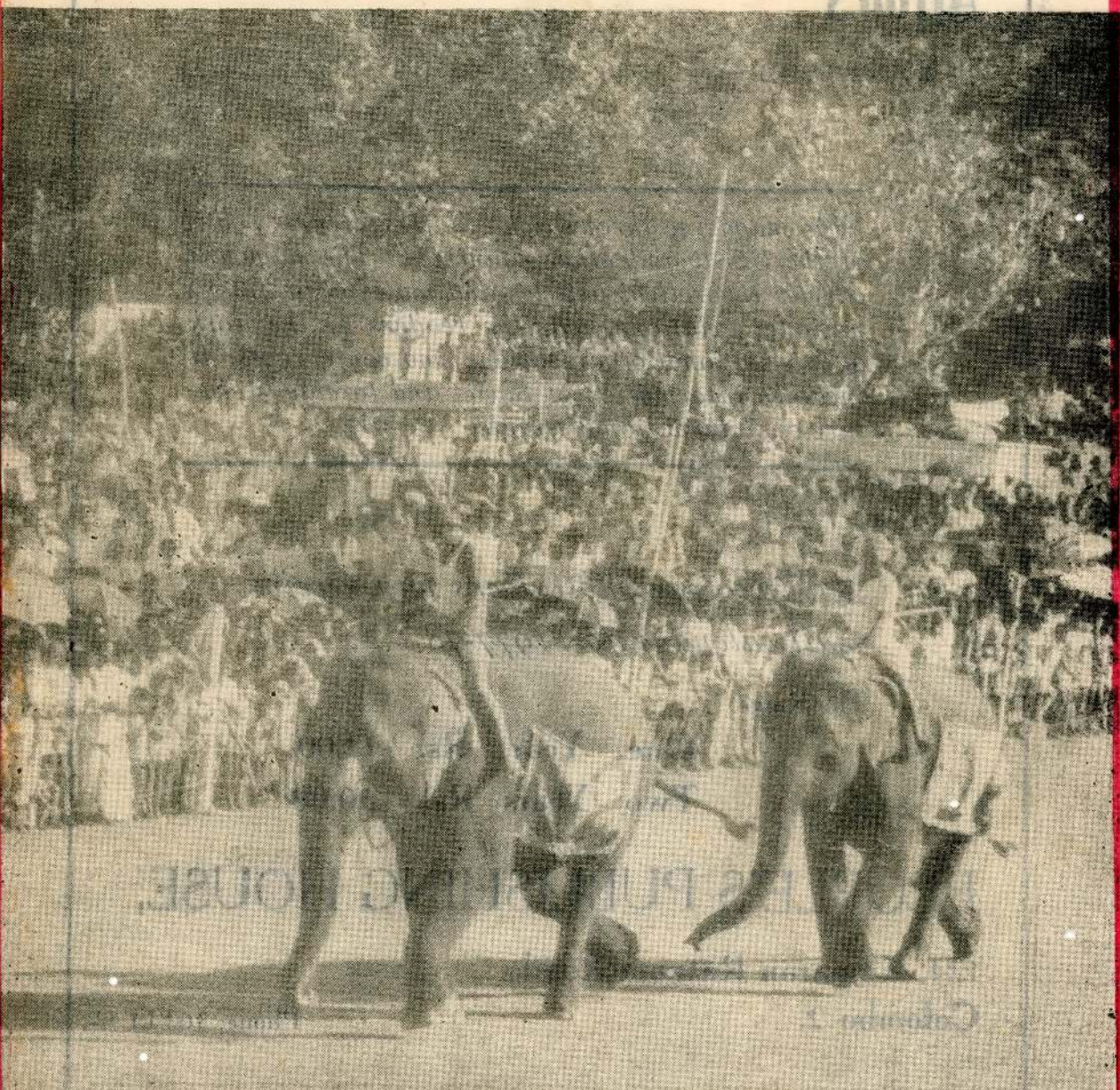


# TRIBUNE



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# Letter From The Editor

EVENTS OF THE CRAZIEST NATURE have begun to tumble one over other at a rapid rate in Sri Lanka. What was seemingly a monolithically cohesive united front (united against the UNP and reactionaries) in 1970 was now broken up not only into its original constituent parties but each party has been eroded by defections of the most serious kind. The two largest parties of the United Front, the SLFP and the LSSP, have suffered serious defections from its activist ginger groups: the CP has barely escaped defections by quitting the UF at a time when it need not have done so—the real time for quitting was much earlier, even before the LSSP was thrown out of the coalition. In addition to the disintegration of the United Front, the highly romanticised and much publicised JVP, which had instigated and led the unique insurrection of 1971, is now in several parts much of it divided into territorial units. Two of such units have emerged into the limelights recently seeking parliamentary honours whilst salving their 1971 conscience by protesting that the “parliamentary process” alone was not enough to resolve the questions of revolution and a good life. The MVP, the JVP and the other 1971 insurgent units have no use for the **Old Left** and seek to create a **New Left** with the co-operation and collaboration of the Marxist-Leninist (Maoist) SLFP breakaway Peoples Democratic Party and the LSSP breakaway Vama Sama Samajist Party led by Vasudeva Nanayakkara who had successfully flourished in the two wings of the current Sama Samaja movement for a long time. The **New Left** regard the **Old Left** as reformist and/or revisionist, whilst the **Old Left** wooing the PDP of the **New Left** to make them junior partners condemn the JVP, MVP and the Vama Sama Samajists as counter-revolutionaries and betrayers of the revolution. And so it goes on—as it has been from the beginning of the Left Movement in this country—splintering, splitting, fragmenting, expelling, breaking away and sectionalising. It is not only the Left Movement in Sri Lanka which has been afflicted by this peculiar tendency of breaking up into fragmented factions. All parties and groups from the beginning of this century have suffered from this malady with the result that there are many politicians of note and distinction who have been either members of or had carried on flirtations with practically every extant party. This is one reason why the strangest (bedfellow) coalitions and alignment of forces have taken place in recent times. Where but in Sri Lanka would a Party like the LSSP, which had carried a viciously bitter and personal campaign against Mrs. Bandaranaike from 1960 to early 1964 (and after having created the United Left Front) suddenly made peace with Mrs. Bandaranaike and joined her in a coalition government in June 1964, leaving its ULF partners, the MEP and the CP, dangling in mid air. This led the MEP leader, Philip Gunawardene, known as the father of Revolution, to join hands with the UNP and Dudley Senanayake whom he had fought right up to that time. The UNP, which has always been conservative in a Brown Sahib sort of way, has in recent times performed double somersaults and now claims that it is more “socialist” than any other party. It has sought to impose upon itself all the labels and clichés which the Left Movement has jealously guarded as special insignia—“progressive”, “socialist”, “champion of the poor and the common man”, “saviour of the down trodden”, and so on and so forth. The UNP is now making every old stalwart of the Party like D. S. Senanayake and his ilk to turn in their graves—the metaphor really does not fit in a country where some of distinguished UNPites have, in fact, been cremated—with its laboured attempts to appear in the garb and image of “socialism”. Whether this gimmick (or gundu) will help the UNP to victory is hard to say, but if the UNP does come to power it will not be because it has chosen to masquerade as a “socialist” party. What will bring the UNP to power will be the many acts of commission and omission of the United Front and now SLFP Government. Above all, the corruption, the open and blatant as well as the covert, underhand, underground and seemingly invisible corruption which has enveloped many key and vital sectors of the United Front (and now SLFP) administration will more than anything be responsible for bringing the UNP to power, if at all. Long suffering Sri Lankans will indefinitely put up with high prices, scarcities, shortages, and queues but corruption, ostentatious living and arrogant conduct, such as some of the bigwigs and VIPS in the UF regime have flamboyantly displayed, has generated wrath and indignation among common people which will be hard for the SLFP to eradicate before polling day. But unless the SLFP can remove the stigma of corruption now besmirching its Administration the SLFP will have an uphill task at the next general elections whenever it may take place.

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## EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

### Whither The Left — Old And New?

WITH THE PROROGATION of the National State Assembly on February 10, the Emergency which had been imposed on April 5, 1971 lapsed on Friday 17, the date before which it had to be re-validated by the NSA in that month. With this ended the Emergency Rule of the United Front era with its vast superstructure of Laws, Rules and Regulations. The United Front itself, which had begun to totter with the "sacking" of the LSSP in 1975, had collapsed with the "quitting" of the CP shortly after prorogation. A very large number of "consequences" have flowed from the "lifting" of the Emergency, but none is more significant than the removal of the ban on the JVP.

A few days after the JVP was proscribed in April 1971, an Emergency order was made banning the publication of nine newspapers—*Kamkaru Puwath*, *Janatha Vimukshi Gini Pupura*, *Rathu Balaya*, *Rathu Lanka*, *Tharuna Satana*, *Virodaya*, *Rathu Kekula* and *Tholilali Seydi*. (Under the same Emergency powers, the Government had later closed down the *Dawasa* group of newspapers). Already, the JVP has emerged from out of the ashes of 1971 to enter the parliamentary arena, but in true Sri Lanka nstyle, its acting Secretary, Upatissa Gamanayake, has declared that the JVP would have no truck with the MVP formed by Mahinda Wijesekera, a well known JVP leader of 1971. The new JVP wants the immediate release of Rohana Wijeweera, General Secretary of the Party, now serving a life sentence. JVP's Gamanayake in his speech at Hyde Park on March 11 had set out its current policy line.

*The JVP believed in pure Marxist-Leninist policies and not necessarily those pursued by China or Russia. Dr. N. M. Perera's and Mr. Pieter Keuneman's parties had distorted Marxism-Leninism. The capitalists had succeeded in foiling the struggle of the JVP because of certain weaknesses in the movements. The JVP would heed Lenin's advice and make use of Parliament as a means to*

*achieve its purpose. Another mistake was that the movement did not obtain the co-operation of the vast mass of people who were oppressed. Its main task would be to unite the masses. Mahinda Wijesekera had said the JVP was helping the reactionaries. Those who had suffered for the cause and undergone torture and harassment give the lie to such allegations. The United Front of the SLFP, CP and LSSP had tried to undermine the JVP. Now that the LSSP and CP were out of the government they were urging the workers to strike. The JVP did not believe in the policy of non-alignment, which served the interests of the other countries to free themselves from oppression. Attempts were being made in the capitalist Press to present the JVP as preparing for another insurrection or as being responsible for robberies. That was not so. All supporters of the movement, had been instructed not to engage themselves or engage in robbing, for such attempts would only help reaction."*

(Sunday Times, 13/3/77)

THIS ATTACK on the MVP by the JVP may come as a rude shock to many who still think that the JVP of 1971 was an integrated monolithic party of the revolution. And it will be even more of a puzzle to many that the number of parties which today, like the JVP, proclaim Marxist Leninism as their gospel has proliferated. Nanda Ellawella's PDP is "Marxist Leninist". So is the MVP of Mahinda Wijesekera. The Communist Party of Sri Lanka (Marxist-Leninist), or what is left of it, is a direct offshoot of first Marxist-Leninist (Maoist) party formed by Shanmugathanan in 1963/64.

For some strange reason, all these parties now seem to be fighting shy of the term "Maoist"—probably after the dethronement of the "gang of four" in China. The PDP, JVP and MVP have no use for the UNP, SLFP, LSSP and the CP: they are said to be reactionary, opportunistic, reformist and revisionist respectively.

But, the true blue "Marxist-Leninist" CP of Sri Lanka has rushed to the rescue of the SLFP to meet LSSP, CP and PDP criticism that SLFP had taken a right-

ward turn. In a centrepiece declamation in the *Sunday Observer* of March 13, H. L. K. Karawita of the Party's Secretariat, stated:

*"The SLFP-led three-party government, which came into existence in 1970, has now been reduced to a pure SLFP government as a result of the defection by the revisionists and a few SLFP members including a Minister. They were preceded by the LSSP who were "left behind" in 1975. All the ex-United Fronters have claimed in one voice that the SLFP has moved right. The Trotskyites claim that the move rightwards took place in 1975. The revisionists and the neo-Trotskyite defectors claim that the move took place in 1977. They disagreed on the time of birth of the rightward thrust of the SLFP and as a result their prognostications vary. Perhaps they also differ because they have different astrologers, in the form of Trotsky (dead) and Brezhnev (alive). Dead or alive, these views are wrong."*

Karawita then proceeds to propound a "marxist-leninist" thesis that of all the parties in the NSA, the SLFP is the only party that was "anti-imperialist" and "progressive". This is how he argues his case.

