcy of relationship between Prague and its allies, it is permissible to attempt a tentative clarification of what this tragic scenario has been all about — or, at least, what it has not been about.

ANY RANDOM sampling of what has been said and written about the litigation between Czechoslovakia and five Warsaw Pact countries would show that the issue that has been most ostentatiously trailed across the field of discussion is the one that has been the least in dispute between the two sides — the issue of "liberalization" of the power structure in Czechoslovakia, of putting a "human face" on it. At no point during a whole series of bilateral and multilateral talks between Prague and five of its allies since the plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party last January, did Moscow claim for itself the right to veto the reforms aimed at democratization of the functioning of the political institutions in Czechoslovakia though, as the *Pravda* editorial of 27 August points

out, it was felt by several of Czechoslovakia's partners in the Socialist alliance that "the situation that had taken shape could lead to the weakening of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and to the growth of sentiments dangerous to Socialism among certain sections of Czechoslovak society, influenced by bourgeois outlook and imperialist propaganda" — a danger which, incidentally, seems to have been acknowledged by the Czechoslovak leadership in their private talks with their Soviet colleagues.

Indeed, in the letter addressed to Prague, after the Warsaw meeting of the leaders of five Warsaw Pact countries, it was made clear that the Czechoslovak leadership was not being asked to go back to the methods of the past. The statements issued after Cierna and Bratislava were equally explicit on this point. But "liberalization" is one of those elastic terms which can cover a multitude of virtues — and sins. And over the past several months most neutral observers who tasted the copy that was purveyed by most of the organs of Czechoslovak publicity and propaganda had the impression that liberalization had become synonymous with denigration of the Soviet Union — and not only the Soviet Union, but the whole experiment of building a socialist society.

This seemed hardly calculated to the maintenance, much less strengthening, of relations between Czechoslovakia and her Socialist allies. *Pravda* has claimed — and the claim has not been challenged as far as this writer is aware — that at a meeting in Moscow on 4th May, the leaders of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia "spoke of the gravity of the situation in the country" and admitted that the negative aspects of the internal political developments in Czechoslovakia "go beyond the bounds of our purely internal affairs and affect fraternal countries, for instance, the Soviet Union and Poland."

EVEN SO neither the Soviet Union nor the four other Socialist states wanted to take upon themselves the responsibility of any intervention — and for the excellent reason that, like several Western Communist Parties, they felt that the task of bringing the situation under control was “in the first instance” the responsibility and obligation of the leadership of the Czechoslovak Party. If, therefore, last week they decided to intervene physically and, as they claim, at the invitation of at least a section of the Czechoslovak leadership, it must be that there was no option for them but to do so.

It can, of course, be argued that intervention of this kind is unacceptable under any conditions and circumstances. And, indeed, the argument would be valid if the inhibition on intervention applied both ways and those interested in counter-revolution were equally scrupulous in abiding by the doctrine of non-intervention. Yet most of us are old enough to remember that no such scruples prevented Hitler and Mussolini from intervening on the side of Franco to murder the Spanish Republic and further that, in our own day and age, they have not prevented the United States from conducting its genocidal operations against the people of Vietnam.

THE QUESTION, however, remains: how far the danger of counter-revolutionary insurgency and intervention was real and how far it was imaginary in the case of Czechoslovakia. It is a question on which it would be rash to be dogmatic. Mr Victor Zorza in the “Guardian” contemptuously dismissed a recent document published by ‘Isvestia’ purporting to be the plan for a blitzkrieg simultaneously against the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia prepared by the West German General Staff; and he is entitled to do so.

But others who are less naive or not so subject to convenient fits of amnesia would not be inclined to

rule out such a possibility in the light of past experience even though it may well be true that the new blitzkrieg plan is not for tomorrow, and for the moment the aim of those who preside over the destinies of the Fourth Reich may not go beyond detaching the countries of Eastern Europe, and especially Czechoslovakia (the “soft underbelly of the Soviet Union and the Socialist bloc”, as a British military commentator described it the other day) upon whom they have territorial claims, all in the name of the principle of “self-determination”, from their alliances so as to be able to deal with and digest them piecemeal. At any rate, it is a danger of which the Czechoslovak leadership was well aware until but yesterday — and one trusts still is.

Again it can be argued, and no doubt will be, that this is to act to meet a purely hypothetical eventuality. So it is. But in that sense all precautionary moves are meant to provide against hypothetical dangers — whether it is fire insurance or vaccination. In this case it can even be suggested that the actuarial odds of the hypothetical danger materializing are much more real. Moreover, there also was the possibility that some of the most adventurous and gullible counter-revolutionary elements in Czechoslovakia — and their existence is not denied by the Czech leaders themselves — encouraged by all the television publicity they were receiving, might well have gone beyond mere words to quixotic deeds. *In that case, indeed, there would have been a second Hungary. It is, therefore, at least permissible to suggest that by acting in good time the Soviets and other Warsaw Pact countries have prevented a repetition of the Hungarian tragedy.*

* * *

The impassioned, even febrile, often anguished debate which has been triggered off by the events of the past few weeks in Czechoslovakia is almost certain to be prolonged well beyond the moment at which,

assuming good sense on both sides, relations between Prague and five of its Socialist allies will have returned to some degree of normality. Inevitably, the debate is going to be conducted simultaneously at a number of levels of concern and preoccupation.

Inevitably, because what has happened in Czechoslovakia raises a variety of serious political and juridical questions, related or disparate. These cannot be evaded and must not be evaded. But it is pertinent to add that each question has to be discussed in a frame of reference proper and relevant to it. Otherwise there will be more confusion.

TO BEGIN WITH, for the Communists the world over and the Left generally, the argument is bound to revolve upon such issues as the problem of reconciling the equality of all Communist and fraternal parties and the kindred principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of each other with the imperatives of internationalism and the requirements of freely accepted mutual obligations and responsibilities of the states which belong to the Socialist community.

This in turn must connect with the question of defining the precise scope and limits of what has been called *polycentrism* — the question, that is, whether the term is to be interpreted in so wide and exaggerated a sense and to invalidate all collective disciplines and the need for abiding by collective decisions in the interest of the unity of the Socialist alliance and, beyond that, the international Communist movement.

Viewed from this standpoint the argument for the steps taken by the Soviet Union and four other members of the Warsaw Pact as it has been developed at some length — and not altogether without effect for once — is the ‘Pravda’ editorial already referred to, seems unanswerable.

There does appear to have been some inhibition at work at the centre of decision in Prague which somehow prevented the Czechoslovak leadership time and again from acting on the promises they made to their allies at the various bilateral or multilateral meetings over the past six months and right up to Bratislava.

This inhibition — or plain inability — was all the more puzzling because there is no reason to doubt that in the ultimate analysis most moderately intelligent Czechoslovak leaders must have known that the security of the country could not be ensured except through the Warsaw alliance and any kind of alternative security system, like the bright idea of a new "Little Entente" which was being hawked around, is a snare and delusion as the experience of Czechoslovakia herself during the years between the wars had amply demonstrated.

