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TRIBUNE





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Letter From The Editor

TWO WEEKS AGO, Herbert Keuneman in his series on *Building a Village House*, referred to the fact that *Too many Partings* had brought changes into the kind of village life he had evolved in his attempt to make a new home in the Wannu village of Ehetuwewa. Two of Pinhamy's daughters, Bisso Menika and Ukku Amma, who had grown up during his earlier sojourn and his present stay in the village, had secured employment in a government sponsored livestock undertaking at Kantalai. Village life was undoubtedly changing because of this kind of migration. It has been changing ever since a new urban civilisation and economy had started growing with the individualistic capitalism of western Europe introduced into the island by the Portuguese, Dutch and the British during what is popularly called the colonial era. This pattern of urbanisation (really semi-urbanisation by international yardsticks) had assumed new forms after Independence with a large overdose of state capitalism under the generic name of "socialism" (European style) and "Janawasama", etc. (Sri Lanka style). Economy, civilisation and culture in Sri Lanka today is as far from socialism as we are from the Moon, but it is considered politically expedient nowadays to describe the changes as "socialistic". The changes which have been effected, especially after 1970, have certainly wrought many far-reaching changes in the way of life in this country, but what these changes will ultimately bring is not quite clear. But what is clear is that the way of life introduced and stabilised by British colonialism had been completely shattered—whether for something better is yet to be seen. But the changes have been real and devastating—as stupendous in social, economic and political implications as those the British had introduced in land tenure, education, administration and everything else in the 1830s. The migration of Bisso Menika and Ukku Amma from the very rural Ehetuwewa to a semi-urban governmental undertaking in the small townlet of Kantalai is one aspect of the transformation which has crept over life and living in this island. ON THE COVER we have a picture of the two young people, Bisso Menika and Ukku Amma, in an Ehetuwewa setting. What will they be like in two, five or ten years from now? Will they make homes in and around the government undertaking at Kantalai? Or will they wander around other similar undertakings where their skills (or their husbands) take them? Or will they come back to Ehetuwewa when the present drought ends and the Mahaweli brings water to the region to make agriculture a profitable undertaking? These are questions to which we cannot offer answers today. We can await developments only as they unfold themselves. Herbert Keuneman hopes to portray these changes in terms of human reactions of the participants themselves by transforming the letters these two young people write to the folks at home in language which can find a place in the columns of *Tribune*. In this week's issue, his piece on his *Village House* contains some of the first letters written by them from the training centre at Kandy (or thereabouts). In the coming weeks he hopes to transliterate the letters they write from Kantalai, interspersed with his own comments, to provide readers of *Tribune* with an insight into the way state capitalism (even though called "socialism") has begun to affect the lives of many young people. We are harping on the term "state capitalism" because the concept of socialism has suffered immensely because politicians and others have chosen to sell the pure and simple state capitalism in our nationalised ventures, in our co-operatives, in our "collective farms", in our *usawasamas* and *janawasamas*, as "socialism". This endeavour to transform our economy to one based on state capitalism, in the midst of an offensive and ostentatious growth of individualistic capitalism (also sponsored by the state) in the fields of tourism, gem exports and the exports of certain other commodities described as non traditional, has created a credibility gap between the Government and the people. The new and vulgar affluence of the gem capitalists, the tourist tycoons, the CRA operators, corporation chieftains and the new breed of politicalised bureaucrats (who enjoy a special brand of immunity for all their malpractices) have begun to make a mockery of the "socialism" which some leaders of the Government claim to have promoted and established in the Sri Lanka of today. Every five star hotel, where a modest meal costs a person upwards of Rs. 120 (a price which only FEECs-subsidised tourists can afford to pay), and even lesser hosteleries where food cost a great deal, is today chock-a-block with persons who are the new elite who parade under the umbrella of "socialism". How can they afford such extravagance?

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EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

Change In
China - 3

The campaign against Teng Hsiao-ping was stepped up after the announcement of Hua Kuo-feng's appointment. A Reuter message from Peking dated February 12 stated: "A wallposter campaign against senior Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping has started at Peking University amid signs of increasing strain within the Chinese leadership. Foreigners who visited the campus said posters clearly alluding to Mr. Teng had been pasted up accusing him of being a 'capitalist roader'—the emotive term used for Chairman Mao Tse-tung's enemies during the cultural revolution. Sources said posters started appearing at the university two days ago. They did not mention Mr. Teng by name but identified him by quoting his most famous saying — 'I do not care whether a cat is black or white; the important thing is whether she catches mice?'"

A West German viewpoint was revealed in an interpretative analysis in *Die Zeit* by Theo Sommer on February 13, 1976. It was a long article but it is a worthy of record. It was entitled ENIGMATIC CHINESE CHOOSE SURPRISE CHOU SUCCESSOR. It read:

"Once again Mao Tse-tung has managed to astonish China-watchers. Teng Hsiao-ping was expected to succeed Premier Chou En-lai who died on 8 January. For about two years the vice-Premier has been groomed for the position, but instead it went to the eleventh in line of succession, Hua Kuo-feng. Hua has been Minister of Security for just under a year, and his political career up till 1970 was confined almost exclusively to the southern province of Hunan. Up till now his skills were thought to have been confined exclusively to the agriculture sector. For the moment his elevation to high rank can only be a matter for speculation among Sinologists. The bamboo curtain is still impenetrable, but there are three theories going the round among experts:

"**Theory One:** Pragmatist Teng has been an object of suspicion among the left wing since the Cul-

tural Revolution, and has been passed over because of the attitudes he adopted in the past. He was regarded as number two in the powers that be which are 'taking the path to capitalism'. Chou helped to rehabilitate him, but never to the satisfaction of the left. His politics always bore the stigma of revisionism. It is no coincidence that his expulsion from the role of acting premier has been accompanied by strong attacks on revisionist party leaders published by the *Peking People's Daily* since the end of the Cultural Revolution. Peking's moderates are now hors de combat with their idea of raising China to the level of the developed industrial nations by the end of this century along the lines set by Chou by means of patient, disciplined and undisturbed hard work. Victory has gone to the Shanghai Group of revolutionary dervishes.

"**Theory Two:** Teng has not been passed over. He is being held in reserve to succeed not Chou but the ageing Mao, now 82. Mao, it was, who brought Teng back from his post-Cultural Revolution obscurity a couple of years ago.

"**Theory Three:** The Chinese leadership has not been able to make a clear decision in the face of the renewed outbreak of conflict between the 'left-wing' revolutionaries and the 'right-wing' pragmatists. The new man is just a stopgap, associated neither with the Shanghai Group nor with the Peking pragmatists and therefore ideally suited to bridge the gap until a new doctrine and a dominant new personality emerge. The most important point is that although the moderates have not succeeded neither have the radicals. Everything is in a state of suspense. Hua also came under attack during the Cultural Revolution. He is at one and the same time a "red" and an "expert". He has separated the security police from the controlling force of the people's militia. But his rival in Shanghai, Chang Chun-chiao has not been swept to power.

"Which is the correct theory of the three? If we are honest we must admit we do not know. What is happening on China's political stage can only be seen through a glass darkly. It is like a variation of chess in which we can see the

moves but do not know their significance. We can see the outlines but not the faces. In addition Mao has once again balanced the various forces in much the same way as Hitler used to do.

"One conclusion cannot be ruled out, namely that if this institutionalised tension continues for much longer China's political aims will remain vague and indeterminate, especially as the controversy concerns not only personalities, but also the substance of Peking's policies. In what direction is China drifting? This question can be split up:

"**Firstly,** does China want a pragmatic domestic development without revolutionary rifts—or will its development continue along the lines of two steps forward and one step back?

"**Secondly,** will China allow itself to continue to wallow in the luxury of ideology as de Gaulle's France did, or will it pursue a foreign policy that conforms with the sober dictates of its real interests? Will it prefer to remain independent and underdeveloped? Does it want to continue the cold war with Russia and the frigid peace with America—and not have a warm and healthy relationship with either? Or will China continue to do what it has always done in principle under the present regime, remain in isolation with the principle in this world, but not of this world?