*"Those who accept Marxism-Leninism analyse political parties from the standpoint of their class character. The class character of the SLFP has basically remained the same since 1956, to the extent that, it continues to represent the National bourgeoisie. However there is no doubt that of all the parties represented in the National State Assembly, the SLFP is the only party which has a positive anti-imperialist and progressive character. Only a party that integrates the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Sri Lankan revolution can truly be referred to as a party of the proletariat. The revisionists, the LSSP and the defectors do not have even the remotest connection with Marxism-Leninism. The Sri Lanka Freedom Party has taken many steps to bring relief to the working people of our country like the introduction of the Employees' Provident Fund and the Labour Tribunals. It has taken anti-imperialist measures like the nationalisation of the foreign bases, nationalisation of the foreign-owned estates*

and the oil companies and the take-over of the insurance companies. It has taken anti-feudal measures like the paddy lands legislation.

"The SLFP has now publicly proclaimed its intention to abolish rajakariya, and if this action is implemented it will be a turning-point in the national struggle against feudalism. Similarly, it has also been announced, that the foreign banks will be taken over and this, too, is a measure which will be welcomed by the anti-imperialist masses of our country. While all these measures can be listed as achievements of the SLFP on behalf of the people of our country, it must also be said that the SLFP has not been able to find solutions to the problems of unemployment and the high cost of living. These problems however, are not peculiar to Sri Lanka. The vast majority of countries, including the USA and Western European countries suffer from these twin problems of unemployment and inflation.

"It is well known that the People's Republic of China is one country that does not suffer from these problems, and has indeed reduced the cost of living since 1949. It is equally well known that the USSR which carries the sign-board of 'socialism' is today beset with unemployment and inflation problems, but continues nevertheless to increase its military spending whilst at the same time increasing its indebtedness to Western capitalist countries to the tune of 20,000 million dollars.

"In view of these facts, can the other 'messiahs' who are now seeking parliamentary power in our country succeed where the SLFP has failed? Their past history and present practice gives us a definite clue. The UNP which is now claiming to be socialist is sufficiently exposed to the people as an agent of Western capitalist powers and their allies in our country. When the UNP was in power in 1953, they were responsible for the killing of innocent persons who were protesting against the increase in the price of rice during the Haral. The youth of today may not be conscious of these past events but the working-class and the peasantry are fully alive to the fact that the UNP represents the big landlord class, the big bourgeoisie and other

lackeys of US, British and European imperialists. What of the sham leftists consisting of the LSSP, the revisionists and the defectors from the SLFP who are now shouting themselves hoarse about socialism? Those who are now making all this noise complaining of the SLFP—whom do they serve? Certainly not the working-class or the peasantry."

AFTER HAVING set out his credo and faith (among others that China was the only country that had solved the problems of unemployment and inflation—without even referring to the "gang of four" upheaval in China today), Karawita takes on the LSSP.

"Let us take our minds back to the period of the food shortages in the early seventies when the ordinary people of this country had to stand in long queues from the cold early hours of the morning into the blazing heat of the afternoon sun to purchase a mere loaf of bread. What were 'these socialist gentlemen' doing, stuck like leeches to their comfortable Ministerial seats? They did not raise a whimper and instead asked the people to tighten their belts. While the LSSP Minister of Gazettes heaped burden upon burden on the people, he exhorted them in the name of some imaginary socialism to be patient and hungry. The LSSP who put fear into the people with their red-hot rhetoric and Left phrase-mongering clad in immaculate blood-red shirts, caps and even carrying red flags to

boot, as their own history has shown, are Left in form and Right in essence. Trotskyism swings far Left at one moment and far Right the next, serving the counter-revolution faithfully all the time. They are a disruptive political force who strive to confuse. This is true not only of the local Trotskyites but was also true of their great "pothe gura", Leon Trotsky.

They look in one direction and unwittingly march in the other. According to their big book there can be no socialism in one country. Whilst dishing out this balderdash on the one hand they are at pains on the other to form a 'socialist' united front to establish socialism in this little land of ours. They are trying to do what they themselves have claimed is impossible. It was the Bank strike that thoroughly exposed the LSSP. The LSSP Finance Minister, who boasts of having been in the forefront of the Trade Union movement acted far more arbitrarily than an ordinary mudalali in the private sector, by sacking Bank employees and denying to those who remained even the few privileges they had enjoyed. Even a party like the SLFP which does not claim to be a proletarian party could not have surpassed this record. It may be worth saying here that the SLFP which is supposed to have moved "right" reinstated the Bank employees who were sacked by the LSSP."

Karawita, thereafter, sets out to demolish the CP.

### ON THE COVER

ELEPHANT RACING was the sport of kings and nobles in ancient Sri Lanka, a sport in which the common man of the day had participated without inhibitions and without being weighed by the imperatives that gambling on racing (a pastime which developed in affluence) usually generated. On the cover we have a shot of an elephant race in progress not so many years ago. Some of the Brown Sahibs, who are now fading out of the social scene in this island, had continued to have elephant races during New Year or even Thai Pongal festivities in their Clubs in those outstations where tame and domesticated elephants were available for racing. Today, the Brown Sahibs have been replaced by a new tribe of CRAs, Gem Mudalalis and Corporation Bosses who have no use for elephants or elephant racing—the only occupation that interests them are "importing" (or the smuggling) of expensive limousines of the latest vintage and status symbol electronic gadgetry for which they have little use. And unless some urgent measures are taken to protect our wild life and preserve our national parks from the official land grabbers who want to create new voters under cover of land colonisation, the elephant will soon become a legendary memory of a Sri Lankan, Ceylonian, Taprobanian or Serendibian past. It is not certain what name future Governments will choose for the island to commemorate their rule—Ceylon has a long list of capitals (now in ruins) its kings had built to commemorate their regimes—and present day rulers seem anxious to follow in their footsteps.

"What has happened to the revisionist clique headed by Keuneman? These other "socialist gentlemen" have suddenly awakened to the "fact" that the SLFP is moving right. Their only point of divergence with the LSSP is that the former claim that the rightward thrust of the SLFP took place in 1977. Let us not forget that during the last budget debate several leading lights of the revisionist party stoutly defended the government and attacked the LSSP for collaborating with the reactionary forces. What made the revisionists leave the government all of a sudden? Was it the government's anti-working class stand during the railway strike? If it was so, they should have left the UF government during the 1974 Bank Strike. Could it be the rising prices that prompted them to leave the government? Not at all. If this was so, they should have protested against the increase in prices in the USSR and Poland and severed their foreign connections, on the basis of their alleged claim to 'proletarian internationalism.' Did the decision of the government to permit the entry of foreign capital investments bring about this departure? No. It certainly cannot be. It is a well-known fact that US Banks and the Fiat Motor Company of Italy operate in the USSR. Clearly, their "socialism" permits such exploitation of the people. The truth is that they have failed to get anything worthwhile for their foreign masters from the SLFP. They merely wish to substitute rising Soviet Socialist-imperialism in the place of British and US imperialism. The objective of the revisionists is to make Sri Lanka yet another colony of Soviet Social-imperialism."

Karawita has, it is clear, no use for the CP and hints that the SLFP alone has been the true "saviour" of Sri Lanka in these troubled times. This is what he says.

"Fortunately for the people of this country the anti-imperialist character of the SLFP prevailed and its bold stand on behalf of our national independence has frustrated these sinister objectives. The SLFP's uncompromising commitment to the Indian Ocean Peace Zone and the 200-mile nautical zone is not in the interests of both superpowers.

It is not necessary to waste much time on the "leftists who have left the SLFP. It has taken them seven long and happy years in office with its attendant privileges like foreign trips, duty-free cars and air-conditioned offices to realize at the very tip of the tail-end of their term 'the truth' that the SLFP is suddenly going right."

But, his defence of the SLFP is transparent evasion and he hides this evasion in what is (according to his lights) a Marxist-Leninist sermon:

"Leaving aside for a moment the direction of the SLFP it would be far more useful for them to examine the direction in which they themselves are going. They, too, are in substance serving the cause of reaction. Fortunately, our people are rich in wisdom and have a wonderful sense of humour and will instinctively know how to assess them. In this welter of confusion what should the progressive and patriotic forces in the country strive to achieve? Should they take serious note of the claims of contending forces to solve the twin problems of inflation and unemployment? History has shown that such problems cannot be solved in this way. We cannot solve any of these problems without first consolidating our national independence against the assaults of US imperialism and Soviet Social-imperialism. The completion of the anti-imperialist tasks must be accomplished before the struggle for socialism is launched. What is now required in our national interest is a broad alliance of the workers, peasants, petty bourgeoisie, revolutionary intellectuals

and other patriotic forces to defeat the UNP which is the main enemy of the people, and the pseudo-socialist united fronts and thereby to heighten the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle so that we can consolidate our independence and build an independent national economy free from the shackles of all types of foreign domination. The SLFP still has a positive role to play in this country."

WHILE THE EMERGING NEW LEFT is lost in a mass of oversimplified theoretical propositions about other "left" parties, serious trouble has overtaken the most senior of the Old Left, viz. the LSSP, which has, since parting with the UF, the SLFP and the government, sought to forge and lead a Socialist United Front. But two major difficulties have now come in the way of creating such a Socialist Front which was expected to spearhead and lead a wider anti-UNP (anti-reaction) front of all "progressive" parties.

First, the lifting of the Emergency and the re-legalisation of the JVP brings into the political arena the terest political opponents of the LSSP (everyone will remember that the LSSP—and even CP—had called the rebellious youth of 1971 "reactionaries", "counter-revolutionaries" "agents of imperialism", etc., etc. The JVP, with its demagogical demogogy can debunk the revolutionary bombast of the LSSP most effectively.

Second, the Vama Sama Samajists who had been permitted to co-exist in the Sama Samaja Movement, inside and outside the Party, have decided to break with the old leadership, and the old policies. This

#### WORKING DAYS: 24 — 108 — 21

Plantation Workers by labour legislation were supposed to get a minimum of 24 days work per month. Then someone tried to deceive them and the mass media perhaps tried to deceive the public, presenting the new decision of 108 days work in 6 months as a progressive step of a leftist Minister of Plantations. The illiterate Plantation Worker was almost hypnotized by such an unbelievable big number, but for a moment only, till his Trade Union leaders explained to him that 108 divided by six meant 18 days per month, i.e. 6 days less than the existing LAW. A REGRESS, not a PROGRESS, though engineered by a red Minister. Now the C.D.N. of 4.3.77 brings the good news of 21 days work (headline). One must be grateful. Yet this is the golden opportunity to remind that the fundamental solution will come ONLY with A MONTHLY SALARY.

Pio Ciampa

has led to the suspension of 30 senior LSSP ers who seem to have decided to throw in their lot with the organized Vama Sama Samajist faction which had established a centre outside the Party

The Sunday Times, 13/3/77, summed up the situation in the LSSP in a short but succinct report:

"Thirty members of the LSSP including Central Committee members have been suspended from the party. One of them told 'The Sunday Times' that the reason for their suspension was that they were collecting signatures for a party conference to be held before Nomination Day. Among the prominent members suspended are Mr. Vasudeva Nanayakkara, MP, Mr. Oswin Fernando, trade unionist, Mr. Edwin Kotelawala, a teacher, Mr. Reggie Mendis, a party veteran, and Dr. Arasaratnam of Ratnapura. This group holds the view that a militant front of all progressive organisations should be set up. The immediate purpose is to have a no-contest agreement based on a common programme. They exclude the UNP and SLFP from the front as they believe those two parties are the common enemy. It is learnt that among others suspended are clerical employees of the CTB.

"If the London School of Economics was the nursery of the LSSP, the long arm of London is still reaching out to embrace Sama Samaja politics. Ted Grant, Gerry Healey, Tariq Ali and even Vanessa Redgrave (Sir Michael's brilliant actress daughter) have ideological links with London-returned Trotskyists which the LSSP veterans of the 1930's vintage call the 'lunatic fringes'. The current troubles in the LSSP centring round its most popular youth leader, Mr. Nanayakkara, can be traced to Grant, the British Trotskyist whose favourite tactic is that of infiltration. Grant himself has been the main figure in a public controversy in the British Labour Party, its left-wing and the trade unions with the conservative Fleet Street Press howling 'Marxist infiltration' and 'Reds under the bed.' Grant's local sympathisers are the 'Vama Sama Saraja' group led by Dr. Vikramabahu Wickremaratne, the Peradeniya don. This group expelled from the LSSP few years ago, formed its own 'Vama Sama

*Saraja: (Sama Samaja Left) and publish the paper under that name. It still has links with some LSSPers including Mr. Nanayakkara, who has been agitating for a more militant line by the party and also for a front that includes Mr. Bala Tampoe of the Fourth International. They have made some inroads into the trade unions controlled by the LSSP, particularly the UCMU (mainly young workers in the corporation sector) where conference have arisen between its General Secretary, Mr. Percy Wickremasekera and a few younger radicals.....*

Senior, and aging LSSP leaders will explain that the Party had faced many splits, defections, schisms and heresies in its forty odd years, and that the Vama Samajist defection was not something to be worried about. Such ostrich-like complacency would not have mattered in normal times, but today with a General Elections round the corner, the current split in the LSSP will be one more contributory factor in nullifying the efforts to forge a "united" anti-UNP front

As it stands, the prospects are that there will a number of 'anti-UNP' fronts: the JVP will be one such front willing to come to electoral arrangements with the Vama Samajists and some (not all) of the Marxist-Leninist Parties. The New Left has a mixed conglomeration—the PDP, MVP, and MRP (of Bala Tampoe's) but can they get together? Of the Old Left, it is doubtful if the LSSP and CP will be in one front, or whether each will go in different ways with limited agreements in particular electorates.