There is, therefore, some justification for the Soviet argument that having once lost more than a hundred thousand Soviet soldiers in the fight for the liberation of Czechoslovakia they did not want to place themselves or their allies, not least Czechoslovakia, in a situation where it will have to be done all over again and possibly at even greater cost.

HOWEVER, it has to be conceded that these considerations cannot mean much to a wider body of international opinion. It is unlikely to be impressed by the argument that the action of the Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria and the GDR was a pre-emptive initiative intended for the sole purpose of safeguarding the security of the Warsaw Pact countries of forestalling a counter-revolution. It may not have any sympathy with the counter-revolutionary elements in Czechoslovakia, but it feels, and rightly, that the argument for intervention on such grounds is dangerous to invoke in that it could be invoked to justify intervention by other powers for other purposes

and in other areas. This would demonstrably reduce even the fragile international order that we have in this best of all possible worlds to shambles.

There is much force in this argument. If one nevertheless feels compelled to question its validity it is because the context of time and place has to be taken into account. And in the present case the context is of vital importance. The Soviet Union and its allies have taken the virtual defection of Rumania from the ranks of the Warsaw Pact stoically. This is not because they could not have acted to discipline Bucharest. If they have taken a much more serious view of the possibility — and it must be admitted that it was a possibility and no more — of creeping defection by Czechoslovakia, the reason is to be found in the strategic position which she occupies in their security system, the viability of which would be seriously jeopardized by such a development.

THIS, again, would be a matter of indifference to those not involved in the East-West confrontation. But the paradox is that today the security of the world as a whole depends on the viability of the two security systems which confront each other most acutely across the Elbe.

It is an unpleasant fact, but it is a fact just the same. In their more sober moments, statesmen on both sides acknowledge that movement towards international *de-ente* demands that there should be no convulsive shift in the precarious balance of force that has been achieved and, therefore, no foolhardy attempt to modify the *status quo* by any overt or covert act or by deceit. The trouble, however, is that there are parties — and would seem on both sides — who for one reason or another find the *status quo* unacceptable and would try to change it if they could.

What is more there are departmental agencies of the Cold War which have a vested interest in

encouraging adventures along these lines on the calculation that if the adventures succeeded they would have much to gain and if they failed they would have little to lose. For it would be somebody else who would have to pay the cost — in the hard currency of life and happiness.

In this connection it is not being uncharitable to draw attention to the conduct of certain sections of the *West German Establishment*. After having simulated relative unconcern while developments in Prague seemed to be going their way, they began to sound the bell of alarm once it became obvious that they had counted their chickens a little too soon. Dr. Kiesinger himself, from whom one would have expected greater discretion if not wisdom or statesmanship, is reported to have called for a meeting of the NATO heads of Government or Foreign Ministers to consider the Czechoslovak situation.

Fortunately, the Anglo-Americans have their hands full at the moment and, as far as General De Gaulle is concerned, he has his own ideas of what is the root of the trouble — the original sin of Yalta — to fall for such crudely propagandist and provocative manoeuvres. But it has exposed the essential element and source of disturbance which has time and again threatened to upset the equilibrium of power in the most critical and sensitive area of Europe.

THE CZECH CRISIS has thus underlined what has been obvious to most neutral observers who have watched the evolution of Europe during the two Cold War decades. This is that without a peace settlement which explicitly recognizes the existing frontiers in Europe as well as acknowledges the reality of the German Democratic Republic, Europe, both East and West, will continue to be crisis prone.

Only after a settlement can we hope for a stable system of European relationships allowing for the disbanding of the two alliances

and, consequently, much larger freedom of initiative by all European states, both great and small, East and West. The prime responsibility for helping to bring this about lies with the Federal German Republic — and for the good reason that it has been the principal obstacle to such a *denouement*.

* * *

The intelligence reaching the outside world from Prague still betokens a somewhat confused situation there. The delicate and indelicate embroideries traced upon the thin fabric of news from Czechoslovakia by Western vehicles of propaganda are designed not merely to heighten the confusion, but also tickle a certain morbidly wishful expectancy of an early relapse, at least in some quarters. However, while we must keep our fingers crossed, it seems reasonable to assume that the most neuralgic phase of the crisis over Czechoslovakia lies behind us.

This, of course, is not to suggest that it is going to be all smooth sailing from now on in the relations between Prague and its five Warsaw Pact partners. Any such assumption would be the height of *naivete* and even folly, especially in the light of past experience which ought to have burnt the lesson into our minds that restoration of mutual confidence after so traumatic a short-circuit of understanding on both sides presents enormous difficulties, political as well as psychological.

THE PROGNOSIS, therefore, is at best a slow and fairly long period of convalescence. How slow and how long will inevitably depend on a number of factors, internal no less than external. Internally nobody would minimize the complexity, or the difficulty of the task facing the Czechoslovak leadership as it tries to get the country back to a mood of sobriety after months of a political saturnalia which nearly culminated in a catastrophe.

Fortunately, however, even after all that has happened they have some assets. Not the least important of these is the fact that, although the Czechoslovak people, like the rest of us, are subject to occasional fits of a romantic derangement of sensibility, they command considerable reserves of good sense and realism which, as their history shows, have always stood them in good stead. They should serve them well in the difficult days ahead. But they would heed luck—and, perhaps, even more than luck, sympathy and support of all who wish them well.

Czechoslovakia in the past has been a bone of contention between East and West. One of the major dangers implicit in the recent crisis has been that it might again become so, and what the fate of a bone that is fought over is needs no guessing. A related apprehension was that because of what was happening in Czechoslovakia the process of East - West *detente* might once again grind to a halt just as it did after Hungary and Suez.

This writer certainly shared that apprehension though it was comforting to note that on the very morrow of the Soviet and other Warsaw Pact forces' entry into Czechoslovakia, Mr. Joe Rogaly, United States Editor of the *Financial Times*, rather obliquely discounted such a development and wrote: "*Dreadful as the invasion is, there is an argument to be heard here that since nothing can be done about it without risking nuclear war, the only constructive course is to allow the seething rage to die down as soon as possible and to grit one's teeth and try to pick up the pieces of a rapprochement policy in as short a while as this this can be arranged*".

THIS COOL appreciation of likely American reaction has been amply justified in the event. It applies no less to most West European reaction. No doubt the West will exploit the crisis of confidence between Czechoslova-

kia and her Socialist allies for propaganda purposes as long as it can — and may be longer. But propaganda blasts bring down no Jerichos. What is much more significant is that Washington was unresponsive to Bonn's bugle calls to NATO. So was London.

The one-day emergency session of the British Parliament turned out to be something of an anticlimax. Mr. Harold Wilson was in no mood or position to entertain the notion of economic or cultural sanctions against the Soviet Union and four Warsaw Pact countries with troops in Czechoslovakia even as a theoretical possibility and sensibly rejected "the view that the events of the past week leave us no choice except the frozen mobilism of the Cold War" and added, "We all know that the only future for the world rests upon continuing to work for a *detente*, between East and West".