"We cannot answer these questions, either. No one can fathom the power parallelgram in Peking. If Teng has officially been nominated as Chou's successor this decision would have created a degree of clarity. Obviously the decision is a transitional one, since no other solution would have met with general approval. It may have seemed a clever idea to make the Minister of Security the new Premier, but this is unconvincing and the obvious and disturbing precedent was Beria.

"Perhaps Hua's elevation is designed to create a kind of collective leadership. The difficulty is that there is no history of collective leaderships in China. It is a country that has always had and recognised one overlord. With one such demigod its institutions and society function best. The problem has always been how the prestige

and legitimation of one overlord could be transferred to his successor. Until this problem is solved the whole matter will be a puzzle—for China and for the world."

A despatch from Tokyo dated February 14 spotlighted the "power struggle" in China. (Publicists in Peking and all Marxist-Leninist-Maoists abhor the word "power struggle"—they prefer the phrase "class struggle.") The report read: "The power struggle following Mr. Chou En-lai's death has so intensified lately in China that the sessions of People's Congress and Communist Party Central Committee expected to be held this month have now been put off. According to reports available here the People's Congress and the Central Committee were scheduled to meet this month and all indications in Peking to-day were that Chairman Mao Tse-tung ordered their postponement to allow time for a new campaign against 'revisionists' and prepare his nominee, Mr. Hua Kuo-feng, as a candidate to succeed Mr. Chou En-lai. Mr. Hua has been named acting Premier.

"Confirmation as Premier will need endorsement by both the Central Committee and the People's Congress. The fact that Mr. Hua has been named only as an acting Premier suggests that neither the Central Committee nor the People's Congress is unanimous about him. One Japanese press report from Peking to-day said Mr. Hua was selected successor to Mr. Chou around February 5. But before his confirmation in office, he has to be promoted to Vice-Chairmanship of the party and to accommodate him room must be created perhaps by removing the Vice-Premier, Mr. Teng or someone else.

"Mr. Hua's rise in eminence surprised many world capitals. In Tokyo, it was unexpected but not entirely surprising. One Japanese diplomat, who recently returned after serving two years in Peking, had told a group of foreign reporters in an off-the-record briefing soon after Mr. Chou's death that Mr. Teng Hsiao-ping was not the only candidate to succeed Mr. Chou. He said that all other Vice-Premiers were equally possible candidates. The Japanese Government is also aware of a current struggle in Peking. Only a couple

of weeks ago China's own news outlets admitted that there was a general alert throughout China which, informed observers here said, was evidence that succession to Mr. Chou En-lai had taken a difficult process."

An AFP news despatch from Peking datelined February 16 had pointed out that "the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party is 'split' by the current political crisis, the official party newspaper, *The People's Daily*, admitted here to-day. In a front-page article denouncing attempts to 'restore capitalism' by leaders described as 'unrepentant capitalist roaders,' the Daily accused those leaders of 'changing white into black, unscrupulously provoking a split within the Central Committee headed by the Chairman Mr. Mao Tse-tung and attacking the great leader, Mr. Mao Tse-tung and his revolutionary line.' The paper went on: 'The current struggle is a gigantic trial of strength between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie'. These revelations in the official press raise to a degree of the utmost gravity the campaign at present under way in China against several top-ranking leaders and in particular, judging from big-character posters, against the Vice-Premier, Mr. Teng Hsiao-ping."

On the same day, a UPI and AFP report from Hongkong said: "China's current political struggle, which appears to be spear-headed against the Vice-Premier, Mr. Teng Hsiao-ping was 'personally initiated' by the Communist Party Chairman, Mr. Mao Tse-tung. Shanghai Radio reported to-day. The campaign began as a debate over education policies. Recently it has turned into a vehement attack on leaders purged during the Cultural Revolution and who have been restored to power but have refused to make proper penance. Mr. Teng, host to the U.S. President, Mr. Gerald Ford, during his December visit to Peking, is the most prominent leader in this category.

"The Shanghai broadcast reported that a mass rally was held in China's largest city last Friday under the sponsorship of the Shanghai Revolutionary Committee. About 1,800 people attended, mainly committee cadres and officials of scientific and technological institutes in the city. That rally was believed to be one of the first

—if not the first—mass meetings not confined to a college campus since the criticism heated up against Mr. Teng. The broadcast said the 'right deviationist wind' was significant. In addition to denouncing alleged attempts by rehabilitated persons such as Mr. Teng, to restore other Cultural Revolution victims to power, it also attacked the economic policies they are pushing. 'It is necessary to always direct the spearhead of criticism against the capitalist roaders in power within the party and who have persisted in the revisionist line of (ex-President) Liu Shao-chi and (the late Defence Minister) Lin Biao and have thus far refused to repent and reform themselves', the broadcast said.

"The campaign in China has extended farther afield to engulf north-west Shensi province and the cities of Nanking and Canton, according to Radio Peking to-day. So far, the campaign has been reported in Peking, Shanghai, Wuhan, Liaoning and Shantung provinces. Teachers and students at the Shensi teachers' college accused 'rightist revisionists' of trying to 'change Chairman Mao's proletarian educational line and negate the Cultural Revolution', the radio said. The official party newspaper, the *People's Daily*, to-day front-paged reports from Kiangsu, Shensi, Liaoning, Heilungkiang and Tibet concerning progress made in those provinces in the criticism by the masses of the 'rightist deviationist wind blowing at present over China.' In Shanghai known for being at the forefront of ideological movements in China, posters called Mr. Teng the 'Second Chinese Khrushchev' (after President Liu Shao-chi who was the first to be thus described during the Cultural Revolution). Through association with the 'Soviet revisionists' this expression is used in China to refer to top-rating political enemies. It is the most serious accusation up to now against Mr. Teng whose political fortunes appear suddenly to have gone into reverse."

OFFICIAL HSIHUA reports from Peking only carried translations of editorials in the Communist Party journal *Peoples Daily*, but without interpretative backgrounding they are of little use to those interested in China.

On February 19, ANSA and AFP reported from Peking on the developing "class struggle" or "power struggle". It read: "Wall posters appearing in Shanghai have denounced an unidentified 'Khrushchev number two' who, it was alleged, opposed Chairman Mao Tse-tung's principle that the communist party should exercise control over the armed forces. Visitors from Shanghai in the last few days have reported a campaign in China's leading industrial centre against 'capitalist roaders'. The signal for the start of the campaign was the publication of the article on February 6 in the *People's Daily*, the party's official organ, which had denounced leaders taking the 'capitalist road.' The article, observers said, has assumed the importance of a political directive. It has already been published in pamphlet form and distributed.

"In a long front page article on Wednesday, the *People's Daily*, indicated that 'capitalist roader' party leaders should be removed from power just like former President Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao. It mentioned Kao Kang, a leader accused of conspiring against the party in 1954, the 'anti-party clique' headed by Peng Teh-huai at the time of the 'great leap forward', in 1958, another 'anti-party clique' led by Liu Shao-chi during the cultural revolution, and finally Lin Piao who attempted 'a counter-revolutionary coup d'etat.' The daily drew a close parallel between those leaders who had been purged during the last 20 years, and those who are being attacked now but who have not been mentioned directly by name. The newspaper declared that, like those 'revisionists' who had been removed from power since the People's Republic was

founded, those who were under attack to-day 'deny the class struggle' and 'preach the theory of productivity.' The campaign apparently is aimed at Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping and his followers. There was another long article in the daily on Tuesday.

"The charges in the dossier compiled against the 'capitalist roaders' are that they had reintroduced material incentives for some jobs and had prevented the 'development of production' by bringing in regulations for 'control and oppression'. The whole article on Tuesday and its long list of accusations give the impression that the 'leaders who have taken the capitalist road' had won an easily identifiable position of influence in varied sectors of China's national life, observers claimed. They said this explained why the bitterness of the struggle, which had been simmering for some time, had burst into the open with the death of Prime Minister Chou En-lai.