The SLFP too will continue for a stat as an anti-UNP party, but the Old Left and the New Left may, between them, succeed in pushing the SLFP nearer to the new "socialist" UNP.

It is difficult to see how any "unity" can be forged among the so-called anti-UNP parties in 1977. The spirit of 1956 (April), 1960 (July) and 1970 (May) does not seem to be prevail at the moment. The "Left" and "Progressiv." movement in Sri Lanka today is in so many splintered fragments that no one but the

UNP and the "reactionaries" can derive comfort from it.

The SLFP is today going great guns to go-it-alone. Some of its Ministerial stalwarts are revelling in this exercise: they seem to think that the SLFP, without the LSSP and CP, will sweep the polls. This shows that the SLFP is daily getting more removed from realities. The SLFP has also been compelled to fall back on the CP (Marxist-Leninist) to defend it against the LSSP and CP and has opened the columns of its largest circulation English paper, Sunday Observer to this Maoist Party for the purpose of demigrating its one-time partners, the LSSP and CP.

In the meantime, the latest Cabinet re-shuffle has strengthened the position of one faction (now the most dominant) in the SLFP with the result that the enthusiasm for electioneering of some of senior Ministers of the SLFP will not be what it should be. The upward swing in the world prices of tea, rubber, and coconut has also prompted the Finance Minister to revalue the Sri Lanka Rupee by 20%. Whether this is sound policy or yet another pre-election gimmick is yet to be seen.

It is difficult to envisage the way in which the Sri Lanka Left will drift. The term "Left" is hard to define, but in Sri Lanka it has included the amorphous groups of political activists who profess to be "progressives". There was a time when the Sri Lanka Left was a purposeful movement with clearly defined objectives. Today, after 15 years of sterile parliamentarianism, the Left movement is not only splintered but has also began to drift in an aimless fashion.

### NEXT WEEK

- REVIEW  
—Insurgency 1971
- PARTIES & POLITICS  
—Witches' Cauldron
- CONFIDENTIALLY  
—What Is "Corruption"?
- FOREIGN REPORTS  
—Significant Trends

## Mar. 6 — Mar. 10

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

CDN—Ceylon Daily News; CDM—Ceylon Daily Mirror;  
 CO—Ceylon Observer; ST—Sunday Times; DM—Dina-  
 mina; LD—Lankadipa; VK—Virakesari; ATH—Aththa;  
 SM—Silumina; SLD—Sri Lankadipa; JD—Janadina.

**SUNDAY, MARCH 6:** Several leading banks and other Financing Institutions abroad have offered to invest in the share capital of the Development Finance Corporation of Ceylon the state sponsored joint stock Company set up to assist the private sector. The PM talking about the latest defections has said that personal motivations have triumphed over ideology. The Bank of Ceylon will advance nearly Rs. 700 million to Agricultural Productivity committees to purchase paddy and other subsidiary foodstuffs this maha season. The United Nations last week listed Colombo as the second least expensive city in the world for foreigners to live in—along with Buenos Aires and Khartoum. There has been a bumper crop of ulundu in the Vavuniya district; cultivators are assured of good returns as the Bank of Ceylon is financing the purchase of the crop in a big way—SO. Branding their political opponents as reactionaries has always been the style of the LSSP and the CP; just because someone disagreed with them they branded them with those meaningless slogans said Mr. Anura Bandaranaike at a mass rally at Polonnaruwa. The Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna whose leader Rohana Wijeweera is in jail will hold it's first public meeting since the lifting of the proscription order on Friday at Hyde Park—ST. The Trade Union in the LSSP has split and a new branch under the leadership of Vasudeva Nanayakkara has been set up which is called the CCMU—SLDP.

**MONDAY, MARCH 7:** Teacher's trade unions and the Parent-Teachers' Association of the Colombo region want the present scheme of awarding scholarships to talented students particularly the poor, revised; the present scheme, the unions and the PTAF, say, does not even help a worker's child to get financial assistance because such assistance is now provided only to children whose annual parental income is under Rs. 3600; even such financial assistance where it was given was hopelessly inadequate in the present high cost of living. The Pakistan government today alerted the army to stand by in case of violence during general elections next Monday, military sources said. There were violent demonstrations in Central Rome in protest against the jailing of a left wing student on murder charges—CDN. Mr. Pieter Keuneman, former Minister of Housing and Construction said that the SLBC had not yet announced his resignation and he hoped that the speaker would extend to him the normal and traditional courtesy of making a statement in the NSA when it meets after the prorogation on May 19. The General Council of the Ceylon Mercantile Union has organised a stoppage of work, demonstration and rally on Wednesday. Attempts are being made by the LSSP controlled trade unions to revive the Joint Committee of Trade Union Organisa-

tions which was split soon after the LSSP quit the government; according to union sources, leaders of the unions feel that with the exit of the CP from the UF the chances of the JCTUO being revived are brighter.—CDM. The Working Committee of the CWC has asked the government to stop sending thousands of workers who have been working for generations in Punduloya, Gampola, Pussellawa areas to faraway places. The UNP has decided that in the next general elections it would contest alone without joining any other party. The TULF and the Muslim League have joined together under a six point programme, the most important of which is that the proposed Tamil state will be a democratic state—VK.

**TUESDAY, MARCH 8:** The Minister of Housing and Construction yesterday appointed a four member committee to report on what measures should be taken immediately to increase the number of houses in rural areas and improve their quality; the Minister said yesterday that very little had been done for rural and peasant housing up to now and it was an important sector; the committee's report is to be submitted in one month; one of it's terms of reference will be to report on low-cost housing within the income of the average peasant. The Committee headed by the Health Minister to examine the working conditions of minor employees in the health department has recommended a higher remuneration and better promotional prospects for them. The SLFP yesterday appointed Mr. Anura Bandaranaike as the chief organiser for the multi-member Nuwara Eliya-Maskeliya electorate. The Forest Department is to start one of the biggest re-afforestation schemes at Sri Pada and the area surrounding the peak—CDN. The establishment of a new left movement is in the offing; it is understood that preliminary talks will take place shortly among the Janatha Vimukthi Balavegaya, the Mahajana Eksath Peramuna and the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna for drawing up of a common programme; these organisation do not recognise the traditional left parties, the LSSP and the CP, for in their view the leaders of these two organisations have betrayed the interest of the working class whom they claim to champion.—CDM. Before proroguing the NSA the government, out of courtesy to me as the Speaker of the House, should have informed me of it; this is a parliamentary convention; but this has not been followed here and it is regrettable, said the Speaker Mr. Stanley Tillekeratne. About 80 workers at the government press went on a 'fast unto death' yesterday demanding that they who have been working there for seven years should be made permanent. In Karachi, two died and 150 were injured due to troubles on election day—VK. The senility of our coconut plantation and their poor fertility is the permanent cause for the decline in yields, says the Agricultural Newsletter, issued by the Agricultural Information Division of the Department of Agriculture: Although the drought had been the principal factor of the dwindling numbers and small size of coconuts picked, it was only a temporary cause; the drought and it's effects over-shadowed the senility and poor fertility of coconut lands, adds the newsletter. The CMU plans a demonstration and a mass rally tomorrow to mark the ending of the Emergency, to press a series of 'immediate demands' and to call for the setting up of the Anti-Capitalist United Front "not only in relation to the general elections but also to oppose any Capitalist government that may be established following the elections by the SLFP or the UNP"—CO.



**WEDNESDAY, MARCH 9:** One silver lining in the government's foreign exchange budget is the boom prices now being fetched for tea: according to projections tea is expected to contribute Rs. 2450 million for an estimated Rs. 5,300 million of total foreign exchange earnings for this year. Employees of the Meechooramulla CTB depot are on strike from Monday night demanding the arrest of a suspect who had stabbed a driver while on duty. The government press was closed yesterday following a clash between two factions of workers. The Labour Commissioner yesterday held talks with top trade union leaders in the plantation sector over a week-long strike in several estates in the Gampola, Punduloya and Pussellawa districts. Colombo harbour was yesterday a hive of activity with several ships unloading rice, flour, sugar, textiles and other essential commodities and another seven ships taking in export cargo. The board of the State Engineering Corporation was reconstituted yesterday by the Minister of Housing and Construction; he indicated that the purpose of the changes is to revamp the corporation's operational activities—CDN. A Cabinet reshuffle is on the cards; with the resignation of Mr. Pieter Keuneman and T. B. Subasinghe from the Cabinet the government is expected to announce tomorrow a re-allocation of portfolios; it is understood that the Minister of Plantation Industry will take over the portfolio of Justice, while Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike will in addition to that of finance be assigned Food as well. The UNP will field candidates for all 168 seats of the NSA. The TULF will meet the PM today for a fresh round of talks. The GMOA and the AMS have asked their members to work on Saturdays as on Sundays and other public holidays from March 12; they took this decision as an initial step in protesting against what they termed the 'incorrigible lethargy' of the Health Dept. bureaucracy in implementing Cabinet decisions on their demands. Mr. Anura Weeraratne, Additional Secretary Ministry of Industrial and Scientific Affairs and Chairman of the Ceylon Ceramics Corporation was yesterday taken in for questioning by the Criminal Investigation Department in connection with some contracts entered into with a foreign firm. PM Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and his Pakistan People's Party won a clear two-thirds majority to the Pakistan National Assembly—CDM. The Mahaveli Board is going ahead with the second part of the first scheme by helping farmers by giving them manure, seed paddy etc.—DM. The Members of the LSSP throughout the island are perturbed because a new trade union under the leadership of Mr. Vasudeva Nanayakkara is in the offing. And members are urging the leaders to try and bring them both under one leadership. The government drug stores strike has been postponed and the unions are meeting again to decide on a new date—LD. In a fight between the Sirimapura Janawasama youth society with the local people, a number of buildings were set on fire and a number of youths sustained injuries—ATH. The Muslim United Front, with its headquarters in Colombo has said that the Muslim United Front has no connection whatever with the TULF, in a press release; the TULF which is seeking regional autonomy are definitely opposed to then policy; a united Sri Lanka is their goal he has added; and he expressed surprise at the newspaper article which had stated that the Muslim United Front had joined the TULF—VK.