This sentiment was echoed by M. Michel Debre, the French Foreign Minister, who was not only speaking for himself but President de Gaulle when he told the Foreign Affairs Committee on Thursday that France "would continue the policy of seeking to prevent the strengthening of power blocs" and further that "the policy of European *detente* would continue, since there was no other possible policy."

The stand taken by **INDIA** throughout the crisis has been a model of constructive and conciliatory statesmanship. The Prime Minister's statements in the two Houses of Parliament were perfectly balanced in their affirmations as well as reservations. In the prevailing atmosphere it must be said, since the phrase has been bandied about, they added up to an act of "moral courage".

So did India's refusal to go along with the condemnatory aspect of the Western-sponsored resolution in the Security Council. Subsequent developments have abundantly vindicated the view that verbal in-

cendiarism is no substitute for policy. By refusing the temptation of false partisanship, India may yet be of some use to both Czechoslovakia and those of her allies with whom she has been at issue.

IT WAS to be expected that the Czech crisis would have a divisive effect on the progressive opinion — especially in India, where, as a colleague recently remarked, we tend to over-react to situations. The situation that arose after the entry of the Soviet and some other Warsaw Pact countries' troops into Czechoslovakia was tailor-made for such over-reactions. It should even be admitted that it is the kind of situation of which one can say with Tom Paine that it "tries men's souls."

The balance of argument on both sides is so fine that it would be wrong for either side to assume unduly self-righteous postures. It is important, too, that the debate, "since it is bound to continue, is conducted at a lower temperature however strongly some may feel about the issues. This may be easier if it is recognised that what was involved in the crisis, perhaps, was not a conflict between right and wrong, but between two rights. The reconciliation of the two rights is possible; it is even the categorical imperative of advance towards socialism and, indeed, of a tolerable world order.

This is the end towards which not only the Left, but all men and women of good will would do well to direct their attention. The tragedy which nearly was, would be compounded if those who differ in their assessment of the Czech crisis, and the responsibilities involved in it, were to settle down grimly, each in his or her own sectarian dug-out, well-fortified by judgments reached in anger and outraged convictions. Such introversion would help nobody — least of all the Czechoslovak people.

Moreover, beyond the present crisis, all the major tasks remain. The "dirty war" in Vietnam goes on and the prospect of Nixon at the White House does not encourage hopes of an early end. The people of Rhodesia and South Africa have some claim on our attention. If some of the passion displayed over the recent events in Czechoslovakia could be effectively mobilized against the racialists who rule the roost in Salisbury and Pretoria, we might be really getting somewhere. There is the still unresolved crisis in the Middle East where it is no longer even formally demanded that the aggression be vacated. One can prolong the inventory of unfinished business for the radicals in India and elsewhere almost indefinitely.

The point to be made is simply that, whatever view we may hold on the Czechoslovakian imbroglio, the need for the broadest possible unity and understanding among progressive elements in our public life remains as urgent as ever. Nor, it must be added, can such unity be achieved in an artificially worked up climate of hostility to the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries.

Topical

Arab Reactions To The Czech Crisis

by Ayub Syed

The spontaneous Arab reaction to the events in Czechoslovakia has to be seen in the context of Israel's occupation of Arab territory, their relations with the socialist world and inter-Arab politics. The Arabs' has been a divided world and opinions differ radically even on the issue of Israel. Arab leaders have been unable to achieve a consensus about Israel despite unceasing popular pressure, and such consensus regarding Warsaw Pact intervention is obviously not to be expected.

But the debate in the more enlightened Arab countries, including the UAR, Iraq and Syria, was quite open and uninhibited. These countries bore the brunt of last year's Israeli aggression and maintain excellent relations with the Socialist countries. But for massive material and diplomatic help from the Socialist countries in the last decade they would have remained largely dependent on the whims of the Western Powers.

THE FIRST official reaction came from Iraq. Baghdad Radio quoted President Ahmed Hassan al Bakr as stating that "socialist unity" was important for Arab national interests. Baghdad newspapers followed the same line and "*Al Jamhooriya*" warned the Arabs of the Western conspiracy to humiliate 'our friends' who extended cooperation during the worst days in Arab history. First, the paper said, it was Poland where so-called students led by Zionist professors attempted to overthrow Mr. Gomulka's Government. Gen. de Gaulle was the next target. Czechoslovakia, it said, would have fallen before the Western conspiracy if there had not been timely intervention.

In Cairo, *Al Ahram's* editor Mr. Hassanein Heikal, who generally reflects the official view, was more candid and elaborate in his analysis. In his weekly column he wrote: "I would not support the military intervention of the Warsaw Pact countries in Czechoslovakia, but I would not condemn it. I would not support it in principle and would not condemn it because of the circumstances." In principle the interference of one state in the affairs of another was unacceptable but, according to Heikal, the question had several circumstantial aspects. The Arabs should view the crisis in the background of relations within the Socialist bloc, the international situation and its direct effect on the Arab world.

The Soviet Union itself has undertaken a process of democratization and therefore it was not the fear of similar reform in Czechoslovakia that led the Warsaw Pact countries to intervene, "There must have been some reasons which made the intervention inevitable."

He did not rule out the possibility of the CIA making capital out of the misunderstanding between Moscow and Prague, and developed the theme of a well-organized Zionist conspiracy to isolate the Soviet Union, the bulwark against Western designs.

MR. HEIKAL'S argument about this particular aspect deserves special attention. *He has pointed out that the first voice of opposition in Czechoslovakia rose against its severance of relations with Israel in common with the Warsaw Pact countries and as an expression of solidarity with the Arab..*

Then there were ominous developments. The Czechoslovak Writers' Union, which championed liberalization, elected Eduard Goldstucker its president. A former Czech ambassador to Tel Aviv, Goldstucker is known for his sympathies with Israel. Oddly enough, his deputy, Arnost Luching, has specialized in Zionism and has won commendation from the Zionists. Under them the union's official organ urged the Government to restore diplomatic ties with Israel and attacked the Soviet Union for "pressurising" Prague in this respect.

Goldstucker had been sentenced to 20 years for Zionist activities and served several years before he was released. He became a German language teacher at Prague University. Well-known Czech author Ladislav Mnachko suddenly disappeared from Prague and popped up in Tel Aviv from where he launched tirades against Arab-Czech relations. Incidentally Mnachko's book "*The Taste of Power*" was first published by an American publishing house which was later found to be CIA-financed. He was

deprived of his nationality after the defection, but it was restored under pressure from the Writers' Union. Mnachko, however, declared in Tel Aviv that he would return to Prague only after diplomatic relations between the two countries were resumed.

Events took a turn for the worse, according to Mr. Heikal, when the National Front elected Fra tisek Krieket as its chairman. He demanded restoration of diplomatic ties with Israel. Under his leadership the Jewish Community Board emerged as a power to reckon with. The three prominent leaders of the "liberalization" movement, Goldstucker, Deputy Prime Minister Ota Sik and an influential physician Dr. Erik Spinger—all described as pro-Zionist—got elected to the National Assembly. They organised petitions urging the restoration of relations with Israel. Then the situation exploded.

Mr. Heikal reminded his readers of the significant clause in the Bratislava agreement in which it was emphasized that the Warsaw Pact countries would not individually restore relations with Israel.