"They said the struggle was only superficially between personalities, who were primarily acting as the spokesmen for differing political conceptions which would be difficult to reconcile through compromise. Radicals charge the capitalist roaders' with failing to observe a correct relationship with the masses. In particular, they say, China's economic development can only be ensured by persisting with the principles launched during the cultural revolution."

THERE WAS speculation throughout the world whether there would be a fiery new Cultural Revolution, reports from *Reuter*, *AP*, and *UPI* datelined read as follows: "A Chinese official involved in the fiery campaign against 'capitalist roaders' indicated to-day it would not explode into a new cultural revolution in the near future. Mr. Ma Wen Cheng, a senior administrator at Tsinghua University here told foreign correspondents that so far self-contained criticism campaigns were being conducted on campuses. He said no 'fighting teams' had been organised to travel the country to exchange revolutionary experiences. It was these teams which spread the tumultuous cultural revolution to every corner of China during the 1960s. Despite official press reports of splits in the Communist Party Central Com-

mittee, Mr. Ma asserted that the anti-rightist campaign was being carried out under the unified leadership of the party. He said it had not disrupted classes at Tsinghua, where wall posters have been pasted up attacking the Senior Vice-Premier, Mr. Teng Hsiao-ping.

"Some posters had been put up in the past 24 hours. One mammoth attack listed what it called '100 examples of anti-Mao Tse-tung thought remarks made by the biggest capitalist roader in the party before the cultural revolution.' The poster, which covered a 10-metre wall, quoted from speeches by Mr. Teng without disclosing that he had made them. The only rightists named in the attacks were the Education Minister, Mr. Chou Jung-hsin, and Mr. Liu Ping, the Chancellor of Tsinghua, who have been charged with opposing Mao's education policy. A political lecturer, Mr. Kuo Yung Hsian, said whether the 'capitalist roaders' were allowed to remain in office would depend on their attitude and ability reform to the Maoist line.

"Correspondents took this to mean that Mr. Teng, who has not been heard of since January 15, still held his various State, party and military posts. Ideological purists, led by Madam Chiang Ching, wife of Chairman Mao, may be spearheading the attack on 'capitalist roaders' in China, according to indications in Tokyo. The *Washington Star*, reported the new Director of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), Mr. George Bush, as saying that America's intelligence community was caught by surprise when Mr. Hua Kuo-feng was named the acting Premier of China. Mr. Bush, who was the chief delegate to the Sino-U.S. liaison office in Peking, before taking up his new assignment in the CIA was talking to newsmen. He said he never met Mr. Hua in Peking."

Knowledgeable observers assert that a new upsurge of Mao-inspired Cultural Revolution has erupted once again not only against Teng but against all pragmatists who disagreed with the impractical and unrealistic Great-Leap-Forward type of policies which Mao and the radicals have sought to impose on the country.

(To be Continued)

Watch-Geese,

As a result of fuel shortage thefts from coal yards in Britain are increasing in number. Although Raymond Luty employed a watchman and kept a guard dog, they could not prevent thieves from raiding his coal yard near Bradford. He then remembered the story of the geese saving Rome. Now his yard is guaranteed by a family of geese and they have scared away several intruders.

CHRONICLE

Mar. 9 — Mar. 16

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

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

TUESDAY, MARCH 9: Handpicked policemen are now being trained in anti guerilla activities in view of the Non-Aligned conference to be held in August this year: every leader who arrives for the conference will be provided with a high police official as his bodyguard and twentyfive armed policemen will be at his disposal in the event of an emergency: the bodyguard is taught to converse in the language of the leader: before the conference activities of all foreign nationals living in the country will be thoroughly investigated and if necessary will be asked to leave the country—VK. Subject to certain conditions the Government will immediately refund nearly Rs. 100 million which were levied from taxpayers in the past five years as compulsory savings: according to the Daily News tax payers will get these refunds provided these savings are invested in agricultural, industrial and housing enterprises approved by the Government. According to the Daily News Mr. L. W. Panditha, General Secretary of the Communist Party-oriented Ceylon Federation of Trade Unions, said that trade unions controlled by the Communist Party will remain within the JCTUO whatever decision any other affiliate body takes. According to the Aththa Prime Minister Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, has expressed surprise at the attitude taken by Mr. R. S. Perera, Minister of Information and Broadcasting, during the strike at the Government Press: she has spoken of this when she met the trade union leaders of the Government Press along with Mr. C. Kumarasuriar, Minister of Posts and Telecommunications, at the Temple Trees on Sunday night. Aththa in an editorial said that the move by the SLFP to disassociate its two trade union federations from the JCTUO is a great blow to the working class: the paper further said even if the SLFP succeeds in doing this it is not going to stop the forward march of the working class: the paper also said the working class will always join hands to achieve their end. Attempts by Mr. R. S. Perera, Minister of Information and Broadcasting, to retain the new recruits in service who were appointed to the Government Press during the strike failed—ATH. According to the Daily Mirror about 400,000 delegates of the two biggest SLFP trade union federations in the private and public sectors will hold a crucial session on March 20 at the Navarangahala to decide on a course of action in relation to their future in the JCTUO. The Bank of Ceylon from the middle of March will start a loan scheme to assist small time industrialists whose capital does not exceed Rs. 500,000—CDM. Fresh trial began yesterday before the CJC (Exchange Frauds) in which two brothers Messrs Razeen Sally and Farook Sally were charged under foreign exchange regulations involving eight lakhs of rupees—CDM. According to

the Dinamina two suspects in the Puttur People's Bank robbery have been arrested by the Police. Mr. Rukman Senanayake, UNP MP for Dedigama and Mr. Herath SLFP, MP for Polgahawela, left for London on Sunday for a training in the Commonwealth Parliamentary Procedures—DM. Secretary of State Dr. Henry Kissinger has told President Ford that he will resign if his continued presence in the administration threatens Mr. Ford's hopes of re-election. Mozambique troops fired on Rhodesia's aircraft three times in the past five days with rifles, according to an official communique from Salisbury. Egyptian leaders told a US Congressional delegation that Egypt wants defensive arms from the United States and would be satisfied with 40 per cent of what America supplies to Israel. Over the Western Sahara dispute Morocco and Mauritania decided to sever diplomatic ties with Algeria.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 10: Mr. Neale de Alwis, Acting Minister of Finance, informed the Chairman of the Gem Corporation not to permit any employee to retire from service pending a Government decision on the appointment of a Presidential Commission to inquire into the affairs of the Corporation—CDN. The Government from next month will restore the free-half measure of rice to over 140,000 persons who become non-incometax payers after the taxable income was increased from Rs. 6000 to Rs. 9000 per annum in the last Budget—CDM. According to Lankadipa, the premises and stores belonging to Messrs Carsons and Cumberbatch & Co Ltd., a leading Agency House, will be acquired by the Government very soon. According to the Virakesari Police said the four youths arrested in Mannar in connexion with the Puttur bank robbery have nothing to do with the robbery. According to the Lankadipa, Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Finance, has drawn up a plan to present a novel budget at the end of this year: according to his budget separate allocations will be made for the 22 districts and incomes from each districts will be estimated separately. Leaders of the Communist Party and the SLFP held discussions yesterday at the Temple Trees and Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, presided—VK. Attempts by Mr. R. S. Perera, Minister of Broadcasting and Information, to provide continued employment in the Government Press for the new recruits who were recruited during the strike, has caused uneasiness among workers in the Government Press: though the Minister has ordered the Government Printer to provide them with work at the Government Press the latter has refused and accomodated the new recruits in a separate building—JD. The Janadina in an editorial said the Government should not allow the Minister of Broadcasting and Information to "fool about" failing which the public will lose confidence in the powers of a Minister. Trade union circles of the Oils and Fats Corporation said that it had become impossible to make this Corporation a commercially viable venture: one of the reasons for this, according to the trade unions, is because during the chairmanship of Mr. G. B. Wickremanayake, brother-in-law of the present Minister of Finance, Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, several top-ranking posts were given to men without the necessary qualifications: according to the paper these posts had been given without the permission of the Minister of Industries and Scientific Affairs who is the Minister in charge of the Corporation. The Speaker of the Japanese House of Deputies called for

the resignation of either the Government of Prime Minister, Takeo Miki or for fresh elections following the Lockheed scandal: Speaker Kenzo Kono's call came in the wake of the Opposition's threat to boycott parliamentary activities in protest against the Government's unwillingness to pressure the United States to reveal the names of office holders implicated in the corruption scandal. Pope Paul VI addressing pilgrims in Saint Peter's Square last Sunday asked for prayers because his "death was not far off." North Korean Deputy Prime Minister, Nam Il, was killed in an accident on Sunday according to a Japanese News Agency: details of the accident were not given.