**THURSDAY, MARCH 10:** A mini re-shuffle of the Cabinet and the creation of one new portfolio will take place this week; the new portfolio will be for the

subject of textiles, its import, distribution and manufacture. The GMOA and the AMS are to work on Saturdays as on Sundays and other public holidays; this means that from March 12, there will be no specialised clinics on Saturdays. A network of 'Jathika Polas' will be set up almost immediately, in Colombo, its suburbs and in provincial towns, where essential consumer commodities will be freely available at fair prices; they will be open daily and will be fed by Janawasamas and Usawasamas the Cost of Living Committee, headed by the Minister of Agriculture and Lands, has evolved this strategy to supplement the efforts of already prevailing government agencies in ensuring there is no breakdown in essential supplies and to check living costs. Mr. Bala Tampoe, CMU leader and Secretary of the Revolutionary Marxist Party yesterday took to task his erstwhile colleagues in the LSSP and also the CP and UNP and called all anti-capitalist elements in the country to unite under one banner to fight the next general election; Mr. Tampoe addressing a full gathering of CMUers at Hyde Park shortly after a demonstration which began from Fort to observe the ending of the Emergency announced that the RMP headed at the CMU at trade union level will field a few candidates at the next General Elections. The TULF meeting with the PM which was scheduled for yesterday has been put off. The government will shortly launch the Rs. 50 million Rambukkan Oya project to develop 6,000 acres of new land in the Amparai electorate. The TULF which has announced its intention to contest some seats in Colombo at the forthcoming general election will have to face opposition from another Tamil Political party—The Tamil Self Ruling Organisation (Thamilar Suyadchi Kalagam)—CDN. A crisis is brewing in the LSSP over the formation of a new trade union by Mr. Vasudeva Nanayakkara; The number of doctors whose resignation have been accepted by the Health Department this year, for the first time exceeds the number of those who have passed out; while the Department has accepted the resignation of 76 medical officers, only 66 doctors will begin their internship on April 1. Mr. Anura Weeraratne, Mr. Ivor Paternot and a Japanese national were produced before the Chief Magistrate Colombo at his residence on Tuesday night and remanded till April 7. Thousands of labourers on tea estates in the up-country are on strike as a sequel to moves to employ villagers of the area—CDM. There is an acute shortage of beef not only in Colombo and the suburbs but also in certain outstation areas like Kandy and Galle; according to the Chairman of the National Livestock Development Board there is a big drop in the sale of livestock for slaughter; according to him this was quite normal at this time of the year—CO. Before the next general elections a new left united front is likely to be born and top level talks of left leaders are now taking place according to informed sources; leaders of the LSSP, CP, Sri Lanka People's Democratic Party and the People's United Front have already held talks and are scheduled to meet again; it is understood that Mr. T. B. Subasinghe is the author of these meetings—VK. A new scheme is being devised for the distribution of foodstuffs on ration cards—DM. The Chairman of the CTB is working out a plan to enable all CTB personnel to take out Insurance Policies—LD. Though there is a treeplanting campaign in progress in the country, on the advice of government officials in Kandy District, very valuable trees are being cut down and sold on a large scale—JD.

## UNIVERSITY EDUCATION—5

## Development—Related Tasks

By P. Chandrasegaram  
Dept. of Humanities Education,  
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Sri Lanka.

In the area of higher education UNESCO lays greater emphasis on a closer adaptation of Universities to the needs of the development process, including definition of the role of higher education in the whole educational system. Besides special importance being attached to structural improvements and the revision of curricula, and the introduction of new methods and techniques UNESCO has started focal points in individual regions to foster international co-operation. It concentrates on the development of research and postgraduate studies particularly in the national sciences and engineering. Special attention is given to the application and relevance of science and technology to the needs of development by means of research in the developing countries and through the collection and analysis of relevant data and information.

Special impetus is being given to the new international discussions by the expert commissions called by UNESCO 'for the development of education' under the former French Minister of Education M. Faure. This Commission had the task of defining a new content for education for industrial and developed and developing countries. The basic assumption is that education is a life long process. The new strategies are directed to the innovations and it is being attempted to link the school system to various means of transmission of outside school information; efforts to relate these conditions in which both society and individuals should develop and determines the content and method of the learning process are being tried.

The development of the education commission mentioned earlier has recommended the further setting up of institutions of higher education for continuous education, for well regulated continued education as well as for specialisation and research.

The world plan of action for the application of science and technology' of 1971, has formulated plans for the concentration of the scientific and technical efforts of the developing countries on those problems most important to them, particularly through institutions like the Universities. In fact the world plan suggests that the Universities particularly in the developing countries should devote at least 1% of their gross national product to science and technology to develop these areas in a scientific, economic way.

Spending 1% of the gross national product on science and technical education to develop underdeveloped nations should be considered a very significant proposal.

The world plan stressed above all, the necessity of an institutional framework for science and technology in the developing countries. It is welcome that it sees as indispensable the close co-operation of the developing countries among themselves as well as the mobilisation of the scientific resource throughout the world for the solution of their problem. The contention that there should be close co-operation among the developing countries themselves is a point worthy of note. Utilisation of tropical woods and fibres, desalination of arid areas, research into parasite illnesses are some of the common problems in developing countries. Commonality of research outlook among developing countries on such matters will be useful.

Educational and scientific aid embraces all measures of assistance in the areas of school and out of school education, university education, research and development as well as their application. Its object is the creation and the qualitative and structural improvement of educational and scientific aid is to a great extent a matter of developing the social infra-structure at any level.

In explaining the principle of the advancement of developing countries for higher and general education it has been suggested that these come into the area of educational aid measures for higher education like the University level and research institutions and measures for teacher education in the developing countries and for those belonging to them. The objective of these measures is to support the developing countries by build-

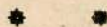
ing up and expanding the necessary educational and research institutions.

Scientific and educational aid embraces all forms of support for scientific institutions, the support for research, the building of research institutes, and the training of young researchers. The training of young researchers is a particularly urgent task for developing countries.

Education and scientific work can never work in isolation. Such aid must be seen in the socio-economic, cultural and social as well as specialist relations of the particular time. Educational and scientific aid can contribute to development only when taken together with fundamental measures for the elimination of the worldwide dependence of the developing countries on the industrial countries and with their own measures by the former for the elimination of elite classes and support for movements of emancipation.

Educational and scientific aid as well as development aid as a whole remain only cautious steps towards the realisation of their objectives.

The Universities have a particularly impressive role in the task of educational and scientific development of a nation..



### COCONUT CRISIS—2

## Is It The Beginning Of The End?

By R. Kahawita

The C.C.B. forecast is that in 20 years the entirety of coconut products will be used for domestic consumption. I hope that this forecast is not based on "the country's discovery of a foreign export as banner headlined in the C.D.N. a few weeks ago who discovered that coconut provided a complete meal. We have no foreign exchange to import food so we import so-called foreign experts to tell us what to eat. As Chairman Mao would have said—"They have only to phurt to make headline news" in the local press. This innane publicity is given to these visiting experts, when our own people having been saying the same thing even since the coconut palm came to be known in the island. This is

characteristic of our approach to our problems. The Minister responsible will not listen to our people—it has no political value, let a foreigner say red is green the Minister would grasp it with both his hands and formulate his national policies on it. That is what has happened to his land policies.

We need not wait for 20 years to see the exhaustion of our coconut crop internally. It is already with us; segmentation, cutting down of trees to build huts and other buildings to meet the so-called progressive measures of an agricultural ministry; wholesale plucking of tender nuts for food and a drink—not because the expert said so—but because the people have no food to eat, because of a Minister's bungling of food production and finally the devastation that is taking place in the large estates that were taken over under the land reforms.

As matters stand the coconut industry has no chance for survival. The solution is not increasing the acreage now under coconut but protecting every tree that is standing today and the land, so that the yield per acre is increased from a 1800 nuts per acre to 3200 nuts per acre as the national average. Instead of attempting to plant up this 50,000 odd marginal lands that may be suitable for planting coconut, steps should be taken to under plant or replant the 600,000 odd acres awaiting to be replanted. If a replanting programme is undertaken immediately it may be possible to arrest the decay of the coconut industry by 1982 or so. This will help to rebuild the coconut plantations that are being wilfully and deliberately destroyed under the guises of Land Reforms.

THE OPENING UP of the 50,000 Acs. now available for planting can be opened up and the thousands of families that are being now settled on 20 perches to 3/4 acre of segmented estates as announced by the SLBC in the News in Brief at 4 p.m. on the 26th, of February can be settled in economic units for the cultivation of subsidiary food crops. This is the type of agriculture that should be encouraged

and subsidized among the landless people so that they can be self-employed full time cultivators. Parcelling out 20 perches of good productive land will only result in impoverishment of the people and the country. No Minister with any sense will do this. We do not want a person in the rank of a Minister to destroy our economy. What we want is a man of vision to regenerate our economics life.

The CCB's desire to encourage inter-cropping of coconut land to enable the small holders to use fertilizers, in itself proves the ineptness of the CCB to tackle the problem and betrays a lack of understanding the needs of the industry. Just because the stand of coconut trees to an acre is low it does not mean that other crops can be grown as a commercial crop. It may be done in Malaysia, Papua-New Guinea, but coconut-planting there is not the same as in Sri Lanka nor the soil and the weather. In Sri Lanka cocoa was a very profitable commercial crop some time back. What happened to these plantations? The same thing that is happening to the coconut plantations today. Cocoa estates were acquired by Government to rid the country of Colonialism and cut up distribution among the landless people.

Today neither the so-called small holders of cocoa nor the cocoa are there. So now after 20 years of destruction we are speaking of growing cocoa under coconut and opening up new land under cocoa again. Why? There is a world shortage and prices are good. So in keeping with our National character and contradictions in our social and political aspirations, a boost is given to take advantage of world market prices. However this enthusiasm will wane before the cocoa seeds germinate like the operation "Soya Bean" of 1972.

This kind of "thatamaru" in politics and Agricultural Policies are not happening in New Guinea. When there is political Stability and the economic development of the people are meaningful, productive schemes can be worked out and implemented successfully, notwithstanding political changes. The rivalry between the two major political parties has been the economic and social downfall of Sri Lanka today, we

have witnessed this since 1956 right up to the current moment.

THE REASON, according to CCB for inter-cropping is "to enable owners of such land to use fertilizer despite reeketing prices"—Trials in inter-cropping are being conducted by the CCB under advice from UN experts—May be the same expert who discovered that coconut is a complete meal. CCB may not be aware that there are many coconut plantations taken under the Land Reforms where growing of pepper, coffee, cocoa, papaw, passion fruit, tumeric etc. was a routine cultural practice. These have passed on to Government corporations and their first act to increase production was to clear up these areas and go back to the mono-crop-coconut, even a thriving livestock industry met with the same fate. A hundred and sixty five acre Cocoa estate near Mel-siripura was uprooted not long ago and redistributed to landless villagers for cultivating manioc. Now there are 165 acres of manioc where there was cocoa.

Inter-cropping does not mean a saving in fertilizer, nor an additional income to pay for the fertilizer. Probably the CCB experts, in spite of their UN advisers do not know that inter-cropping calls for intensive use of fertilizer for coconuts, and the other crops to make both crops an economic proposition. Every soil has an optimum "carrying capacity" and to get mere out of the soil by increasing the crop intensity, the soil must be provided with additional dosages of fertilizer and moisture. Otherwise normal natural order of things—competition for survival—comes into operation and the stronger survives—in this case coconut but emancipated with a market drop in yield. The yield figures of these crops as given by the CCB can be collected from any publication dealing with such crops, but it does not follow that they can be realized under any conditions and anywhere in the Wet zone.

Coffee, pepper, cocoa, passion fruit etc are fruit crops and have a single season for fruiting and maturing the fruits. This is hardly available in the Wet zone. Under wet zone conditions there is more vegetative growth and less fruiting. This is also a basic agricultural principle which cannot be over-

looked. What can be done profitably under coconut is livestock; what is taken from the soil is returned to the soil. This is the reason why the cow has become sacred to an agricultural community. For development of livestock there must be land and now who has the land to do this? Not the peasant nor the small holders.

CCB seems to have a desire to help the coconut growers but our Land Policies are not geared for production, nor to encourage the people to live by the land. If our Minister for Agriculture knew what he wants this country to be a news item like the following appearing in the CDN of 25.12.76 will not happen.

*News from the Districts—* "1500 Acs. of land for landless. Kegalle. Arrangements are afoot to re-allocate 1552 Acs. of estate lands that formerly belonged to Sterling companies to landless families in Kegalle district." With this kind of thinking and action by a Minister what chance has the CCB to implement even its amateurish projects. If the Minister is interested in the economic survival of this country, these landless families can be settled on 1552 Acs. of land out of the 50,000 Acs. of bare land suitable for coconut as reported by CCB.

The development of an additional 1552 Acs. out of the 50,000 Acs. available for development, would have increased our resources by this extent, whereas re-allocating this extent from an operating estate will have to be written off from our inventory of export orientated acreage. The country will be poorer by that extent and our begging will increase proportionately. These are patent contradictions in policies and the desire to give the average man a chance to live. These do not lead to prosperity but degeneration of a people who were once free and independent—Thanks to our Land Policies.

(To be Continued)



## POINT OF VIEW

# A Metropolitan For The Cosmopolitan City

As the See of Colombo is now vacant after the retirement, on 2.9.1976, of His Eminence Thomas Benjamin Cardinal Cooray, omi., the 25th Bishop in Sri Lanka, the 4th Lankan Bishop and the first Sinhala Archbishop of Colombo who was 75 on 29.12.1976, all Catholics of Colombo are looking forward to the appointment of a holy just and reasonable man—as the successor to this Sinhala Prince of the Universal Church of Christ—one who would bear testimony to Christ the Sun of Justice and save the flock from damnation.

"For a bishop must be without crime, as the steward of God: not proud, not subject to anger, not given to wine, no striker, nor greedy of filthy lucre: "But given to hospitality, gentle, sober, just, holy, continent: (Titus 1:7 & 8), "Preach the word, be instant in season, out of season; reprove, entreat, rebuke in all patience and doctrine. (II Timothy IV: 2). "Moreover he must have a good testimony of them who are without: lest he fall into reproach and the snare of the devil." (I Timothy III: 7).