"Hence", he concluded, "I imagine, no Arab—from a purely ethical point of view—can condemn the intervention of Czechoslovakia."

ARABS elsewhere, and particularly in Beirut, nerve-centre of Arab intellectuals, reacted in a similar manner. They were obviously amused at Israeli Prime Minister Levi Eshkol's 'hypocritical' statement in which he shed 'crocodile tears' over what he called the "outrageous violation" of the UN Charter. A particularly ridiculous sentence was widely quoted: "The sanctified principles of political independence and territorial integrity, peaceful coexistence, non-intervention in the internal affairs of States, the right of every State, small or large, to security and freedom, the principles on which relations between States are based, all have been trampled upon arbitrarily".

Mr. Levi Eshkol, "*Al Anwar*" wrote, had issued a statement from Jerusalem, which was under his Government's forceful occupation. No other country. "*Al Thawra*" of Damascus reminded him, had violated the UN Charter more brazenly than Israel. It had no right to talk of "territorial integrity" when several thousand square miles of Arab territory remained under its illegal occupation."

Traditionally pro-West countries like Tunisia, Morocco, Libya and Saudi Arabia criticized the Soviet move and allowed full liberty of information media to slander not only the Socialist bloc but also those Arab countries which were not hysterical over the crisis in the camp of Socialist nations.

Some of them, with unfavourable oil agreements with Western cartel, are not in a position to adopt independent postures. Saudi Arabia's King Faisal and Tunisian President Habib Bouruiba are dyed-in-the-wood reactionaries. Saudi Arabia does not even maintain diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. Soviet relations with the three North African countries are peripheral.

Oil rich Kuwait is perhaps an exception: it has a heavy sprinkling of Palestinians and its rulers adopt a cautious attitude on such occasions. This was reflected in acting Premier Saad al Sabha's statement: he expressed hope of a quick withdrawal of Warsaw Pact forces from a friendly Socialist country and cautioned his countrymen against being emotional.

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World Monetary Problems

Basle Club Underwrites The Pound : End Of Sterling As Reserve Currency In Sight ?

QUIET, typically Old-World Basle seems to have succeeded New York and London as the monetary capital of the West in recent years. At 7 Zentralbahnhof-Strasse in that staid Swiss town is the head office of the Bank of International Settlements, a huge inter-state financial organization the chief shareholders of which are the central banks of the richest Western Powers. Here the cardinal financial questions of the capitalist world are decided. In the beginning of 1964 the "Basle Club", as it is sometimes called, saved the Italian lira, and at the end of that year, the pound sterling. Early last month the international bankers once again gathered here for a consultation over the ailing pound, and, in particular, sterling reserves.

Britain's financial and economic position remains a difficult one. Both official and unofficial assessments of the situation show that the hopes which were pinned on the devaluation of the pound in November last year have so far not been justified. The trade figures released for the first seven months of this year reveal an unprecedented deficit, which suggests that the year's end payments balance will be very much in the red. And industrial production continues to mark time.

FROM YEAR TO YEAR Britain's currency reserves are being increasingly drained to repay her foreign debts, which now run to more than than £7,000 million. The bulk of this — nearly £4,000 million — is accounted for by short-term sterling commitments, mostly the sterling reserves of other countries which London must be prepared to redeem in goods, convertible foreign currency, or gold on demand. At the same time the entire British gold and convertible currency reserve now amounts to about £1,100 million. Clearly any heavy run on the sterling

holdings would place Britain on the brink of bankruptcy. In recent years this possibility has increasingly loomed on the horizon.

The point is that the bulk of these assets belong to the developing countries, mostly former or present British colonies and other dependent territories. They are all members of the sterling area, (the area includes also a number of developed capitalist countries), dependent on Britain, and committed to depositing their currency reserves in sterling in British banks or investing them in British government securities. Whenever her balance of payments with the members of the zone shows a deficit, Britain covers it not in gold or foreign currencies, but in pounds, which pile up on the accounts of the respective countries in British banks. A similar picture prevails as regards the gold and foreign currency earned by the peripheral members of the zone in their dealings with the outside world. The system, then, tends to turn their sterling holdings into a constantly renewed British debt, payment of which Britain does her best to put off, and at the same time to freeze the skimpy foreign currency reserves of the developing countries, badly needed though they are for building up their own national economies.

It is becoming increasingly difficult to preserve this abnormal situation which has existed since the second world war. The disintegration of the British Empire, the emergence in its place of scores of new independent states, and the new spirit of the times have compelled London to manoeuvre and, here and there, to retreat and pay a part of its permanent debt to the creditors. One after another countries (Egypt, Israel, Iraq, Somalia, Sudan and Burma) withdrew from the remaining members began to build up their own reserves,

sensing to put their gold and foreign currency earnings in British banks, or withdrawing their sterling holdings converted into more stable and attractive currencies.

SOME COUNTRIES have pressed on Britain to guarantee their sterling holdings against depreciation as the pound is progressively devalued. This year this justified demand has been put forward even more insistently because the devaluation of the pound has already cut into the real value of sterling reserves. The owners naturally do not want the erosion process to go on.

As a result of all this, Britain this summer once again found herself facing a financial debacle, which also threatened to hit other countries, especially those linked with Britain by sterling ties. The dollar, the senior partner of the pound sterling, was in danger too. Another devaluation of the pound, the U.S journal *Newsweek* pointed out, would deal a serious and possibly even mortal blow to the dollar and the entire capitalist monetary system. Rumours of a new devaluation of British currency have indeed been circulating among Western economists practically ever since the first devaluation.

In this situation the "Basle Club" once again came to Britain's aid to help out with the discrepancy between the sterling holdings of foreign states and Britain's own reserves. To bolster up these reserves and to help her redeem her sterling debt, it was agreed to grant Britain a "reserve" credit of \$2,000 million (£833 million). The money is put up by the Bank of International Settlements and the central banks of twelve countries — Federal Germany, United States, Italy, Japan, Sweden, Switzerland, Austria, Belgium, Holland, Canada, Denmark and Norway.

THIS GIVES the pound a breather for a while. The credit may be used over a period of five years (1968-73) and is to be repaid in the following five-year span. In other words, the holders of sterling assets may freely convert them into any foreign currency they wish.

But this by no means solves the problem. The new credit covers only a fraction of the sterling indebtedness. The bill must be footed sooner or later. However, Britain's chances of being able to accumulate sufficient reserves in foreign currency and gold are slight. For in practice her inordinate spending abroad, mainly for military purposes, is not being reduced.

It should be noted that it is not the British exchequer that will pay Britain's debt, but the Bank of International Settlements which has underwritten the loan. This is another public expression of lack of confidence in Britain. The international bankers evidently no longer believe that she will be able to set her finances and economy in order herself.

On the other hand, the loan and the conditions on which it has been issued further limit the international role of the pound sterling as one of the two capitalist reserve currencies. And this status has a direct bearing on the continued existence of the sterling reserves of scores of countries. More, the future of the sterling area as such is once again a question, since the settlement mechanism of this monetary grouping presupposes the pound retaining the reserve status. The London *Times* editorially describes the Basle agreement as signifying the end of the sterling zone and of the pound as a reserve currency.