THURSDAY, MARCH 11: According to the *Daily Mirror*, Government decided yesterday to suspend the Credit Council regulations without prejudice to the recovery of loans already granted: this decision was taken on the recommendation of the Minister of Transport, Mr. K. B. Ratnayake, who informed the Cabinet that trade unions were unable to obtain advances for the forthcoming Sinhala and Hindu New Year because of the Credit Council Regulations: meanwhile the Government Clerical Service Union accused the Minister of Finance, Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, of having thrown the already "debt-stricken public servants into the laps of the money lender" by introducing regulations and reducing the aims of the Credit Councils Scheme to departmental procedures subject to bureaucratic control—CDM. Government yesterday took-over the Wellawatte Spinning and Weaving Mills and two of its associated companies, Libra Industries Ltd, and Ceylon Silks Ltd, under the Business Acquisition Act: Mr. Neale de Alwis, Acting Minister of Finance, signed the take-over order—CDN. A gazette extra ordinary will be issued during the course of this week cancelling the trusteeship held by agency houses of the estates taken over in October last year: with this gazette notification 165,000 acres of the lands taken will be handed over to the State Plantations Corporation while the balance 415,000 will be held by the Land Reform Commission—CDN. Police and officials of the People's Bank, investigating the Puttur Bank robbery, stated that the actual worth of jewellery and cash robbed from the bank was Rs. 668,000 and not Rs. 1.5 million as reported earlier: according to the *Daily News* the two youths taken into custody at Mannar on Sunday were not involved with this robbery. Mr. Dhanapala Weerasekera, MP for Dehiowita, has resigned from the Sri Lanka Joint Labour Trade Union led by Mr. Kumar Rupasinghe: one of the reasons for his resignation was that the union joined the February 20th token strike which Mr. Weerasekera claimed was politically inspired by the LSSP—CDM. According to the *Aththa*, in the wake of the Lockheed scandal throughout the world, interested parties in Sri Lanka are making desperate attempts to purchase two Lockheed Tristar aircrafts at a cost of Rs. 260 million: proposal to purchase the aircrafts has come to the Cabinet: in spite the Minister of Shipping and Aviation Mr. P. B. G. Kalugalle's order to stop the purchase, attempts are being made to purchase these aircraft—ATH. The CTB has expended a sum of Rs. 500 million during the last two months: this sum was allocated to the CTB for the whole year—JD. Ministry of Finance will soon implement a plan to renew yearly the licences of all liquor shops in various electorates—LD. Police suspected the fire at the Ratmalana Railway Yard to be sabotage: the workshop yard where

the fire started on Tuesday continued till late yesterday inspite of attempts by the Fire Brigade to put it out: Mr. K. B. Ratnayake, Minister of Transport, appointed a four-man committee to probe this fire which has caused loss to the tune of lakhs of rupees—DM. The Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party, Mao-Tse tung, said that the current political struggle in China of Capitalist Roaders affected his own position in the party. United Nations has drawn up a plan to render international aid to Mozambique pending the Security Council's ruling next week. Mr. C. Subramaniam, Finance Minister of India, told yesterday that since 1972 India has not received any bilateral development assistance from America nor it has asked for same.

FRIDAY, MARCH 12: Mr. K. B. Ratnayake, Minister of Transport, yesterday ordered the CTB to stop all recruitment to the Board: this follows complaints that the Board has recruited several employees without a regard to suitability—CDM. A medical specialist and the Medical Superintendent of the Galle General Hospital were assaulted severely following the death of a pregnant woman who was admitted to the hospital for confinement: following this incident the Government Medical Officer's Association has called out its members at the Galle Hospital on strike—CDM. The Railway has offered a reward of Rs. 1,000 to anyone giving information which will help investigators to ascertain the cause of the major fire at the Ratmalana Railway workshop last Tuesday—CDM. Mr. T. B. Subasinghe, Minister of Industries and Scientific Affairs, addressing the workers of the Wellawatte Spinning and Weaving Mills said that the move by the Government to take-over the Mills was a historic one: the Minister further said that the purpose of take-over was to step up production and to safeguard the workers' interests—CDN. According to the *Daily News*, the Ministry of Finance announced yesterday that a decision to suspend the Credit Council regulations was not taken but the Ministry will inform of any amendment to the regulations: amendment to the regulations was receiving the serious consideration of the Ministry: according to official sources the Finance Ministry has been asked to appoint a committee to study the question of suspension of Credit Council regulations and report to the Cabinet before next Wednesday—CDN. Government decided to withdraw the FEECs on all imported ayurvedic drugs with immediate effect—ATH. Celebrations to mark the 40th year in Parliament of Dr. N. M. Perera, Leader of the LSSP and MP for Ruwanwella, will be held on March 17: according to the *Janadina* Dr. Perera is the most senior Member of Parliament in Sri Lanka and in the Commonwealth. Mr. T. B. Ilangaratne, Minister of Trade, Public Administration and Home Affairs, speaking at a public meeting in Jaffna said that the present Government will not tolerate separatist moves from any section of the country: if these moves and false propaganda against the Government in foreign countries continue it will be compelled to withdraw independence the people now enjoy—VK. The Working Committee of the UNP, which will meet on March 17, will decide whether Mr. Rukman Senanayake, MP for Dedigama, should remain in the party or be expelled—VK. High officials of the Police are investigating to ascertain whether there were nefarious activities behind the presence of a Taiwanese fishing trawler in the territorial waters of Sri Lanka—LD. Formal official talks between Sri Lanka and India held in New Delhi regard-

ing the territorial water limits of both countries ended yesterday—DM. Following the arrest of 27 Libyans in Cairo alleged to be involved in subversion and kidnapping plots, Libyan leader, Muammer Gadafi, ordered the expulsion of 3,000 Egyptians in Libya. England's Opposition Conservative Party expressed "outrage" at the British Labour Government's decision to give economic aid to Mozambique which country the Conservatives claimed was conniving at terrorism and blood shed across the Rhodesian border.

SATURDAY, MARCH 13: The Government Medical Officers' Association requested all its members at the Galle Hospital to report to the nearest hospital following an incident of assault at the Hospital on a Specialist and the Medical Superintendent by a patient's relatives: the patient was said to have died by penicillin sensitivity: the Government yesterday decided to re-open the hospital with Army Medical Corps personnel: visiting Obstretician and Gynaecologist, Dr. P. S. Perera, and Medical Superintendent Dr. Lucien Jayasuriya, were alleged to have been severely assaulted by a mob: armed Police have been posted in the premises of the hospital and emergency cases have been transferred to Matara and Nagoda hospitals—CDN. Delegates of the two SLFP trade unions, the Sri Lanka Independent Trade Union Federation and Sri Lanka Independent Government Workers' Trade Union Federation, will meet on March 20 at the Nawarangahala to decide on the future of the two federations in the JCTUO: this meeting follows the directive by the SLFP Executive Committee that SLFP trade unions should sever connexions with the JCTUO in which the LSSP is a partner—CDN. Notice of acquisition under the Land Acquisition Act has been served on Shaw Wallace and Hedges Ltd., a leading Agency House—CDN. According to the *Daily News* Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwa, Minister of Agriculture and Lands, told that share dividends will be paid to shareholders of former rupee companies: the Minister has asked the Land Reform Commission to authorise the former rupee companies which owned estates, to declare dividends up to October 16, 1975, the date on which the estates were taken over—CDN. According to the *Daily News* Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, will shortly make a visit to Yugoslavia. The *Daily Mirror* quoted the *Journal*, the UNP publication, which posed the question "is Rukman Senanayake, MP for Dedigama, a tool of Felix, Fowzie & Co. according to the *Journal* Mr. Rukman Senanayake, UNP MP for Dedigama, is always in the company of Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Finance, Mr. Jinadasa Niyathapala, former President of the UNP Youth Leagues now expelled from the party, Mr. A. H. M. Fowzie, former UNPer and the present Mayor of Colombo Municipal Council and Mr. J. R. P. Suriyaperuma, candidate who opposed Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, Leader of the UNP, at the Colombo South by-elections—CDM. *Aththa* in an editorial referring to the Government Press dispute said Mr. R. S. Perera, Minister of Information and Broadcasting, was still trying to retain the new recruits in spite of the fact services of these recruits were not required: the paper referred to the incidents on the day the strikers returned to work and counter measures taken by the Minister to stop them from entering the premises: *Aththa* posed the question if the Minister has acted in this manner in spite of the Prime Minister's order to allow the workers to resume work what will the position if the Minister takes some drastic