The entry of 'ravening wolves' into the sacerdotal rank of the Church at certain times led to the mutilation of the Mystical Body of Christ in the form of Schism, protestantism, apostasy and agnosticism. The entry of a 'Judas' Pierre Cauchon, in 1420, as the Bishop of Beauvais of the Church of Christ led, under English pressure in 1431, to the burning of the National Heroine of France and a Virgin Saint of the Church, viz., St. Jeanne d'Arc (Joan of Arc) because the former was 'greedy of filthy lucre', vindictive and lacking in moral rectitude. The 'Virgin of God' who was condemned by him as a 'heretic' was rehabilitated, pronounced Venerable, beatified and canonised in 1456, 1902, 1909 and 1920 respectively by 4 different Popes.

Let us learn from the mistakes of the past when, even in our dear Motherland the ugly issues of colour, race, caste, secular clericalism etc., were exploited by self-seekers following the tragical and

untimely death of the Rt. Rev. Dr. J. Aloysius Perera, omi., the first Bishop of Chilaw (5.1.1939-8.4.1939).

During the last 4 decades we have been experiencing discrimination, within the Church in several ways—the committing of genocide in the name of religion in the West Coast, the introduction of the change of medium of instruction in Catholic schools in the North-Western and Western Provinces, the introduction of ethnic-group-wise standardisation of entrance examination marks for the admission of even Catholic children to Catholic schools in Colombo and the subtle avoidance of the celebration of the Supreme Sacrifice in one of the national languages politically degraded. It is a pity that the Hierarchy in mistaking uniformity for unity is unable to appreciate the multiplicity of Tongues that praise the Name of Our Universal Father and the abundance of culture in the Church by virtue of its very 'catholic' nature.

The Archbishops of Colombo who were Frenchmen who had studied Latin in addition to their mother tongue had after coming to Ceylon learned English (in spite of their traditional hatred to the English and their language), Tamil and/or Sinhala (which did not have official status at that time) as the Faithful here consisted of Tamils, Sinhalese, Burghers and others. In the early stages of the episcopate of Archbishop Cooray who comes from Periyamulla, we were fortunate to listen to him in Tamil too on 22.5.1950 when he recited the 'Salve Regina' and also preached a sermon in Tamil when the Sacred Statue of Our Lady of Fatima was received at Ratmalana Airport but not thereafter; not even when he was accorded a public reception by the Jaffna Municipal Council in 1965 following his elevation to the Cardinalate nor during the visit to Sri Lanka of His Holiness Pope Paul VI on 4.2.1970.

In addition to the Holy Orders the administration of the Sacrament of Confirmation to children of about 7 years is the exclusive right and privilege of the Bishop on his pastoral visit to the Parishes

in his Diocese. A Bishop who does not know or care to know the language of the children of a particular linguistic group in his Diocese would not be able to exhort them in the Faith particularly in the post-Vatican era when all Services are expected by the Holy See to be conducted in the mother tongue of the Faithful in order to enable them to effectively participate in the Service.

The Cosmopolitan City of Colombo has a Catholic population of more than 80,000 of whom 46 per cent are Tamils, 40 per cent Sinhalese and 14 per cent Burghers and others while the See of Colombo has a Catholic population of 425,000 of whom more than 20 per cent are non-Sinhalese. More than 3.5 lakhs of Tamil Catholics in Sri Lanka including those who form 91 per cent of the Catholic population of the Diocese of Badulla, 83 per cent of that of the Diocese of Kandy, 72 per cent of that of the Diocese of Galle, 55 per cent of that of the Prefecture of Anuradhapura and presently 20 per cent of that of the Diocese of Chilaw—all under the pastoral care of the Sinhala Bishops—are also eagerly awaiting the appointment of the new Archbishop.

We pray that the prudent advice of His Excellency the Apostolic Pro-Nuncio in Sri Lanka Archbishop Most Rev. Dr. Carlo Curis to the Vicar of Christ will ensure the appointment of a true Repository of the Grace of God in the person of the new Archbishop of Colombo who would be a source of comfort and consolation to the WHOLE flock in their trials and tribulations.

Singham

Colombo 6. 4. 3, 77

LETTERS

• Srimavo's Talks With Tamil MP's

Sir,

The above news item appeared in the Madras Hindu under date line 21st February. The Prime Minister of Sri Lanka has had three hours discussions with the Members of Parliament belonging to the Tamil Minority Community of the Island on the grievances of the community.

Our comment is that the Srimavo Government came into power with a bulldozer majority in mid 1970. The twenty one Tamil M.P's who were at the parleys, including the twelve belonging to the "Tamil United Liberation Front" were also members since 1970. From that time our Prime Minister was dormant and passive on the Sinhala-Tamil issues nor did she ever mention the grievances of the Tamils to her ruling party members. She even ignored them and nominated her own Tamil representative to Parliament and elevated him to a Ministerial rank.

From 1970 to 1976 for almost six years plus our Prime Minister was silent on the disabilities of the Tamil-speaking people. She was then riding the crest of the wave with her overall majority, she did not want them and there was no need for her to go after them to find a solution to their inequalities as citizens of Sri Lanka. Even when the Tamil Members of Parliament refused to be a party to the Constituent Assembly, she did not make a move to find out why and the wherefore of their protest.

But today when her strength in the House has dwindled to her own party, that too minus five members, the United Front members having left the Front, she has to build her strength in the Assembly. Like a losing belligerent general looking for mercenaries to keep the guns booming she has approached the so long down trodden minorities to join her ranks by offering to find a solution to their grievances. In her need to find support to keep her in power she has become very solicitous of the minorities and their disabilities under the Constitution. This care for the minorities now sounds like the Mahila Samithi of yore offering relief to Kelani flood victims.

This solicitude for the minority cause at the moment seems as shallow as that. I hope the minorities will not be taken in by so patently hypocritical moves of the leader of the SLFP whose doyens are giving up politics because of the party's bad record of the current stewardship. When one is in power, minority cause is of no consequence, they can be ignored or even trampled upon. When you are up, everybody is around you. When you are down, everybody abandons you, you have to go in search of support.

This is the philosophy of our politics. The current moves to find a solution to the Minority grievances are motivated by the desire to stay in power at any cost, and not because the minorities have suffered too long.

I hope the minorities are aware of this and will not jeopardise the goodwill the average citizen has for them. If the minorities compromise with the ruling party now to enable them to continue in power, they too will become a party to the continuance of a most unjust and paritism regime in Sri Lanka. It will amount to a betrayal of the Majority by the Minority, when the sun is about to rise again in Sri Lanka.

Minority cause can be solved permanently only by an all Party conference and not by a single party leader just before its swan song. Ncr at a political bargaining table either. This is not the time for the Tamil Community to bargain, because the country wants a political change now and if the Tamils do anything to prevent the normal course of events to follow, they would have burnt their boats for ever.

R. Kahawita

Colombo 3.  
2/3/77

• Tamil & English

Sir,

On the 15th February the Ceylon Daily News published my letter describing certain Tamil words that were absorbed into English, and are to be found in Chambers' dictionary. On the 24th February CDN published a letter from Prof. P. B. Sannasgala of the Vidyakankara Campus, ridiculing my "fanciful theories"; yet I could not find a shred of proof for his pompous assertions.

Therefore, I wrote to the CDN on the 26th February explaining my stand concerning the Tamil words: Mango, Patchouli, Rice, Conjee, cash etc. excepting the word mud which I had mistakenly included in my list of words.

The letter was not published. Once again on 1st March I wrote to the CDN thus, as far as I remember: the rude remarks and crude logic of Mr. S. are most un-

acceptable and unconvincing. The Dravidian language, Tamil, was too well established and developed to be greatly influenced by any other language, although inevitably Sanskrit words began to infiltrate, thereby enriching and enlarging the Tamil Vocabulary.

The pearl and Chank fisheries of the Tamils go back to prehistoric times. From 450 B.C. onwards the Tamil Pandyan kingdom traded in Rice, Spices, Precious stones, Coral, Chanks and Apes and Peacocks with the Mediterranean lands. The Greek merchants of Alexandra sent their ships laden with gold to the Pandyan kingdom, taking back Rice, spices, Peacocks etc. The Tamil word ARISI became ORYZA in Greek, and finally Rice in English. INCHI VER (Ginger root) became Zingiberis in Greek, and ginger in English. Compare TOKAI Tamil for Peacock, with TAOS in Greek, and TUKI-IM in Hebrew. The Tamil Poets called the Greeks YAVANAR, (IONIANS):

The Roman Empire carried on a lively trade with the Pandyan Kingdom where Roman mercenaries found employment. According to STRABO the Roman geographer, a Pandyan king sent his Ambassador with a letter written in Greek, offering his congratulations, and a Alliance to Emperor Augustus on his accession in 25 B.C. The embassy is said to have taken four years to reach the island of SAMOS.

The name given by Ptolemy (the Greek historian and Astronomer) to the Tamils was DAMIRIKE. Until Mr. S. can furnish irrefutable proof for his assertions, I maintain that Mango, Pathchouli, Conjee, Cash and Arisi and many more like ginger, curry, cadle and chatty are Tamil words absorbed into English.

Mrs. Jega Nagendran

33/3, De Fonseka Place,  
Colombo 5.  
8.3.77



### THIRD WORLD POVERTY WESTERN VIEWPOINT

## Is It The Fault Of The West

By P. T. Bauer

Allegations that the West is responsible for the poverty of the Third World are not only untrue, according to a professor at the London School of Economics, they are more nearly the opposite of truth. In this article he cites the reasons.

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Many of the assertions concerning Western responsibility for poverty in the Third World express or reflect the belief that the prosperity of relatively well-to-do persons groups, and societies is always achieved at the expense of the less well-off—i.e., that incomes are not generated by those who earn them, but are somehow extracted from others, so that economic activity is akin to a zero-sum game, in which the gains of some are always balanced by the losses of others. In fact, incomes (other than subsidies) are earned by the recipients for resources and services supplied, and are not acquired by depriving others of what they had.

The notion that incomes are extracted rather than earned has been among the most disastrous of popular economic misconceptions or decisions. It has, however, served the purpose of those who expect to benefit from the maltreatment of other people—through, for example the expropriation or even destruction of relatively prosperous minorities. The notion has been used by medieval rulers and modern demagogues alike, and their victims range from medieval Jewish communities to the ethnic minorities of contemporary Asia and Africa. In Asia and Africa it is widely regarded as axiomatic that poverty reflects exploitation by foreigners, including ethnic minorities who have risen from poverty to pros-

perity. This belief is encouraged assiduously by local politicians, especially those who promised that political independence under their auspices would herald material prosperity, and is often propagated as well by other influential local groups who also expect to benefit from policies inspired by these ideas.

IN RECENT DECADES the effectiveness of the notion that incomes are extracted rather than generated has been extended and reinforced by two streams of influence whose operation in this area has been cumulative. The first is Marxist-Leninist ideology, and the second is the spurious belief that the capacities and motivations of people are the same the world over.

In Marxist-Leninist ideology any return on private capital implies exploitation, and service industries are regarded as unproductive. Thus, earnings of foreign capital and the incomes of foreigners or ethnic minorities in the service industries become forms of exploitation. Further, neo-Marxist literature has extended the concept of the proletariat—which in this scheme of things is poor because it is exploited—to the peoples of the Third World (most of whom are in fact small-scale cultivators).

*The notion that all individuals and societies are basically alike has also promoted the belief that Western prosperity has been achieved at the expense of the Third World. For if human aptitudes and motivations are substantially the same everywhere and yet some societies are richer than others, then the more prosperous must have oppressed and exploited the rest.*

But if the idea that incomes and property are extracted rather than earned is the principal assumption behind the notion of Western responsibility, a number of more specific contentions and suggestions are also heard. Most of these are in effect variants or derivations of the main theme, geared to particular audiences. Perhaps the leading such variant is the argument that the poverty of Asia and Africa can be attributed to colonialism. This idea is axiomatic in much of the Third World and in publications of the United Nations and its affiliates.

According to General Principle XIV of the first United Nations

Conference for Trade and Development (UNCTAD): "The liquidation of the remnants of colonialism in all its forms is a necessary condition of economic development. This passage (which would not have been acceptable to Marx) reflects the Leninist doctrine under which colonialism is by definition exploitative. Leninist doctrine is reflected also in the phrase, "colonialism in all its forms"—a covert reference to foreign investment, which in Leninist ideology is itself a species of external exploitations.