As for the roots of Britain's financial troubles, they clearly lie in her expansionist foreign and military policy which places demands on her economy that cannot be met.

Concluding

THE QUR'AN

by Asoka Buddhadeva

This week we publish the concluding instalment of the article on the Qur'an. The first part appeared in Tribune of 13/10/68.

THE ORTHODOX, on the other hand, maintained the eternal character of the Qur'an, otherwise God being eternal the Qur'an would not be regarded as part of God's essence. On any other assumption the whole doctrine of the divine revelation would be undermined as it in fact was actually undermined since the Mutazzalites denied the divine origin and the absolute inspiration of the Qur'an.

We should not, however, consider the doctrine of the divine decree destroying the freedom of the human will, as at all countenanced by the Qur'an — though a large sections of the orthodox Muslims so regarded it. This doctrine was meant to inspire confidence, to overcome cowardice, to inculcate submission to the will of Allah, to serve as a warning against the pride and haughtiness of prosperity rather than to paralyse human activity or to destroy the freedom of the human will. We must interpret those individual passages of the Qur'an in which a certain carelessness is extolled as a virtue, as intended to discourage too great a care of oneself to the neglect of the higher duties of serving God through virtuous practices. Thus the entire religious system of Mohamed, founded on hope and fear, proclaims itself against the doctrine of absolute predestination. In his system the fate of man beyond the grave is made dependent on his religious belief and on his own personal actions.

"He who seeks the world", says the Qur'an, "to him shall we give forthwith according to our will, but

in the life to come he will be ridiculed, rejected and he will burn in hell." In another passage it says:—"Enjoy the best things that have been sent down to you ere punishment overtakes you and no longer find any help; before the soul calls out: woe to me! I have sinned, and I have belonged to the triflers, or if God had guided me I would have feared him, or if I could only return to the earth once more I would act righteously. Not so! my signs (i.e. the Qur'an) reached you but you declared them to be lies. You were arrogant and unbelieving."

Again there are passages in the Qur'an which suggested that man, so far as virtue and belief are concerned, is only a blind instrument of divine caprice. Thus it says: "for those who are unbelieving it is material whether you warn them or not, they will not believe. God has sealed their heart, and on their ears and over their eyes is a veil. Moreover, say the infidels, why has God sent down no miracles for Mohamed. Say — the Lord leaves in error him whom he wishes and leads those who turn to him and believe in him and in whose heart his thought finds a place. Very often the words occur; "God leads whom he wills and leaves in error whom he wills....."

These and similar verses are to be interpreted as meaning that it rests with Divine Wisdom, to favour its gifts, at whatever time and to whatever people it pleases; that it strengthens faith in those who have the tendency to do good; while, in those who have an inclination to evil, it lets them have their own way, which takes them deeper and deeper into wickedness and corruption.

MOHAMED could not possibly accept the rigid doctrine of Predestination as it was conceived by many Islamic and Christian sects, for the Qur'an knows nothing of original

sin, and it frequently opposes the idea of responsibility for another's sin. Without the doctrine of original sin an unconditional predestination would come into conflict with the justice of God. According to the Qur'an Adam and Eve were driven from Paradise on account of their disobedience, and the human race, by reason of the victory of human passion over divine command, was condemned to mutual hatred and perpetual discontent. But when Adam repented of his sin, God again showed mercy to him, for he said: "Leave paradise. But my guidance will come to you. He who will follow it will have nothing to fear and will never be afflicted. The unfaithful, however, will declare our signs as lies. They will be the eternal companions of hell." The mercy of God is expressed in his revelations. To be saved, faith in the revelation and regulation of conduct according to it, is a necessity.

We have already observed that the history of the earlier prophets fills a considerable place in the Qur'an. The history of the old Testament is adorned with many Jewish legends

of a later time, so selected to suit the purpose of Mohamed. We cannot go exclusively into the history of the prophets, as narrated in the Qur'an, but we will not pass by what the Qur'an tells us of Christ.

Christ was the living Word and the Spirit of God, in opposition to the dead letter and the cold formality into which Judaism had fallen in the Middle Ages. For Mohamed the miraculous birth of Christ was by no means extraordinary. Since Adam also was created by the word of God, Mohamed readily believed the miracles related in the Gospels, for the earlier prophets, such as Abraham and Moses, were also said to have performed such miracles. Even the journey to Heaven was nothing new to him. Enoch and Elias were said to have performed such a journey. But he could not give his assent to the belief which exalted a prophet and his mother to the rank of divinity. He accordingly set it down as a wicked invention of the priests. No more could he accept the crucifixion of Christ, because it militated against the justice of God, since no man could suffer for the sin of another — moreover, it stood in opposition to the history of the other prophets whom God rescued from every peril and danger.

According to the Qur'an, therefore, it was not Christ who was crucified but an unbelieving Jew whom God invested with the figure of Christ.

Just as the legend of Abraham assumed a special importance for Mohamed both on account of Abraham's simple doctrine and on account of the relation in which he stood to the Arabs through Ishmael (and the moments at Mekka that reminded them of him); so in the same way the legend of Christ was of good service to him chiefly on account of the Paraclete whom Christ had announced and whom Mohamed might think or at least pretend himself to be.

Besides the prophets of the Christian Bible the Qur'an mentions some others who appear in the old Arab traditions. According to the Shiite

belief the prophets were men, pure, perfect and free from sins. The Sunnis, on the other hand, do not believe even Mohamed to have been free from sin, though, they say, he was pardoned by God.

As regards the doctrine of Predestination the Shiites incline more towards the Mutazzlites and seek to reconcile predestination with free-will. Their most important

'DECEIT' AT PARIS

New York, Sept. 8

A new book by two American journalists who were intermediaries between Hanoi and Washington accuses President Johnson of 'calculated deceit', and holds out little hope for success of the Paris talks until the United States stops bombing North Vietnam.

The journalists, Harry S. Ashmore and William C. Baggs, said the U. S. entered the talks with a dangerous, and possibly fatal lack of the understanding under which they were arranged. He said the understanding as related to them by Ho Chi-minh himself and his spokesman was "that there must be a total escalation of the bombing before North Vietnam would pass on to discuss substantive matters". Ashmore and Baggs reported in their book "Mission to Hanoi" that the chief U. S. negotiator Mr. Averell Harriman, "simply rejected our contention that the North Vietnamese had made it quite clear that while they would make contact while the bombing went on, they would not begin to negotiate seriously until it had been halted". He insisted on concessions from Hanoi in exchange for a bombing halt.

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JOHNSON'S ANGUISH

President Johnson expressed his 'anguish' over the events in Czechoslovakia. Where was the 'anguish' when the Czech government asked that 21,000,000 dollars' worth of its gold held in the U.S. be unfrozen? Where was his 'anguish' when the US rejected Czechoslovakia's appeal to receive 'most favoured nation' treatment in its trade relation with US? But, now, for him, the destroyer of Vietnam six thousand miles away, to talk of 'reason and 'anguish' was enough to make the angels weep

(Daily World, New York, August 23)

article of faith is the doctrine of Imamat, i.e., the succession of the descendants of the Prophet, to the Caliphate, through Ali. Sunnis reject this view and regard the Caliphate, merely as a political institution, founded for the welfare of the people.