action in the absence of the Prime Minister who is leaving for Yugoslavia and who will be away from the island for few weeks? According to the *Janadina* 20 tons of dried fish declared unfit for human consumption which should have been sold only to Oils and Fats Corporation for the manufacture of animal foods has been sold to two individuals at the rate of less than 7 cents per pound: Messrs G. B. Wickremanayake, brother-in-law of the Minister of Finance, and Eardly Perera, an advocate of Moratuwa, were the two persons to whom this stock of dried fish has been sold from the Welisara stores of the CWE. Mr. T. B. Ilangaratne, Minister of Trade, addressing a meeting in Chunnakam, Jaffna, said that the mystery behind the murder of Mr. Alfred Duraiappah, a former Mayor of Jaffna, has still not been solved: he paid a tribute to the services rendered by Mr. Duraiappah towards the communal harmony of the Sinhala and Tamil speaking people of Sri Lanka—VK. Mr. Tissa Devendra, Government Agent Trincomalee, has been appointed Principal Collector of Customs—LD. Government of Rhodesia seized all funds held in Salisbury by the Mozambique Government. Gujarat State Government of India, the only regional administration not governed by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's Congress Party, was defeated in a budget vote: eight Government defectors, including independent members of the Assembly joined the Congress Party to defeat the Front by 89 votes to 87.

SUNDAY, MARCH 14: The Ministry of Justice asked all magistrates Courts in Colombo for case records of persons charged recently under the Vagrants Ordinance and the House of Detention Ordinance: this action follows recent newspaper reports that several persons of good financial and social standing have been mistaken for vagrants and remanded—CO. Twelve doctors of the Army Volunteer Medical Force took charge of the Galle General hospital yesterday: meanwhile the Government Medical Officers' Association explained that it has called back all its doctors at Galle to report to other hospitals not as a trade union action but for fear of assault: Galle Police arrested six suspects in this connexion and a special party of Policemen from Galle left for Colombo to arrest the first suspect in the incident—CO. According to the *Sunday Times* the possibility of Mr. Rukman Senanayake, UNP MP for Dedigama, who is now out of the island, being expelled from the party in absentia is being discussed in political circles: Party's working Committee meets on Wednesday to discuss the question. Last year alone 400,000 cases of malaria were reported to the Health Department from various parts of the island—ST. Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, will leave for Yugoslavia today—ST. Mr. A. R. M. Mukthar, leading gem merchant and Bookmaker, who was charged before the JJC in the case in which Sir Oliver Goonetilleke, a former Governor General of Ceylon, was convicted of exchange frauds died in the General Hospital yesterday: Mr. Mukthar was serving a jail term for his involvement in illegal foreign exchange transactions—SLD. Mr. T. B. Ilangaratne, Minister of Trade, addressing a meeting in Jaffna said that if Tamils and Sinhalese were to live in harmony in Sri Lanka it was essential to restore the rights of the Tamil language in the Constitution: the Minister further said that at the same time it is essential to make any attempt to divide the country illegal—VK. Chief Organiser of the SLFP in the Galle District, Mr. M. P. Amarasekera,

and his brother have been arrested by the Police on suspicion in connexion with alleged assaults on two doctors at the Galle Hospital: meanwhile doctors at the Matara hospital staged a one-day token strike yesterday in support of their colleagues at the Galle hospital: the GMOA told the *Virakesari* that it would call all its members in the various parts of the island on strike if the Government fails to take appropriate action to bring to book the culprits involved in the incident—VK. From the first of April, the State Film Corporation will be solely responsible for the distribution of all films to various theatres in the island—SM. Portugal's Prime Minister, Mr. Jose Pinheiro de Asevedo, expressed fears that there was a possibility that unnamed forces might stage a coup to seize power in the country. China expressed its support to Mozambique but charged that Soviet Union is trying to interfere with the internal affairs of African nations after the war in Angola: President Ford said America's only concern was to see that the majority ruled the country in Rhodesia.

MONDAY, MARCH 15: Accompanied by Mr. W. T. Jayasinghe, Secretary to the Ministry of Defence and Foreign Affairs, Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, left for Yugoslavia yesterday: Mrs. Bandaranaike will hold talks with President Tito in connection with the forthcoming Non-aligned Conference—CDN. The Inquirer into Sudden Deaths, Galle, returned a verdict of accidental death due to penicillin sensitivity at the inquiry he held into the death of 24-year old Mrs. Ranjani de Soysa Siriwardene: meanwhile Police arrested seven suspects including the alleged leader of the party involved in the assault of two doctors of the Galle hospital following the death of Mrs. Soysa: the Government Medical Officer's Association (GMOA) said that its members at the Galle Hospital will return to work only after it is absolutely safe for them to work at the hospital—CDN & CDM. Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, has called for a report on the death of Mr. A. R. M. Mukthar, following complaints by the kith and kin that the deceased was treated in an inhuman manner while he was warded in the General hospital under prison guard—CDM. According to the *Daily News* the two state-owned banks, Bank of Ceylon and the People's Bank, were finalising a scheme under which they will lend Rs. 100 million to enterprising unemployed youth to set themselves up in business: the scheme will go into operation within the next six months. Mr. Kurera, an employee of the Petroleum Corporation, will be the LSSP candidate for the Ja-ela by-elections for which nominations will be accepted on March 19—JD. The Tamil United Front decided to take disciplinary action against Mr. P. Neminathan, FP MP for Trincomalee: the reason for the action is that Mr. Neminathan participated in the celebrations in China Bay along with the Prime Minister when she visited China Bay last week: this action by Mr. Neminathan was contrary to the decision of the TUF which does not participate in any event in which Government MPs and Ministers, including the Prime Minister participate—VK. Following the drop in value of the pound Sterling, the Sri Lanka Coconut Board decided to obtain payment in dollars for all its future exports—LD. According to *Dinamina*, the Government decided to extend the period of training for teachers from the present two years to three years. China urged US to withdraw its armed forces from South Korea and allow Koreans to settle their own differences.

Saudi Arabian Oil Minister, Sheik Ahmed Zaki Yamani, predicted that world oil prices would be frozen some time this year.