Whatever one thinks of colonialism, however, it is certainly not incompatible with economic development. Some of the richest countries were formerly colonies and were even as colonies already very prosperous (North America, Australia). Many of the African and Asian colonies of the European powers progressed very rapidly during colonial rule, usually much more so than the independent countries in the same area. And at present one of the few remaining European colonies is Hong Kong. Conversely, some of the materially backward countries in the world never were colonies (Afghanistan, Tibet, Nepal, Liberia). Ethiopia is perhaps an even more telling example, though it was an Italian colony for a very brief period (six years) in its long history.

THE MANIFEST UNTRUTH that colonial status must imply poverty, stagnation, and exploitation is sometimes camouflaged by suggestions that without colonialism the peoples of the colonial territories would have created nation status, or developed their own industries, or undertaken economic planning. Yet it is purely fanciful to imagine that such policies would or could have been pursued by the tribal chiefs, or local rajahs or sultans who were replaced by colonial governments. And even if they had, such policies would not necessarily have made for progress. Indeed, state subsidies to particular activities or centralized control of economic activity are more likely to perpetuate poverty than to relieve it.

The terms economic colonialism have sprung up recently to describe almost any form of economic relation between relatively rich and poor countries, or groups. This termi-

nology confuses poverty with colonial status, a concept which has always been understood to mean lack of political sovereignty. Since the late 1960's, the usage has been extended to cover the activities of multinational corporations in the Third World. In fact, these activities have promoted progress in poor countries by expanding opportunities and raising incomes and government revenues. Thus not only does the new terminology reflect a debasement of language, it also distorts the truth.

The decline of particular economic activities—e.g., the Indian textile industry of the 18th century—as a result of competition from cheap imports is sometimes instanced as an example of Western responsibility. This argument identifies the decline of one activity with the decline of the economy as a whole. But except under most peculiar conditions, rarely specified in this context, cheap imports extend the range of choice and of economic opportunities of people in poor countries. These imports are usually accompanied by the development and expansion of other activities: if this were not so, the population would be unable to pay.

According to another set of allegations, the West damages the Third World by manipulating the terms of trade so that these are unfavourable to the latter and also deteriorate persistently. This is alleged to have contributed to a decline in the share of the Third World in international trade. A related form of damage is said to be the indebtedness inflicted on the Third World by the West. These allegations are again fictitious, untrue, or irrelevant.

TO BEGIN WITH, the diversity of trading patterns within the Third World renders the aggregation of their terms of trade largely meaningless because the terms of trade of particular Third World countries and groups can move differently and even in opposite directions (the experience of the OPEC countries against other Third World countries is only a recent and familiar example). And over very short periods, changes in the terms of trade as conventionally measured are of little welfare significance without reference to changes in the cost of produc-

tion of exports, the range and quality of imports, and the volume of trade.

Insofar as changes in the terms of trade do affect development and welfare, what matters is the amount of imports which can be purchased with a unit of domestic resources, and this cannot be inferred from the ratio of import and export prices. (In technical language, the comparisons relevant to economic welfare and development are the factorial terms of trade and not the crude commodity terms). Further, expressions such as unfavourable terms of trade are meaningless except by reference to a base period. In recent decades, however, even the crude commodity terms of trade of Third World countries have been exceptionally favorable. When changes in the cost of production, the great improvement in the range and quality of imports, and the huge increase in the volume of trade are taken into account, the external purchasing power of the exports of the Third World in the aggregate is now very favorable, probably more so than ever before. This in turn has made it easier for governments to retain a larger proportion of export earnings through major increases in royalty rates, export taxes, and corporation taxes.

*But the terms of trade are in any case irrelevant to the basic causes of Third World poverty. This is obvious, for instance, from the material backwardness of societies and countries with little or no external trade. Changes in the share of the Third World in international trade are also irrelevant to its poverty.*

A reduction in the share of a country or group of countries in global trade has by itself no adverse economic implications because it often reflects the expansion of economic activity and trade elsewhere, which normally does not damage but benefits those whose relative share has declined. For instance, since the 1950's the large increase in the foreign trade of Japan, the reconstruction of Europe, and the liberalization of intra-European trade have brought about a decline in the share of other groups in world trade, including that of the United States and the United Kingdom. Furthermore, domestic developments and policies unrelated to external cir-

circumstances—such as increased domestic use of previously exported products, or domestic inflation, or special taxation of exporters, or the intensification of protectionist policies—frequently reduce the share of a country or group of countries in world trade. (As an aside, I may note that in recent decades the share of the Third World in total world trade has increased and not decreased, notably so since before World War I.)

(To be Concluded)

## FOREIGN REPORTS

### Sadat Increases Pressure Of PLO For Moderation

Cairo,

PRESSURE ON the Palestine Liberation Organisation to bow to moderate Arab opinion increased to-day when President Anwar Sadat of Egypt said he believed the Palestinians and the Jordanians were both ready for the creation of a Palestinian state linked to Jordan. Even senior Palestinians were caught off guard by the remark and could only comment that "maybe this is under discussion."

Mr. Sadat's statement, made at a news conference with M. Louis de Guiringaud, the French Foreign Minister, who wound up a visit to the Arab world to-day, comes shortly after he had said it was essential for a definite link to be established between a limited Palestinian state and Jordan prior to the reconvening of the Geneva peace conference.

Asked by journalists if he had some particular reason to believe the PLO would accept such links with Jordan, President Sadat replied: "It is for the Palestinians themselves to decide but I think from what I know that they agree to this". He added that he had discussed the same question with King Hussein of Jordan and the Hashemite monarch was also ready for this.

The Palestinians are now being rushed into a series of steps towards moderation. But it is not clear how far leaders like President Hafez El Assad of Syria and President Sadat have been speaking

in advance of changes in the Palestinian position as part of the general pressure on the PLO in the run up to the Palestine National Council meeting, due to convene in Cairo on March 12.

Moderate Arab leaders like Presidents Sadat and Assad and King Khaled of Saudi Arabia face a complex task in bringing pressure on the Palestinians. Syria forced the PLO to talk moderation by physical force with the successful intervention in the Lebanese civil war.

The focus remains firmly on next month's Palestine National Council meeting, where Palestinians, will decide whether they can change their national covenant implicitly or explicitly to accept the existence of Israel. With pressure from Arab leaders, with Israel maintaining that any movement whatever on PLO representation at Geneva is conditional on changing the covenant, and with Washington waiting to judge where American interests lie, to-day's remarks by President Sadat merely emphasise how crucial the Palestinian meeting will be.

Michael Tingay

—From *Financial Times*

Beirut,

However, a difference of views appears to be emerging between Syria and Egypt on the Palestinians and their relationship to the Geneva conference. President Hafez Al Assad of Syria said yesterday that he saw no relationship between a reconvened Geneva conference and the setting up of a constitutional link between Jordan and the proposed Palestinian state in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

President Assad also said that he saw no benefit in the formation of a Palestinian government in exile at this point, something that President Sadat has repeatedly urged.

Informed sources in Beirut believe the basic disagreement between Cairo and Damascus is over Egyptian reluctance to go along with the Syrian proposal for a single Arab delegation to Geneva, including Palestinians and Jordanians. President Sadat has called on the PLO and Jordan to agree on sharing a team to the Middle East talks.

Itsan Hijazi

—From *Financial Times*

### Arabs Relax Israel Trade Boycott

Washington,

MOST ARAB STATES have made a significant concession over the Arab boycott of Israel. With the exception of Iraq, it appears that all the Arab trading partners of the US have agreed to drop their insistence that all goods shipped from the US should be accompanied by a document certifying that they are "not of Israeli origin and do not contain Israeli components."

This important concession coincides with resumption of hearings in Congress into strong new anti-boycott legislation which has just been introduced into the Senate.

The new Bill is slightly tougher than that blocked by the Ford Administration last year, and would specifically outlaw certificates of origin of the kind that the Arabs appear to have dropped.

Saudi Arabia, and other States are understood to have reserved the right to withdraw the concession if Congress passes "too stringent" anti-boycott legislation, but have made it known that the concession is intended as a signal to the Administration that the Arabs are prepared to compromise on some aspects of the boycott.

Arab sources in New York say that the decision should not be interpreted as a sign of Arab weakness, and that Jewish anti-boycott groups should resist the temptation to claim the credit for it.

The American Jewish Congress has hailed the Arab decision as a major step forward.

The seriousness with which the boycott is viewed was highlighted yesterday when Mr. George Heland, president of the Petroleum Equipment Suppliers' Association, said during the hearings that if the Senate went ahead with the proposed anti-boycott law his organisation estimated that about 105,000 jobs a year would be lost for the next five years.

The anti-boycott Bill co-sponsored by Senators William Proxmire and Harrison Williams would provide for a \$20,000 fine and a year's imprisonment for a first



violation, and up to five years in prison for subsequent breaches.

Like the Bill proposed last year, it forbids US compliance with the terms of the boycott, US participation in secondary boycotts of other American companies already black-listed by the Arabs, and any other boycott-related action.

The previous Bill may also be reintroduced into the Senate soon, and President Carter said during his election campaign that he was in favour of it.

Mr. Cyrus Vance, the US Secretary of State, is due to appear in Congress this week to explain the Carter Administration's attitude to the boycott.

During his visit to the Middle East, which ended yesterday, he was apparently left in no doubt about Arab hostility to the new anti-boycott legislation, or about Arab concern after a recent anti-boycott statement by Mrs. Juanita Kreps, the new Commerce Secretary.

It remains to be seen if the new Arab concession will be enough to mollify opponents of the boycott in Congress. It comes after a decision taken quietly by the Arab League to inform US exporters and freight forwarders that they need henceforth provide only "positive" certificates, saying only that the goods being exported are "made in the USA."

Some Congressmen may object that even this positive certificate amounts to a tacit acceptance of the boycott and, therefore, should be resisted.

There is, for instance, still considerable opposition to the Arab blacklisting of certain ships, which the State Department regards as a "very troubling aspect."

David Bell

—From *Financial Times*

## MUSICALIA

### Random Thoughts

By Mort Harbride

MUSICAL REPRODUCTION embraces a wide range of sounds performed on a variety of instruments. There are the stringed instruments, wind instruments and percussion instruments. These are

in turn sub-divided into the strings i.e. the violin family (violin, viola, violoncello, double-bass or contra-bass), the piano family, the plectrum group (guitar, mandolin etc.), the wind, i.e. brass (trumpet, cornet, euphonium, tuba, trombone, French horn etc.), woodwind (flute, oboe, cor anglais, bassoon, clarinet), reeds (piano accordion, harmonium, organ and the percussion instruments (the whole range of drums, marimba, xylophone, vibraphone, tubular bells, glockenspiel, castanets, maracas, claves, tambourines, cymbals (all tones), reso reso etc.) The latter are of complex variety and innovations are added from time to time for specific desired effects.

The Oriental instruments are also divided into groups: strings, wind and percussion. The violin, the sitar, veena, dilruba, esraj, the flute, nagasalam, tabla and drum family, etc. and their own particular quality and variety of sounds which are used as and when needed. Innovators in music are combining Western and Oriental instrumentation in their compositions with remarkable success to introduce colour and blend tone quality as they think necessary. The overall effect is refreshing with a variety of timbre to the discerning listener.

Symphonies and tone-poems convey the composers' concepts and give maximum scope and depth of expression to audiences. It is our sincere hope that the efforts and talents of these artistes will be recognised, encouraged and rewarded for their dedication to the great cause of music! The conventional approach by present-day composers has been somewhat relaxed. More flexibility in style helps to convey to their audiences what they feel and wish to express without detracting from dynamic-pattern and other forms of expression. Some of our listeners feel that this liberality is too pronounced and are consequently critical; others welcome the change of approach even if the form is sometimes unconventional. A really dedicated composer must convey to his audience exactly what he feels in the manner he thinks best and a bold innovator may be permitted certain liberties.

**A musician's life is never an easy one and his art is invariably taken for granted by those who need his services.**

Unlike a public or private sector employee, a musician has to be fit to earn his living. He does not have the privilege of 'leave' with pay. If he is absent for whatever reason, be it even sickness, he does not get paid. The majority of musicians are under-paid and not given the recognition and regard their profession deserves. The few who have regular jobs in the SLBC orchestras are seldom contented and are compelled to supplement their income from other sources. The free-lance musician is even less fortunate. There are times when his services are required frequently in a short space of time, but, more often than not, there are long workless spells! These artistes are the backbone of the entertainment world and it is a pity that their talents are not given the proper recognition and the adequate remuneration by those who continue to make use of their services and reap substantial profits!