LET US now turn to the practical theology of Islam which the Muslim jurists divide into two main parts: the religious ceremonial laws which include a great deal, which we would describe as Constitutional Law, and Civil Law, which includes police regulations and the law of crimes.

To the former belong not merely rules regarding purity, prayer, fasts, pilgrimage, forbidden fruit and drink, but also rules relating to the taxes that are to be paid, and the uses to which they are to be applied. The civil law includes (1) commercial laws, (2) the law of wills and succession, (3) the law of marriage, (4) the law of crimes and procedure, (5) the law of war, and (6) the law relating to slaves.

We will pass over the first two sections as beyond the sphere of this article, and will observe as to the third that Mohamed laid down a good many laws for the protection of the wife as against the caprices of her husband. The wife is unconditionally to obey her husband. She is to live so secluded that not a shadow of suspicion of unfaithfulness is to fall on her. Should she fulfil obligations she is justified in expecting good treatment from her husband. Outside the Harem conjugal fidelity was enjoined on the husband as a duty. Within the Harem the law forbade preferential treatment of one wife to the prejudice of another.

Mohamed would not and indeed could not put an end to polygamy. He, however, limited the number of wives to four. Before him, especially in Medina, the practice was to have as many as eight to ten wives. As regards four wives only such could marry as had the means to keep them in comfort. Mohamed further protected women from the relatives of their deceased husbands who until then inherited them as chattels. Of the Mohamedan law of crime we

shall only mention here that a wilful murder was punished with death, that it was open to the nearest relatives to whom belonged the right of blood-revenge either to call for the execution of the murderer or to condone it by the receipt of hush-money. An unintentional killing could only be atoned for by payment of the amount legally fixed, which in the case of a woman was only half; in the case of a Jew or a Christian one-third; in the case of a heathen five-tenths. For mutilation there was either the hush-money or the blood-revenge. In the cases of adultery, sodomy, apostasy, the law awarded capital punishment. For drinking wine the punishment was 40 stripes. For the first offence of theft the right hand was cut off, for the second the left foot, for the third the left hand, for the fourth the right foot. The law of slaves constitutes the most human portion of the Islamic legislation. Manumission of slaves was an act, says the Qur'an most pleasing to God, and was regarded as an expiation of many a sin. Before God, Qur'an proclaims their equality with freemen, and an authentic tradition tells that he who manumits a believing slave can never be condemned to hell. Slave girls who give birth to children by their master received their freedom on his death. The children, of course, were born free. They could not be the slaves of their father. Even as to the mother his powers were limited. He could neither sell nor could he give her away as present. A slave could by arrangement with his master obtain his freedom; that is, by indemnifying him. During the period fixed for the redemption the master lost proprietary rights in the slave.

MOHAMED could nor more abolish slavery than he could abolish polygamy but he restrained its abuses and recommended manumission.

"Oh Ye people", says the Qur'an, "we have created you from one man and woman and have divided you into different classes and tribes so that you might see (without regard to position or descent) that only the most God-fearing among you is the most worthy in the sight of God." In another passage which contains the essence of Islamic teachings, the

Qur'an says: "Righteousness is not that ye turns your face to the East and to the West, but Righteousness is this: Whosoever believeth in God and the Last Day and the angels and the Book and the prophets; and whose, for the love of God, giveth of his wealth unto his kindred and unto orphans, and the poor and the traveller, and to those who crave alms, and for the release of the captives, and whose observeth prayer and giveth in charity; and those who, when they have covenanted fulfil their covenant, and who are patient in adversity and hardship, and in times of violence; these are the righteous and they that fear the Lord."

As Mohamed did not belong to the ruling party in Mekka, and as the largest portion of his early supporters were slaves or men of humble vocation in life, it was but natural that he should attack aristocratic prejudices, and proclaim the equality of men, specially of the faithful, as a religious principle.

DEFICIT BUDGET FOR BURMA

Rangoon, Sept. 23

Burma has announced a £10,400,000 deficit budget for the fiscal year beginning next month. In its budget statement on Saturday, the Government estimated expectable revenue at £737.8 million and expenditure at £748.2 million. As usual, defence expenditure is the highest item at £48.3 million, £11.4 million more than last year. In the last 12 months Burma covered a £40 million deficit by cutting all Government expenditure by five per cent and showed a £45 million surplus. In the budget announcement the Government forecast gross national product at £445 million of which it would invest £102 million. Average per capita income was expected to be £34 for the year.

Madras Newsletter

Annadurai's Illness :

Specialist's Quarrels Delay Diagnosis

On Tuesday, September 10 the Chief Minister of Madras, Mr. C. N. Annadurai left for New York to undergo surgical treatment at the Rand Memorial Cancer Hospital. Only on the morning of Tuesday did the panel of doctors attending on him diagnose his ailment as cancerous growth in his gullet in its "initial stage."

The correct diagnosis of Mr. Annadurai's illness has taken as long as eight months. He has been consulting "top" specialists and has been in and out of hospital regularly all this time for all kinds of tests and medical examinations. When he was in USA in April-May this year, he had taken with him the medical reports and these were considered sufficient to exclude a fresh and thorough examination by specialists at the Mayo clinic in New York. The confirmation of a cancerous growth now has come as a shock and surprise to many.

Former Congress President Kamaraj, according to reports, was furious with the doctors when he called on the ailing Chief Minister in his sickbed at the General Hospital last week. He found fault with the hospital authorities for not having constituted a Board of Specialists even when Mr. Annadurai first sought admission to the hospital. He bluntly told the doctors to the chagrin of Mr. M. Karunanithi and Mr. V. R. Nedunchezian, the two Ministers who were present at the time, that personal quarrels among the specialists had led to a situation where Mr. Annadurai could not get the advantage of an early diagnosis.

EVERYBODY hopes to see the Chief Minister back completely cured. The doctors are hopeful

they maintain that the cancerous growth can be removed because it is in its very early stage. This is the silver lining in the cloud for the vast number of Mr. Annadurai's admirers, within the DMK and outside.

The President called on the Chief Minister on the morning of his departure for USA and wished him speedy recovery. The Prime Minister telephoned several times to Madras to make inquiries about Mr. Annadurai's health. Mrs. Gandhi particularly told the Madras Ministers that she would like Mr. Annadurai to get the best and immediate medical attention wherever it was available. The Government of India would use its influence to make this possible. The Prime Minister, it is understood, also intervened to get the necessary permits issued for all those chosen by Mr. Annadurai to accompany him to New York.

IT IS ELOQUENT evidence of Mr. Annadurai's personal popularity with the masses that the Pradesh Congress too has understood correctly the popular mood and shown an unusual gesture not only towards the DMK leader personally but towards his party. PCC President C. Subramaniam declared that until the Chief Minister returned to the country, the Congress would say or do nothing which would cause embarrassment to him or to his party.