TUESDAY, MARCH 16: According to the *Daily News*, the Ceylon Federation of Trade Unions, controlled by the Communist Party, has requested the SLFP to reconsider its decision to quit the JCTUO in the larger interests of the working class. Government yesterday gave the green light for a proposal by the Minister of Agriculture and Lands, Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwa, to set up a Commission to regularise the activities of Janawasama—CDN. SLFP and CP controlled trade unions in the Government Press informed the Prime Minister that new recruits hired during the strike period should be removed forthwith failing which this could lead to a major flare-up at any moment because the workers were opposed to the presence of new recruits—CDN. Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, Leader of the UNP, asked Mr. Rukman Senanayake, MP for Dedigama, to explain as to how Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Finance, came to know the contents of the letter which Mr. Senanayake wrote to Mr. Jayewardene: Mr. Bandaranaike read the contents of this document at the No-Confidence Motion against him in the NSA recently—CDN. The SLFP nomination Board appointed Mr. Peter Mendis as its candidate for the Ja-ela by election: earlier Mr. Shelton Amarasekera was selected but after a strong protest lodged by Mr. Anura Bandaranaike, Chief Organiser of the SLFP Youth Leagues, the decision was revoked—CDM. Prime Minister Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, just before her departure to Yugoslavia instructed the Ministry of Justice to inquire and report as to why suspects who were alleged to have assaulted the Medical Superintendent of the Galle Hospital had not been remanded in the first instance: Mrs. Bandaranaike also wanted the Ministry to ascertain why the suspects were produced before an unofficial Magistrate when there are four judicial officers in the Galle district—CDM. Employees of the Co-operatives will meet on the 25th of this month to decide on trade union action to win their 14 demands: the LSSP controlled UCMU has called for a meeting of delegates on the 25th to decide on future action—VK. The *Janadina* in an editorial referring to the proposed trade union action by employees of the Co-operative movement said the employees cannot be made to play to the tune of the Minister in view of the moves by the present Minister to re-organise the Co-operative movement: the paper further said the co-operative employees were a worse lot salary-wise and other facilities-wise. President Anwar Sadat on Sunday ruled out an early return of the multi-party system in Egypt, which has been governed by a single political organisation for more than 20 years. Lebanese President Suleiman Franjeih has agreed to resign on condition that he appears to have gone of his own accord: President Franjeih wanted politicians to work out a formula under which he would seem to have resigned of his own accord and not under pressure.



MAHAWELI-4

Suggested Priorities

By R. Kahawita

POLGOLLA DIVERSION has been completed and Mahaweli water has been diverted to Dhun Oya which in turn flows into Suduganga, a tributary of the Amban Ganga, thanks to late Mr. C. P. de Silva who pushed through this project during his period of stewardship as Irrigation Minister under two Governments from 1956 to 1970. If not for him, the scheme would never have been taken up for construction nor completed.

His efforts now would be in vain if the rest of the Stage I of Mahaweli development is not followed through. The follow-up works are: Construction of Power House and Installation of Generators at Polgolla, the Bowatenne Complex, the Suduganga River training work, the reconditioning of Slebera channel and the lead channels to Kalawewa Basin. If these works are not undertaken, water diverted at Polgolla cannot be used for Irrigation. In fact these works should have been a part of priority one, so that, when Mahaweli water issued out of the tunnel it would have been available in the project areas. As it is, this water—including the "ceremonial water" will flow back to Mahaweli, 87 miles lower down from Polgolla.

At this stage it would be necessary to describe the *Project area*, i.e. the area that will eventually benefit by the Mahaweli waters when the whole development programme is completed. This area covers the North and North Central areas of Sri Lanka. Mahaweli Basin and Maduru Oya Basin—a total of 9900 sq. miles of land approximately 55% of the whole of the dry zone—the granary of the East in ancient times). The undeveloped command area is about 1,200,000 acs. net of which 900,000 acs. will be available for cropping; balance as reservations for climatic and soil conservation reasons. Already there are about 320,000 acs. aswedumized and cultivated under various forms of irrigation. These fields too will be benefitted by the scheme.

FOR GAINFUL CONTROL of the diverted water,—2,000 cubic feet per second—and to meet the water requirements of the N.C.P. pe-

sants; storage in Ambanganga has now become priority one after diversion. The critical periods when water is most needed by the farmers are at the beginning of Maha season, i.e. September-October and during Yala season—April to July. If the farmers have water to meet their full requirements during these periods, whatever the crops they grow, they can do so without undue risk, and as well, be assured of a successful harvest.

With the diversion at Polgolla there are three sources of water supply into the project area.

Polgolla diversion—the quantity available is uncertain without storage above the diversion. The quantum of water to be drawn depends on the river flow which fluctuates daily. There is no way of regulating the flow without storage.

Run off from Ambanganga catchment—Here again only a part of the seasonal surface run off can be used. Except for Nalanda Oya dam which diverts water to Kalawewa, there is no control. *The third source is from the run off and storage thereof in the reservoirs in the project area.* There is an aggregate storage capacity of 550,000 ac. ft. which is hardly 30% of the water requirements of the area. This storage is over-exploited now with the result crop failures are frequent. One reason for giving first priority to the diversion was to counter these failures. But the factors that govern water management are such even with diversion the farmers will have to be contented with two crop year failures in five crop years; their present experience is that. To make good this water deficit and reduce the incidence of crop failures, the answer is storage either above Polgolla or in the Ambanganga basin.

The master plan provides for storage of 290,000 ac. ft. at Kotmale. When this is completed there will be control of Mahaweli water to be diverted at Polgolla and a more regular flow of 2,000 cubic feet per second into the tunnel can be achieved. This regulation will be most significant during the dry spells and during the dry season in the project area. For reasons explained in an earlier article, construction of Kotmale cannot be given a high priority. So it will have to wait till the studies are completed.

THE OTHER ALTERNATIVE is to control the flow of Ambanganga. Storage in Ambanganga can provide for the storage of its own run off, which flows to the sea unutilized now, and in the same reservoir store bulk of the Polgolla diversion—in this case for use on a dry day. Therefore, storage in Ambanganga takes a high priority, if the promises made to the farmers and to the country on the Ceremonial opening day are to be honoured. Then work on storage must commence almost immediately.

The plans provide for storage at Moragahakande—few miles above Elahera anicut and below the Bowatenne Complex. At this point, Ambanganga flow can be intercepted to hold back 800,000 ac. ft. in a year of average yield which will be available to control the diversion into Elahera, Minneriya, Kantalai systems and supplement the flow to Parakrama Samudra. Without storage, this control is not possible and the present water difficulties will continue to persist and the Polgolla diversion will be thrown back on the designers as a colossal failure. This kind of thinking is not uncommon in Sri Lanka—politicians never make mistakes.

With diversion there will be an additional flow of 2,000 cubic feet per second which cannot be fully used without storage. This flow is required to set off against shortages in the project area. With storage, this flow together with Ambanganga flow can be held back and released to the various lead channel systems, or else I repeat, diverted water instead of flowing directly down Mahaweli to the sea it will take another route and ultimately end up in the sea. This is why storage in Ambanganga claims the highest priority next to Polgolla.

The designs provide for a storage of about 1.5 million ac. ft. of water, 800,000 ac. ft. of its own yield and 700,000 ac. ft. from diversion. This storage will be adequate to meet almost two years' requirements even if the monsoons fail repeatedly during that period.

TO TAKE ADVANTAGE of the enormous capital investment in the diversion complex, storage at Moragahakande must be taken up for construction immediately. From a capital and resources utilization point of view work on the reser-

voir should have been started simultaneously with diversion or earlier. This was, in fact, the plan, but due to political expediency, the order was reversed. As it stands now, crop failures as before, cannot be avoided whatever may have been claimed at the opening ceremonies.

To explain away the reversing of the order of construction, high weightage was given for power generation at Dhun Oya outfall of the tunnel. However a power generating point by itself it is not significant. Its power potential is less than 10 M.W. in an average year as it depends entirely on the natural river flow and in a dry year power output is zero. This is where Kotmale storage is prerequisite to power generation in Mahaweli Basin.

With Kotmale storage, Polgolla power generation can be pushed to its installed capacity of 40 M.W. The usefulness of power generation at Dhun Oya Outfall is to be stopped up by linking it to the national grid system. This is the only excuse—a very lame one at that—for power development at Dhun Oya outfall. (It is noted that the design of the penstock gives priority to energy production and not to irrigation.)

With the change in the priorities the facility to by-pass power generation and pass all the water for irrigation should have been provided in the design. In a case like this the two functions—power and irrigation—should be able to be separated at will. The design is now tied down to 2,000 cubic feet per second through the generator. This restriction in the quantum of water diversion at Polgolla highlights the need for the Primrose cut channel to pass additional water for irrigation into the project area when Mahaweli is in spate.)