THERE ARE SOME professional musicians who are teachers of music. They are somewhat better off than those who depend solely on public performances for their livelihood. At an average reckoning, the musician in Sri Lanka (or for that matter any part of the world) is a good natured person and easy to get along with in his work. Those who have a high sense of discipline are generally few and far between and belong to the old-school!

Musicians with a sense of orchestral discipline are not many as far as professionals go. For instance, when an orchestra is tuning up or at ease, each member has his or her own area of responsibility even though relaxed. Ensuring that the correct music is ready on the music stand for performance and that his or her musical instrument is in good playing order, is certainly a part of this responsibility. Once the conductor mounts the podium, the discipline starts to work. There must be silence and each musician's attention should be fixed on the conductor waiting for his signal to commence playing. There should be no fidgeting or shuffling of feet or music! Only professionals with orchestral experience actually behave with a high sense of self-discipline; it is easy to detect the

others! A well-trained and disciplined orchestra or group of musicians is not a common sight today. By temperament, a musician is a sensitive person and unsuited to parade-ground discipline. There are some conductors who are so strict that they are often referred to as 'slave drivers' but nevertheless they mean well. Sensitivity of musicians is understandable, but discipline is essential for a well-knit performance by all players. The end certainly justifies the means. We all welcome a polished performance and those who are responsible for such a performance feel a great measure of satisfaction.

Musical directors or conductors are men who have been 'through the mill'. They know precisely what they want from their musicians and they strive to get the maximum response from each player in concerted performance. Togetherness in performance of a group of the orchestra, be it strings, wood-wind, wind or percussion or 'tutti' playing is the keynote of a polished orchestral rendition and reflects a high standard of training and discipline in performance. Most professional musicians in world orchestras are mature performers in their own right and the oneness of their concerted performance is all too evident or audient. There is the noticeable absence of one player playing louder than the other in the same section. This characteristic is sadly lacking in our own orchestras and we can learn a great deal from our visiting orchestra players. Those of our readers who have long memories and recall the public performances of the little Orchestra of New York (conducted by Thomas Scherman) in May 1959 and the occasion when our own Symphony Orchestra of Ceylon played alongside this Orchestra in a joint performance at the Vihara Maha Devi Park, should remember the event. Those of our S.O.C. who performed side by side with the Little Orchestra of New York members will testify to the high standard of playing and recount this memorable experience to those who were not so fortunate as themselves. The lesson we should have learned from these world-class performers is still as fresh as ever: 'Never play louder than your neighbour. If you cannot hear your neighbour, you are playing too loud!' This is a true and tried

maxim among all experienced orchestral players and it is not too late for our musicians to remember and emulate their golden rule.



#### SOVIET VIEW

## Is Co-operation With Western Corporations Possible?

By Nikolai Obotov

The main obstacle along the road of restructuring international economic relations is the position of Western monopoly circles. The uncontrolled sway of the Western corporations over the Third World is now regarded as one of the reasons behind the preservation of its economic backwardness and dependent position in the world capitalist economy.

Nobody can say that the young states do not understand this. The question of the principles and the limits of permissible continuation of business activity of foreign capital in one form or another always ranks among the urgent tasks facing the governments of the developing countries. The more active is the search of the developing countries for ways of curbing the uncontrolled activity of foreign monopolies, the louder resound the voices of those who glorify the western corporations and their "new policy of exporting capital", seeing in this almost the salvation of the Third World from backwardness.

One can often hear them saying that the Soviet Union was internationally "intimidating" the developing countries by the threat of the invasion of western corporations, whereas itself is willingly co-operating with the latter. Indeed, the Soviet Union promotes economic contacts with industrialised capitalist countries. Many forms of the USA, Western Europe and Japan have become its partners in long-range and large-scale co-operation thanks to detente. These include well known corporations. But there is nothing unusual in this.

It should be recalled that in the first years of Soviet power, which were especially difficult for the country, V. I. Lenin did not raise objections either against enlisting the efforts of foreign firms or even against paying a certain "tribute" to foreign capital. He considered it a possible support in the development of economy including mixed economy but under the indispensable condition that the equality of the sides be observed, a collusion between the local and foreign bourgeoisie be ruled out, foreign capital be "under the control, and supervision while political power remains in the hands of the working class and of the workers' state." More than that, V. I. Lenin specially pointed out the need of "turning the sum total of the very rich, historically inevitable and necessary store of culture and knowledge and technique accumulated by capitalism from an instrument of capitalism into an instrument of socialism."

In our days rapid technological progress is impossible without the utilisation of world achievements in science and production. The Soviet Union, as well as other states, is trying to use the advantages offered by foreign economic contracts in order to enlist additional means for the accomplishment of economic tasks and gaining time.

The purchase of many types of highly-efficient equipment, chemical produce and synthetic raw materials allow the Soviet Union to obtain the goods whose import is more rational than to start their production anew. Soviet foreign trade and economic organisations use the financial and technical resources of western corporations on a mutually advantageous basis in the implementation of certain projects in the Soviet Union in cases when it can affect positively the development of the Soviet economy.

Naturally, one cannot draw a historical parallel between young Soviet Russia and the present young states. Moreover, attempts to compare the backward economy of the developing countries with the economic potential of the Soviet Union look absurd. Its business contacts with western firms does not mean any ideological or economic concessions to foreign capital. The socialist system of ownership and the monopoly of

foreign trade reliably guarantee the national interests of the USSR.

Hence the conclusion: the farther the developing countries proceed in their progressive social reforms, the less negative is the impact of the western corporations on their economies.

The "open doors" policy in Egypt and the "Brazilian miracle" show quite clearly what the uncontrolled penetration of foreign capital in the country's economy leads to. From June 1974 till now Egypt has adopted more than 150 resolutions and acts making it easier for foreign investors. Foreign capital has access to industry, agriculture and finance.

Now it demands new concessions; for instance, to devalue the Egyptian pound to guarantee higher profits, to revise the laws on labour and taxes and even to obtain a monopoly right for the construction of some enterprises. The Egyptian newspaper *Al-Akbar* compared the demands put forward by foreign capital with the policy of dictation pursued by British colonialists.

The wide-scale use of western loans and credits by Brazil has led to the fact that in 1975 the country's foreign debt amounted to 22,000 million dollars whereas the payments against debts totalled 3,000 million roubles, i.e. more than a third of the Brazilian export in the same year. The Western monopolies have under their control more than 50 out of 100 major industrial companies of the country.

Some young national states are no longer economically helpless in the face of foreign monopolies. By accumulating political experience of struggle against imperialism and relying on the growing support of the socialist countries, they set themselves the task of taking hold of "the key branches" in the national economy. The concentration of the economic potential in the hands of a state considerably strengthens the positions of the young states in their confrontation against foreign capital.

Experience shows quite often that the governments and businessmen of the developing countries are capable, in some cases, of developing new industries and without outside help at that. For instance, India is successfully building a complex of 100 enterprises near Santa Cruz, which will turn out 94 types of electronic

equipment. From this number 40 enterprises have already been completed out of which only 18 have been built with the participation of foreign capital. The nationalisation of private banks in Pakistan has allowed the country to increase three times in one year state financing of industry, with 80 per cent going to the public sector.

This list could be continued. It is also highly important that the third world has now an alternative source of machines, equipment and technology in the person of the socialist countries. The expansion of equal economic contacts with the socialist states now serves as an important factor for the accelerated development of the third world's economy and improvement of the developing countries' position in world trade.

—APN

# Inania of this, that and the other

## Jesus And Politics

By INNA

FEARFULLY, gingerly but gainfully for themselves some people are saying that Jesus had nothing to do with politics. This may not be so true. Much research has been done about the Zealots in the last ten years and Josephus' account of them has been found to be one-sided. They were some kind of 'guerillas' or 'insurgents', being of a movement that called on Jews to revolt saying that payment of tribute was tantamount to disloyalty to Yahweh God. No wonder the Romans called them *lesthai* (bandits, robbers). St. Mark, a Jew, uses "Kananios" for Simon the Zealot. Jesus really chose a zealot for an apostle.

The issue is clear: Mark, writing 40 years later, in troublous times in Rome, mildly lets the people know what are these "things of God". Zealots objected to Roman tribute on religious grounds for it meant giving of Holy Land resources, the Land of Yahweh to a heathen "lord". Jesus' teaching squared entirely with zealous teaching and it must have been thus understood by the bystanders. This makes exegetes say: "Jesus ruled against the payment of tribute. Caesar could ironically have

what was his, but the Holy Land of Judea was clearly of God, not of Caesar" (see G. Brandon, *Trial of Jesus of Nazareth*, p. 67; Kennard, *Rendezvous to God*, NY, 1954). Besides, Jesus was also executed for sedition, a political offence. Three charges are brought against him: "He perverts the nation: He forbids to give tribute to Caesar: he says He is Christ the King". The listeners understood what He said and perhaps solved the ambiguity in Christ's disfavour. How could some people, including priests say that "Jesus was not a threat to Roman rule". Jesus ruled with the zealots therefore, that the paying of the tribute was wrong on religious grounds. In fact, zeal for his House, Yahweh's temple and Land had eaten Him up, as the psalmist puts into His mouth for the Holy Thursday antiphon—a feast soon to be celebrated by Christians the world over, and in Sri Lanka. If Jesus is the full man, the Whole Man as Christians say then He must also have been vitally (*vita* means life, with His life) interested in the political, though not necessarily 'politics' in its degraded sense. He gave up His life in Jerusalem, also for this. The synoptists show Him going up to Jerusalem for an undefined, fateful purpose: "Behold we go up to Jerusalem and the son of Man is to be delivered to the chief priests and scribes. He will rise again" (Mk. 10:33/Matt. 20:17/Lk. 18:31ff.) Here was decisive action. Brandon calls this "a kind of messianic coup d'etat" aimed primarily at the sacerdotal aristocracy whose policy and opposition were deemed obstacles to the conversion of Israel and the establishment of God's kingdom" (p. 146). Then the Cross: In Mk. 8:34, Jesus says: "If any man would come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me." The cross was the Roman penalty for rebellion and Jesus foresaw that He might suffer the death of a rebel at the hands of Rome (see Jesus and the Zealots, p. 269). Readers who are used only to a one-sided look at Jesus Christ will not be able to follow this. He was truly a courageous man, and Pilate called Him, The Man (Ecce, Homo!). The Romans did not kill Him. He freely, laid down His life.

THEN AGAIN wasn't it a political act of rebellion to enter the capital city, Jerusalem, on an ass, a messianic animal acclaimed by cheer-

ing followers and the crowd as a direct, public, open challenge to Roman and Jewish authorities. What a Palm Sunday that was, domesticated today into a rite at which no reference is made at all to the political action of Jesus. And this, especially by those who mix up "My kingdom is not of this world", with "May thy kingdom come on earth as it is in heaven." The former is the condemnation of the worldly spirit, the latter the statement of optative truth—the scene of struggle and liberation, *this earth*. Doesn't Brandon call this gesture of entry into the city on that first Palm Sunday: "dynamic, political action of a revolutionary kind challenging the Roman government of Judea and the Jewish authorities responsible for domestic affairs" (p. 147). Mathew using the word *eseithe* (shaken) says that the "whole city was shaken" by this event (Matt. 21:10). Scholars like Goguel, Winter (Trial of Jesus) and Guignebert agree with one accord that here was decisive action. Barabbas was guilty of 'insurrection'. Christ was crucified between two zealots (called "thieves" by Rome). In the minds of the top men, these events were connected. Jesus was also executed for sedition, a political action. This Jesus is closer to the hearts of men today all over the world, when political, economic, social structures shed the very life blood of man, making his blood cheap and common. His superhuman courage in the face of insolent might. His critical conscience and consciousness make Him a model even for today, but how can He be proposed as the universal model, when some men persist in offering us a mutilated Christ, a lop-sided person, instead of what He really was, a total, integral Man.

#### MEMORANDUM

## On Plantation Workers

In October 1975, the Sri Lanka Plantation Workers became the Government's Servants and collaborators.

No one can forget that the 75 per cent of the foreign exchange comes to the country from tea, rubber and their workers.

The heritage of the colonial system has left them *isolated in line-rooms*, with a mentality of

quasi-slavery, with little freedom and few rights.

Working in their midst, knowing by experience their plight, aware of the exploitation and the oppression to which they are subjected, a few, socio-religious workers thought it was their duty, on the eve of the general elections, to become the "Voice of the Voiceless Plantation Workers" and to present to the leaders of the Sri Lanka's political parties the following requests:

1. As the Sri Lanka Plantation Workers contribute so much to the economy of the country, they need to develop a more patriotic sense of nation-building, and they must be helped to feel themselves as an integral part of the people of this country. The process of integration of the Plantation Workers with the Villagers and of the Villagers with the Plantation Workers must be delicately and sensibly brought about. It will be the chief responsibility of the majority community to implement the programme of integration.