Mr. Annadurai is expected to be away from Madras for at least two months. His absence for this lengthy period from leadership of the Government and the party gives the rest of the leadership an opportunity to experiment with running the administration without his "immediate" guidance. An attempt is being made in the direction of a collective leadership of the top three in the party. Mr. V. R. Nedunchezian, Industries Minister, Mr. M. Karunanithi, Works Minister and the party's treasurer, Mr. Mathiazhagan, Food Minister. Among these Mr. Karunanithi has the largest personal

Following within the party.

During Mr. Annadurai's hospitalization, Mr. Karunanithi never once left his bedside. It was he who, the other day, ruled out categorically any expansion of cabinet. "Our leader has to recover first and this is no time at all to think about cabinet expansion and such things," he said. But though he is the man who speaks for Mr. Annadurai, he is known to be facing stiff opposition from a section of the hierarchy led by Mr. Mathiazhagan.

A Special Correspondent



DID PLANETS EXPLODE TO FORM THE ASTEROIDS

The ring of asteroids defined by the orbits of Jupiter and Mars owes its origin to a collision of at least ten planets. This hypothesis has been advanced in Baku by Azerbaijan astronomer Hadjibek Sultanov, who is in charge of the Shemakha Astrophysical Observatory. He rejects the popular theory that the asteroids must be the fragments of the planet Phaeton, destroyed by an explosion. Sultanov, who has been studying the orbits of all the 1,726 known asteroids for many years, says that their distribution can be explained only by the gradual fragmentation of several planets. Sultanov believes that there is no convincing explanation of the mysterious explosion which destroyed the planet Phaeton. The hypothesis has been praised by Soviet astronomer Gleb Chebotaryov, director of the Institute of Theoretical Astronomy (international centre of the study smaller planets in Leningrad). Sultanov's mathematical theory of the origin of the asteroids explains many unsolved phenomena.

Point of View

THREE STATES IN CEYLON?

The news that appeared in our daily papers that a group of Kandyans have suggested that Ceylon should be divided into three states induces me to hark back to an article that appeared in the *Times of Ceylon* of the 13th August 1939 by 'John Blunt.'

He gave an ethnographical map of Ceylon which showed Ceylon as made up of 3 areas. Area No. 1 consisted of the north and east which was occupied by Ceylon-born Tamils. Area No. 2 consisted of the Central Ceylon and occupied by Kandyan Sinhalese and Indian Tamils. Area No. 3 consisted of the south and west which was occupied by the Low Country Sinhalese.

He gave the following analysis of races according to the 1921 census:

Tamil Region No. 1

Sinhalese.....	12,539
Ceylon Tamils.....	484,732
Others.....	142,840
Total	640,111

Kandyan Sinhalese / Tamils No. 2

Sinhalese.....	1,352,803
Indian Tamils.....	504,179
Others.....	82,680
Total	1,939,662

Low Country Sinhalese No. 3

Sinhalese.....	1,650,628
Tamils.....	130,788
Others.....	136,665
Total	1,918,081

Approximate position in 1939

Tamils No. 1

Sinhalese	14,742
Tamils.....	551,200
Others.....	166,950
Total	732,892

Kandyan Sinhalese Tamils No. 2

Sinhalese.....	1,938,892
Tamils.....	811,376
Others.....	17,806
Total	2,750,268

Low Country Sinhalese No. 3

Sinhalese	2,145,815
Tamils.....	170,024
Others.....	172,052
Total	2,487,891

He then continued: "Area No. 1 is the land of the Ceylon Tamils. Area No. 2 is approximately one third of the island and is occupied by Kandyan Sinhalese and Tamils. The third area which is about one fifth of the island is inhabited mainly by Low Country Sinhalese and the other races of Dravidian origin.

"From our ethnographical map we can make some interesting deductions regarding the regions, which are demarcated according to racial distribution. There are 50 elected members in the Council and area No. 1 which is the region where the Ceylon Tamils predominate has 9 members. Area No. 2 occupied by Kandyan Sinhalese and Tamils has 20 members. Area No. 3 where the low country Sinhalese predominate with other races of Dravidian origin, has 21

"If we look at our agricultural map of Ceylon and apply the same methods, the Tamil area contains only a very narrow fringe of coconut cultivation along part of the sea board. The second one (Kandyan Sinhalese and Tamils) representing 1/3 of the island, contains approximately 75% of the total rubber cultivation and nearly 90% of its area. Area No. 3 contains 90% of the island's coconut cultivation, less than 25% of rubber and say 10% of tea.

"What impresses one in comparing the ethnographical and agricultural maps, is that the low country Sinhalese appear to have a political superiority which is far above what they are entitled to if the holding of territory is the basis or the production of wealth."

The point made in 1939 holds good even today and it is not surprising that the Kandyan Sinhalese are not satisfied with the way things are moving in Ceylon and think in terms of three states.

Hultsdorf, A. C. Nadaraja
11.10.68

USA

ANTI-VIETNAM

The National Mobilization to End the War in Vietnam which helps sponsor coffee houses for troops in towns near military bases is planning a massive US 'Military Week' in early October. It will include family dinners for servicemen in the homes of anti-war activities, the flooding of airports, bus and train terminals with anti-war leaflets, the despatch of delegations to military posts to hear grievances from soldiers, massive rallies and granting of sanctuary to draft resisters in college dormitories.

(News Week, August 26)

FILM PAGE

● **PENN ENDRAL PENN**, Ceylon Entertainments Ltd. release now showing at the *CENTRAL* and other centres, is the tale of two couples, their love and the split arising among them owing to domestic differences. The trials and tribulations lead Babu (GEMINI GANESAN), a good-hearted soul to loose his beloved Dr. (Miss) Bhama (VIJAYKUMARI), a noble and docile young woman, and marry fashionable and pretty Usha (Saroja Devi). While Bhama finds the destined one for her, Shankar (ASOKAN), former lover of Usha. Shankar had kept away from Usha after loosing his hands in the train derailment. Though Bhama is determined to marry Shankar, he disapproves owing to his crippled state. The agony of this couple prolongs and ultimately both die together. This sentimental melodrama is interes-



Air Conditioned
LIBERTY

Charlton Heston
Yul Brynner
in

Cecil B. De mille's

**THE TEN
COMMANDMENTS**

Technicolor

CENTRAL

Gemini

B. Saroja Devi
in

**PENN ENDRAL
PENN**

ting and maintains authenticity to suit the background of the story. Performances by the artistes in their respective roles further help this Tamil movie in its audience appeal. Thangavelu, Sow and V. K. Ramasamy raises laughs in the comedy interludes in the film.