On completing stage I, there will be power available at Dhun Oya outfall, Bowatenne Complex and Moragahakande totalling to an installed capacity of 124 M.W. and a firm power output of 66 M.W. or a mean annual output of 700 million Kwh, which may be available for sale to India.

According to the latest negotiations, India is willing to purchase upto 1,000 million units a day—to meet the seasonal fluctuations in hydro-power

generation it may be necessary to have thermal generation closer to the point of take off to India to maintain the supply to India. This creates another high priority in the development of Mahaweli Resources.

IN A FOREGOING PARAGRAPH, mention was made of the Primrose channel. Priority on this too has now to be moved up to enable power production and supplement irrigation water. This project can be combined, as explained in the earlier article with flood protection and domestic or urban water supply. It will go a long way to improve the sanitation and Public health of Kandy town and its suburb. For the effective control of floods, and for power generation, the development of Kotmale reservoir must be undertaken to follow Primrose gap by-pass channel. Kotmale has the highest power potential in the Mahaweli System. And by that time—I hope that Sri Lanka has progressed industrially and economically to utilize the power developed in the Mahaweli System. If we are still begging along the road to socialism, this power too can be pumped into the Indian link and enrich that country.

All the foregoing is necessary to make effective the diverted water to the N.C.P. farmer. There remains now the development of Mahaweli basin below Polgolla. The order of priority in this reach is Victoria Dam and Randenigala Dam. Former to be followed by the latter without much of a time lag in between in implementing the latter reservoir. These two reservoirs will absorb the balance flow generated from the wet zone catchment of Mahaweli, which will give the hydraulic Engineer full control of the water at a point where the river enters the dry zone, with an irrigation potential of 600,000 acs. of undeveloped land to be opened up and settled. (Here again I hope Sri Lanka would have settled her communal and political problems to march onward as one people and one country,

While these two reservoirs are under construction, the extension of Minipe left Bank channel and construction of its right Bank channel should be undertaken. In fact

there is no reason why they should not be started now—Maybe money is the problem.

On both banks of the river below Randenigala there are several tributaries across which small dams are to be constructed or under construction or already constructed. These reservoirs also assist in the regulation of flow in the parent river and thereby control floods in the flat riparian plain below Minipe where the best soils in the project area are.

Below Minipe anicut there are two other control points across the parent river. These are distribution barrages to take the Mahaweli water to the Eastern sea board below Muttur and southwards to join up with Muduru Oya, Vakanneri basins etc. Their priorities depend on a large number of non-technical factors—which I hope will be resolved so that the project can be taken to its ultimate boundaries of development as described as the Project area.

This massive development project is planned to be implemented over a period of 30 years. Therefore, even all conditions, social, economic and cultural are favourable and conducive to progress; yet it seems futile to fix priorities at this stage to cover the whole era of development.

There is bound to be many a slip between the cup and the lip. Unfortunately the portents are that way, when we ponder what is happening today and the rate at which we are hurtling ourselves towards the precipice. So at the present point of time, let the priorities be to complete stage I and all the complementary works necessary to give the N.C.P. farmer the maximum benefit of the Priority fixed by the man whose desire was to give relief to them first.

BUILDING A VILLAGE HOUSE—72

Expatriate News

By Herbert Keuneman

You will, I am sure, be pleased to read the latest (though it is not very late: that is the worst of having to prepare one's 'copy' considerably beforehand) concerning our little expatriates in Kantalai—two of Pinhamy's daughters, Ukku

From Gannoruwa

Amma (24) and Biso Menika (20) and a niece, his brother's daughter and therefore a 'daughter' of his own, Ukku Menika (20) about whose teary but brave departure from this village they had never learned to leave and probably never learned they loved, until that day, I wrote in an instalment of *Village Scrapbook* in this series a fortnight ago.

I am still jealous of the fortune that took the girls away and robbed our village of so much innocence and sweetness and light-heartedness (besides robbing me! of a deal of delightful companionship and willing and cheerful aid in times of domestic crisis, such as now, when Dinga is unavailable). But I am also thankful that, for these children at least, and commensurably for their families, there is this measure of relief from the Sisyphus-task of simple survival today. As I said when writing then, one can only be grateful to those who make such relief possible; while resenting and condemning bitterly those—sometimes, alas! the same people—who make it necessary.

But I am going to be objective, if it kills me! What do the girls themselves feel and think? I shall let you know entirely in their own words. As a commentator, there is always this temptation to ride one's hobby-horses. So, in this article and from time to time in others I shall faithfully translate their letters home (but trying to preserve the letters' 'affect' rather than their literality) and anyone who doubts the accuracy—the truth—of the translation may, by permission of the girl's parents, which I have, pursue the originals. The girls do not up to now (21 Feb.) know their letters will be published (but even if they did it is doubtful if they would be sophisticated enough to be aware of the propaganda power of the Press!) so there will be no 'writing-up'. Or down.

Let me only tell you, then, something of the background to our girls' transmiration.

Life in the village—especially in this village where there has been no rice crop in three years and no crop of any kind worth talking about—has become, financially, increasingly insupportable. The girls of the village, characteristically more mature, concerned and responsible than the boys (who still

want not so much jobs as jobs such as teaching, clerking—for the Government—or working as a bus conductor or in a co-operative: jobs conferring a certain status or offering a chance of get-rich-quick) have faithfully attached themselves to every Government tamasha and indefatigably applied for every gazetted or otherwise announced employment vacancy, whatever the 'sector'.

Towards the end of last year, the two Ukkuwas and Biso applied to be selected as Dairy Assistants in an agricultural venture undertaken by the State Tobacco Corporation, at Kantalai, to be developed (we understood) by NIM, the National Institute of Management and then handed over as a going concern to the Corporation. To be frank, I had not much faith in their fortune and looked upon their being summoned to an interview as another mere formality pregnant with disappointment; though my hopes became a little more sanguine when I heard how one (woman) member of the selection board not so much had asked questions as asked to feel the palms of the candidates' hands: here at last, and at least, was an honest if original test of actual workingness. No one could fault our girls on that qualification.

And so, as I have related, it came to pass that our three precious children were chosen: with what mixed emotions their success was received I have related, earlier, also. On 1 February they left for a crash training course—how I wish our unimaginative authorities would think up better terms than these ominous-sounding clichés for a new, almost an experimental, undertaking! 'Going Concern', shades of Fate the Auctioneer! 'Crash Course'—and on February 15, after two weeks, intensive work at the Agricultural College at Gannoruwa, they arrived at Kanralai.

Yet I am not leary of this scheme, as I might be of many another Government one entered upon with whatever fanfare; partly because it shows unusual signs of un-grandiose thinking (which is, surely the realistic way for the Third World to think) and I shall watch with enthusiasm some of the experiments, for instance the development of a methane gas project I understand is included; but chiefly because three of my beloved *duvas*

will be in it to stand or fall with its success. Let them, alone, in this and future articles, bear witness.

(1) Gannoruwa 2 February '76
Well-being and Fulfilment!

To our gentle *mahatmaya*—

We reached here that day without hardship at about 4.0 p.m. We hung about Kurunegala a little until Punchi Aiya—Ukku Menika's brother, who with Pinhamy's son Kapuru Banda (who went all the way) was to accompany them from Kurunegala; the former is with the Electricity Board, the latter with the Post and Telegraph Department—arrived from Colombo. The three of us received one room. The food &c. is excellent, anyway so far. There is nothing whatever to complain of. We work to a timetable.

Only, that day to be parted from all of you was a grievous sorrow. Some day when we are free we shall return, if only to see you all and come back.

We shall send news later. Much love to Pema (my 'boy') and to all the others. Upon you the blessings of the gods.

Your loving daughters,
Ukku Amma
Ukku Menika
Biso Menika

(2) Gannoruwa 10 February
May you fare well!
Dearest Mother, Father, and. All
of You—

I imagine you have had the letter I sent you. I have waited many days for news of you, yet up to now there has been none. Sometimes I wonder whether my letter did reach you.