2. *In justice and fair play*, the Plantation Workers must be offered the same rights and privileges as the villagers. Hence (a) it is imperative that, without any further delay, the following *discriminatory practices* against them be *abolished*:  
i. The rule of the Medical Ordinance of 1912, demanding that the Plantation Workers should not be admitted to the Government Hospitals unless they produce letter-permit from the Superintendent or Dispenser and obliging the Superintendent to pay Rs. 3.50 per day (by the Amendment of 1975)

ii. The special system of food ration token cards for the Plantation Workers. Let the same Co-operative system be extended to the Plantation Workers and let them be offered the same food and cloth rations offered to the others.

iii. The antiquated system of D.T. (Discharge Ticket) which subjects the Plantation Workers to a great amount of exploitation and useless sufferings.

b. The Estate School System should be integrated into the National School System, while, at the same time, respecting the culture, language and heritage of the Plantation Workers.

c. Plantation Workers should be granted *sick-leave* remembering that they are the only group of

workers in the country without it. At the time of sickness, when they are most in need, they have neither pay nor sick-leave.

d. They should be granted a *monthly pay*, since they contribute so much to the economy of the country.

3. While everyone acclaimed the progressive steps of the Land Re-form Law and the nationalization of the Plantations, one cannot but regret that the Plantation Workers seem to have been forgotten altogether since no *land* has been given to them, even if they were Sri Lanka citizens,

While therefore suggesting that the Plantation Workers too be given lands, if possible, one must stress the *urgent duty and responsibility* of those in power not to render the Plantation Workers *displaced persons* (D.P.), when the land is distributed to the villagers and not to allow them to be submitted to unnecessary sufferings.

"MAY ALL BEING BE WELL" is one of the greatest wishes of our people. It must be made a reality for each one of them, with a deep sense of gratitude and brotherhood, towards the Plantation Workers.

4. Among the Plantation Workers, there are some who are in *extreme need*: i.e. those left without employment and/or food ration. Malnutrition, and famine make victims among them. In the name of humanity, *maitri* and justice, please take quick steps to abolish obsolete regulations which make the granting of the Ration Books to them almost an impossibility. Make sure that every Plantation Worker in this country, whether national or not, till he/she remains here, be treated in the best tradition of Buddhist hospitality and *maitri* and be accorded the *fundamental human rights*, believing that "every person has equal rights".

5. According to the 1975 I.W.Y. (International Women's Year) resolution, remove the unjust discrimination by which Plantation Women Workers are paid ONE RUPEE PER DAY'S WORK LESS THAN MEN, even for the same work.

6. While promising our support for the implementation of the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement as regards repatriation and the granting of Sri Lanka citizenship, let the welfare of both those who remain

## University Chaos?

and those who will go be safe guarded and the process of repatriation be slowed down or speeded up accordingly. A united effort should be made to eliminate every kind of exploitation, everywhere, energetically.

7. For the unity and progress of the Plantation Workers take steps to make the Trade Unions less sectional and less politicised. Their only commitment should be to the Workers' Welfare (W.W.).

8. Finally in a true spirit of democratic socialism, let PROFITS BE JUSTLY SHARED with the Plantation Workers who make them. Let the profits be partly used to improve speedily their living conditions to assure a more human and humane life to each one of them.

Let the Second Century of Sri Lanka Tea (1967-2067) and Rubber (1976-2076) give a more prominent place to the human person and the dignity of the WORKERS and write a history with less cruelties and exploitations and with more humanism, mairi and love for the WELFARE OF ALL.

Rev Fr. Pio Ciampa, S.J.,  
for "ESTATE PEOPLE'S SERVICES"  
Kahawatta.

## REVIEW

### University—Incipient Nihilism

By Jayantha Somasundaram

IT HAD TO HAPPEN. First the students barricaded their President in. Then the Police went in to clear them. And finally someone lost his head and opened fire and some innocent student was killed. Pathetic, senseless, infuriating. Now that the Wimalaratne Commission Report has been published, we avail ourselves of the liberty of scrutinising the events of November 12th last.

It all began with the demand of the Peradeniya Campus employees for the removal of the President, Prof. Vithanage. A cry that was later taken up by students and members of the other campuses. On what grounds? Because they didn't like the look of his face—or at worst, he was a

'disciplinarian', whatever that is. The President's refusal to resign rested on his confidence that he had done nothing to warrant resignation. The Minister's refusal to remove him was on the grounds that he had no convincing reason to give Parliament or the people for such removal.

The other grouse of the University community, one that found greater support among their ranks, was their opposition to the University Act and their clamour for 'university autonomy'—such a majestic phrase. **Parliament and the people will no doubt give the University autonomy when and if they believe that the University is competent to 'survive' autonomy.** Until then, the people whose direct and indirect taxes go to finance in entirety university education, reserve the right to impose restrictions. Autonomy is all very well in countries where higher education is a private matter meant to model elites who are deliberately kept out of the mainstream of life. Such autonomy has little relevance in a welfare state which seeks to integrate its citizens into a unidirectional society.

The cry to remove the President on somebody's whim or fancy, is precisely the kind of 'freedom' that Parliament, through its Cabinet of Ministers, has to protect individuals and society at large against. Students and university academics have a vital part to play in the process of development and social change that characterise our national priorities. Intolerant demands for the arbitrary removal of a campus president is not social change: it is anarchy.

HIGHER EDUCATION, blindly copied from the West, is a system that insulates the student from the mainstream of national life. It creates a sectarianism that is the predominant characteristic of our academic community. Given the fact that it is as a concentration of the best trained minds in the country, the university could be a wonderful instrument for social change: instead of which it breeds elitism.

The action of the Peradeniya employees who struck work, whatever reservations we may have about their demands, must not be confused with what followed. The right to strike is legitimate. The student union had however obtained the student's support for

the strike giving a tacit assurance that the Campus would not be closed. This was an extravagant assurance that they had not the power to guarantee. When the President closed the campus, they besieged him at Senate House in a desperate attempt to keep the Campus open. There was no legitimacy in that—it was no longer practical to keep the Campus open.

Six weeks prior to the shooting when the employees struck, the students expressed their 'solidarity' with the strikers by beating up the van drivers who brought food for them from Kandy, and wantonly destroying hundreds of food parcels meant for them. This is not social change: this is neurosis.

THE BATTLE CRY then spread to the schools, with students demanding on a platter, the head of the Minister and his Secretary, among others. What was alarming about this Campaign was the rapidity with which it has degenerated into a slogan asking for the removal of 'the Thambi'. This is not social change: this is petit bourgeois racialism.

Anybody who believes that school children could be thus spontaneously mobilised is living in a fool's paradise. What makes one so sad is the manner in which these children were used to prepare and portray obscene slogans and effigies. This campaign has used and corrupted young people. It represented not righteous indignation: but pristine pornography.

The Left movement in this country has spent a long time following the red herring of petit bourgeois pseudo-radicalism which they repeatedly keep mistaking for progressive thinking. Consequently they have blindly defended the student population even on dubious issues like ragging. Students can be a vital force in the struggle for social change, provided a national responsibility and social imperative is prevalent. What we saw in Peradeniya was not incipient social change: it was incipient nihilism.



# Confidentially

## • CGR • NLDB

IS IT NOT TRUE that references have been made in some of the daily papers about the strange ways in which selections are made in the CGR? (That, incidentally, after the last strike and the departure of the former GMR—no favourite of *Tribune* and vice-versa—the working of and discipline in the CGR has improved visibly and significantly? That the appointment of an old Railway hand as GMR has probably contributed greatly to this? That passenger trains are now running to time? That without sufficient waggons, oil tankers and other rolling stock, the movement of freight—even top priority essentials like fertilisers—has been held up?) That to come back to our story of the week, applications had been called for from Railwaymen with the necessary qualifications to fill five vacant posts of Assistant Transportation Superintendents? That, subsequently, twenty four applicants were interviewed by a Ministry Selection Board with the Secretary, Mr. K. C. F. Wijewickreme, as Chairman? That the Board had selected five persons it considered the most suitable and best qualified for the posts? That the general consensus in the CGR was that the selections were fair and that the most deserving had been picked out? That no sooner the selections were known in the CGR a new kind of intrigue was set in motion? That CGR gossip asserts that a Railwayman stationed at Anuradhapura, who is in business with some VIPs (more of this anon, later), had also applied for one of the five jobs? That it is alleged that pressurising from this quarter had led to orders from on high for a second interview? That the very same Selection Board had added two more as candidates, Nos. 6 and 7, in addition to the original 5? (That selectee No. 6 had been placed No. 14 in the first interview and selectee 7 had not been selected at all—but being a close relation of a mighty VIP in a powerful multinational his claims could not lightly overlooked? That now the seven names have been sent to the State Services Advisory Board (SSAB) to select five? That as all this was contrary to

normal practice, the SSAB has called for the marks lists of the two interviews? That CGR gossip asserts that the Secretary had delayed sending in the marks' lists and other particulars wanted by the SSAB? That not merely Railwaymen but the public, aware of this kind of goings-on, are watching to see whether any skulduggery takes place in order to accommodate the two persons not selected in the first instance but found satisfactory to be included among the first seven in a Second Interview? That it will be interesting to see how the Ministry's Selection Board can explain its *volte face*? That strange are the ways of men who matter?

IS IT NOT A FACT that the shortage of coconuts has given rise to a whole lot of gimmicks that will go down in the history of gimmickry as examples *par excellence* of the art? That the USAWASAMA Hqs had placed an order for 300,000 to 600,000 coconuts (it is not certain what the exact number is but it is somewhere between these two figures) from the National Livestock Development Board (NLDB)? That the price at which the USAWASAMA is buying the coconuts is not known but it is a price which enables the USAWASAMA to sell the coconut at 60 cts. (sixty cents) a nut in Kandy? That the nuts are being sent to the USAWASAMA from LRC estates in the Melsiripura region (chiefly from what was formerly known as Ragedra Estate)? That in Kandy the Agricultural Extension Service centre has been "taken over" to sell these coconuts to the public? That each person in the queue is sold only two nuts each? That to get these two nuts at 60 cents each the queue is often two miles long? That even if the two-mile length is an exaggeration (some cynics say that the queue was often three miles long) the fact is that a person has to wait several hours idle to get 2 coconuts? That this selling of coconuts has become a new gimmick, *tamasha* or *gundu*—call it what you will? That the coconut queue in Kandy is one more grand queue in the history present-day of Sri Lanka? That we have so many queues today that one more would not matter? That we have queues for rice, flour, sugar, dhals, Lakspray, condensed milk, textiles—the list is already unending? That apart from this queue, the question is how much does the

NLDB get for each coconut from the USAWASAMA? That it is also essential to know what it costs to transport each coconut from Melsiripura to Kandy and what the overheads were for the sales outlet and the selling? That it may soon be found that the NLDB is selling the nuts well below cost and that the Government may soon have to subsidise the NLDB in the way the CTB, CGR, etc. have been subsidised from year to year? That the NLDB at Melsiripura had also supplied the Marketing Department (MD) in Jaffna (on account of the Jaffna prisons) 10,000 coconuts? That the girth of each coconut supplied was said to have been 10" and that these coconuts were found outside for the scrappers used by the consumers in Jaffna? That the coconuts were returned to the NLDB at Melsiripura because the coconuts had not conformed to the specifications set out by the consumer in regard to girth? That for some strange reason the coconuts were not sold to the public in Jaffna (where a coconut fetches anything from Rs. 1.50 to Rs. 2.00) but had been sent back by lorry to Melsiripura—a distance of 175 miles? That it would interesting to know as who is to bear the cost of the transport of these 10,000 nuts up and back from Jaffna? That after the nuts had come back from Jaffna as "rejects", they were "rotting" in Melsiripura for a long time because nobody knew what they should do with the nuts? That a trader or any intelligent person would have sold the nuts at a premium price in Jaffna if the nuts did not meet the requirements of the consumer? That an official of the MD or the NLDB could not do this lest he be accused of making money on the side? That the supreme methodology of trading in the MD, NLDB and other state organisations is to ensure that responsibility is not "fixed" on any person—this, however leads bureaucratic corruption of the worst kind? That it is only now that some of the VIPs in the Government have begun to know a little about the scope and extent of the corruption that afflicts the country? That whilst peons who receive a *santasam* of 0/50 cents or clerks who get ten rupees for doing a favour are brought to trial the biggest sharks, who revel in bigtime corruption enjoy an immunity unknown in this country for the last fifty years?



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