● **THE BRIDGE ON THE RIVER KWAL**, Sam Spiegel Production, released through Columbia, now showing at the *EMPIRE THEATRE*, won 7 Academy Awards and 30 others major international honours. Filmed on location in the jungles of Ceylon, the CinemaScope, Technicolor drama opens with Shears (WILLIAM HOLDEN), an American seaman in a Japanese prison camp watching as British officer Colonel Nicholson (ALEC GUINNESS) marches his surrendered troops into the jungle compound as though they were on dress parade. Col. Nicholson undergoes torture rather than acquiesce in camp commandant's Colonel Saito (SESSUE HAYAKAWA) order that British officers work beside their men in the construction of a war-vital railway bridge across the River Kwai. Shears, who intends to survive the war, fears Nicholson's definition of honour as much as he fears Col. Saito's ruthlessness. He manages a desperate escape. Nicholson's stubborn courage forces Saito to lose face but then, to prove that the prisoners are superior to their situation, Nicholson takes command of the bridge construction and sees to it that the work is done. Shears, meanwhile, sees his romance with British nurse (ANN SEARS) ended when he is drafted by the British because of his personal knowledge of the Kwai River situation. With Major Warden (JACK HAWKINS) and Lieut. Joyce (GEOFFREY HORNE) Shears desperately struggles back through the jungle to destroy the bridge. Nicholson proud of his work, discovers the bridge has been mined, just as the Japanese send their first train over it. The screenplay for the movie was written by Pierre Boulle based on his

novel of the same title. This Horizon Picture was produced by Sam Spiegel and directed by David Lean.

● **THE YELLOW TEDDY-BEARS**, a Tekli Films Production,



KINGSLEY 2nd Week
**PLAZA
MYLAN**

10 A.M. 2, 6 & 9.30 P.M.

M. G. R. Saroja Devi
Nambiar Asokan
Thangavelu in

**PARAKKUM
PAAVAI**

COLOUR

4TH MONTH

LIDO

9-00 a.m. 1-30, 6-00
& 9-45 p.m.

RAJ-Negombo

9 a.m. 5 & 9 p.m.

● **RAJ KAPOOR**
● **VYJANTHIMALA**
● **RAJENDRAKUMAR**

in

Raj Kapoor's

SANGAM

Technicolor

5th Week

GAMINI

10 a.m. 2, 6, & 9.30 p.m

Meenamovies

RUHUNU KUMARI

6th Week

CAPITOL

10 a.m. 2, 6, & 9.30 p.m.

M. G. R. Sarojadevi in

NAAN

AANAIYITTAL

Digitized by Noolam Foundation
by Pierre Boulle based on his

Compton Cameo Films release,
now showing at the *NEW OLYMPIA*

EMPIRE Air-Conditioned
Colombia's
**The Bridge On The
River Kwai**
IN CINEMASCOPE AND TECHNICOLOUR
Film in Ceylon

2nd Week
MAJESTIC Air-Conditioned
Richard Burton-Elizabeth Taylor
in MGM's
THE COMEDIANS
In Colour — Adults Only

3rd Week
Air-Conditioned
REGAL
CARRY ON CLEO
Next: Dean Martin in
THE SILENCERS

ELPHINSTONE—ROXY
& 14 other centres

Gamini Fonseka,
Vijitha Mallika
in

R. T. Studio's
**DEHEDEKA
DUKA**

Produced & Directed by Robin Tampoi

SELLAMAHAL
Sivaji Ganeshan, Padmini
Nagesh, K. R. Vijaya in

IRU MALARGAL

GAJETY
GEMINI GANESHAN
SAVIRI
in

KARPUKARASI

CROWN 2nd week
Rajendra Kumar-Saira Banu
in

AYEE MILAN KI BELA
in Eastman Colour



Vijaykumari, Saroja Devi, Asokan and V. K. Ramasamy in the Tamil movie **PEEN ENDRAL PENN**, Ceylon Entertainments Ltd. release, now showing at the **CENTRAL** and other centres.

shows that parents must not lose interest in their children as they became older, and perhaps, more difficult to handle. A parents' duty towards their child does not come to an end with the provision of home comforts. Until a child becomes fully responsible as an adult, the parents must give the child their close and loving attention, not always interfering, but always ready to help, and knowing when their help is needed.

Gorge Donaghue (VICTOR BROOKS) and Muriel Donaghue (NOEL DYSON) have a teenage daughter, Linda (ANNETTE WHITELEY), they do not take care of her because they are preoccupied with personal matters. George with his business and future ambitions Muriel

with her social pretensions and past youth. In fact, they would both like Linda to be out of the way, and look forward to her departure for University. For some time they have been in the habit of leaving Linda alone at week-ends whilst they go off on a middle-aged social gathering. Linda is a charming girl, she is beautiful, but she is deceitful, headstrong, defiant and bitter towards all forms of authority. She also knows well how to hide these qualities from her elders, but amongst her classmates she is the leader of the Yellow Teddybears Club. Admission to the club is determined by loss of virginity. Whilst her parents are amusing themselves, Linda amuses herself. As a consequence she becomes pregnant, to earn money for an abortion she becomes a tart, but the abortion attempts discovered. Linda is blamed by her parents for what had happened, they cannot see where they have gone wrong. Threatened with being disowned and sent away.

4th Week
SAVOY Air-Conditioned
Sean Connery as James Bond
in
THUNDERBALL



THE DRY ZONE

The Place is dead. No rain for months,
 The trees are stunted, the wind blows strong;
 And all have to a meeting gone;
 It's an annual affair, to do with cultivation.
 Somehow the work gets done;
 They won't go short on rice, but for the rest,
 Where the wire's gone up in places,
 Crops will grow for three months of the year,
 Then - death. They'll do no more till the following cultivation.
 In starts and spurts, in a philosopher's dream,
 They'll not go short on rice,
 Yet live a hand-to-mouth existence
 On vegetables that are bought in town,
 Which is no joke, for it's miles away
 To lug it back on wheels.
 From sheer boredom they burn the forest down
 One year in two, and sow with paddy;
 The wind blows strong and kills most trees
 They've planted: their homesteads are like deserts.
 When rice is reaped and stook'd and threshed,
 Then sold, What have they left?
 The mudalali takes the lion's share
 For keeping them alive those months.
 This is what comes of putting money first,
 Of sowing crops for cash, and not,
 Primarily, to feed oneself.

TITUS HANDUNA

* * *

ON WORK

Each man to his vocation turns
 And bodes him ill who will
 Through laziness not find
 That which's his by right.
 It's so easy to slog along,
 Or drift, as the case may be,
 So conservative are we,
 So averse to change.
 And then there's the man who'll seek,
 Through infinity of changes,
 That he'll never find
 For lack of will to seek
 What suits him best - his niche.
 We're blessed with different gifts,
 Some acquired, and some inherent
 In the man who has these skills.
 Do cash them in, and not seek cash
 To put them to some use.

ARUL MANUEL

VORSTER WARNS THE CHURCH

Durban, Sept. 24

Prime Minister John Vorster has warned clergymen against "preaching politics". Opening the Natal Provincial Congress of the National Party, he quoted a newspaper report in which an Anglican priest of Johannesburg's St. Mary's Cathedral was alleged to have said: "The Government, like us, cannot serve two masters, and in serving apartheid, it has rejected God and therefore cannot claim to be a Christian". Mr. Vorster, said "These are serious words. I want to say to these Bishops and Ministers of religion: Your calling demands that you preach the gospel of Christ — not turn your pulpit into a political platform".

AFP



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