As for us here, we eat and drink well. There is rice twice a day. When we go to meals we remember those at home; and when we go to sleep we are back at home all night. Last night, and the night before as well, I dreamed of all of you. I was sure there would be a letter at least today; but there wasn't one.

Punchi Aiya telephoned yesterday and asked if we needed anything. For my part I am in want of nothing at present; I have enough money, too. The Warden gets us whatever we require.

I suppose Sena-malli and Ran Banda-malli go as usual to school. How are Ran-malli's crops doing?

That onion-bed of ours must have been harvested? Mother, you too must now be burdened with carrying water to the other onions? I wrote a letter to loku Aiya also; there has been no reply.

How does the work on the house progress? It must have advanced quite far by now. Are Banda-aiya (their carpenter) and the rest well? Hasn't Silva (the baas making their doors; a 'foreigner') been again?

We having been studying Animal Husbandry these few days. Yesterday we learned to tie and throw an ox. We dressed another's broken horn. This morning we dug kaha (turmeric). To get our baths is something of a problem: in the mornings the water runs short. So we have to wash just our bodies in the evenings.

We leave for Kantalai on the 14th. Send me a letter to reach me before then. There is no delivery here on Saturdays.

May happiness and success attend you, all.

From me,
Ukku Menika

(3) Gannoruwa 11 February
Happiness attend you!

My beloved Father and Mother and All the Family—

We have received the letter sent by Father; thank you a heap for letting us have some tidings. Though we live here in comfort and health, memories of home outweigh all else. What to do! We had already written home before we received Father's letter; no doubt you have had ours.

(NEVER DELIVERED) It could be that by the time this letter reaches you we shall have left for Kantalai; better not write to this address again. On the day after we got here we wrote to the mahatmaya too, yet we have had no reply. We are worried that he may be ill. (I HAD REPLIED BY RETURN OF POST, THE SAME MAIL AS PINHAMY CAUGHT; MY LETTERS WAS EVENTUALLY DELIVERED ON 12 FEB., 6 DAYS AFTER POSTING AND 3 DAYS AFTER PINHAMY'S WAS RECEIVED! I HOPE THE POSTAL CLERKS RESPONSIBLE, PRE-OCCUPIED ONLY WITH THEIR SELFISH CONCERNS, READ THIS ARTICLE AND ARE ASHAMED) We are sad when we think of the MAHATMAYA. Who cooks for him

now? Send us news of his welfare. How is our tiny duva (Nilima: Banders' and Dinga's new baby)? Is she a big girl now? Has akka milk to suckle her or is she still on cow's milk as well? When we remember our small daughter we long to come straight back to see her. Does she now smile like anything?

Although by day, when we are hard at work, there may be moments when we do not think of you, when we come to bed our hearts are nowhere but at home; in our dreams we see the home folk. Does little Sumana-nangi go regularly to school? We think continually of Herat-malli and every now and again seem to catch glimpses of him. Tell him to ask Podi to help with any difficulties in his lessons. Mother, don't tire yourself out, just do the household chores is enough; get Podi to help in fetching water and so on. Is D.A. (Dingiri Amma: Dinga) keeping well? We think of her all the time. How is P.B.—malli's vegetable plot? Are the onion-beds flourishing? Is Pema well? We keep thinking of the brothers and sisters next door, too. Tell Grand-mama also we remember her and all at her place. Father will probably not be home when you receive this (working on a jungle-clearing contract under the Mahaweli scheme). Tell D.A.-akka also to write when she has time. Or at least Podi-nangi? Aiya (Banders) will be visiting home some day soon, won't he? Tell him to come to Kantalai after we reach there: brothers and sisters of several other girls have been to see them here and it makes us homesick to see them come. Still, we won't press: it isn't as though we didn't know all the difficulties at home.

With luck, perhaps we may get to pay a visit home over the New Year's holiday. How we hope so! Ten days have gone; it feels a year. Since we got here we have been to see the Peradeniya Gardens; and the Veterinary lab, a huge place. It is the doctors from there that lecture to us; they are most pleasant people. We are to visit Kudasale Farm some day, too.

There are about a hundred girls in our group and they come from all over the Island but we now know all of them. At present we work in the fields from 6.0 to 7.0 a.m.;

there are classes arranged for all the rest of the time. Every night there is a film show. On the 13th there is to be a Sports Meet, and at night a Variety Entertainment. On the 14th morning we leave for Kantalai.

Well, that'll do for now. Remember us with love to all our beloved village friends. We are writing to the mahatmaya by the same post. (NOT RECEIVED; NOT SENT) We have already written to Kusum and B.M. (Bandara Menika) but we wonder if the letters reach them (IN THE PRESENT STATE OF THE POSTAL DEPARTMENT A VERY JUSTIFIABLE WONDER!) Tell them not to write today or tomorrow but to send their letters straight to Kantalai, since no letters are distributed here on Saturdays.

Kapurumalli and Punci Aiya telephoned us, but classes were in progress and we had no time to talk. Please, let them, too, read this letter.

May the Triple Gem bless you all.
Your daughter
Ukku Amma

(To be Continued)

MURDER AT ETILIWewa-3

Before The
Supreme Court
by R. C. Thavarajah
Retd. Supdt. of Police

THE ENTIRE VILLAGE was suddenly agog that night. Bad news, like an infectious disease, spreads fast. It was John Milton who so correctly said "Evil news rides post, while good news bates." In this case, since it was the first murder in this remote and isolated hamlet, everyone was talking about it. The Village Headman of Etiliwewa, on being informed, was very quick to act. The Village Headmen of those days were highly respected men of standing socially, financially and in every respect. They not only commanded the respect of the entire village but performed their duties with a vigilance and efficiency. The V.H. promptly set out in pursuit of the offender, found him heading deeper into

the jungle with the rope in his hand, and having arrested him, informed the D.R.O. who, in turn, informed the Police. The accused had not resisted arrest. He had most passively submitted to the authority of the Headman.

As for the blacksmith, I had no difficulty in tracing him. Disreputable coward that he was, he had sought shelter behind his smithy. He denied everything. However, he could NOT account for a solitary blood stain on the nether part of his sarong. This had escaped his attention. The stain was later confirmed as human blood of the same group of the deceased damsel. Thanks to the progress made in the Science of Forensic Medicine, it is now possible to determine by biochemical and microscopic tests and analysis, the following material points which, to a very great extent, assist in the investigation of Crime:—

- (a) Whether it is human, animal, reptile or bird blood
- (b) Particular blood Group of human beings.
- (c) From which part of the human body when the blood contains typical impurities as for example— blood from the nose, secretions and hair. Menstrual blood, epithelial cells from the vagina and public hairs, etc. It is generally very difficult to determine the age of the blood stains, BUT in normal cases, it may be possible to ascertain this.

WHEN HE WAS CONFRONTED the blood stain, he admitted the part played by him in this unfortunate episode, maintaining however that it was on the invitation of the deceased that he went there that night.

In terms of the earlier procedure as set out in Section 163 (2) of the old Criminal Procedure Code, non-summary proceedings in the Magistrate's Court of Badulla-Haldumulla Case No: 6046 were completed before Mr. Victor Guneratne, the Magistrate who committed the case to the Supreme Court of Kandy Case No: 16.

His Lordship the late Justice R. F. Dias, who later adorned the Supreme Court of the Island of Ceylon as Chief Justice was to hear the case in Kandy. His Lordship was one who truly lived up to the ideal enunciated by Flavius Anicus Justinian, born of Slav parents in what is now SERBIA who with

Tribonian most commendably completed the monumental task of codifying the Roman Law. In his INSTITUTES, Justinian referred to Justice as "The constant and perpetual wish to give each man his due."

The venue of the Trial was the Audience Hall—historically famous acme of pristine traditional Kandyan architecture where the ancient Kings dispensed justice in the "MAHA NADUWA" as the highest Tribunal was appropriately called those days. The Law that prevailed was Sinhalese Law when the Kandyan Kingdom retained its independence till the year 1815. History records that on the 14th of February, 1815, Browning entered Kandy and the famous Kandyan Convention was held. Clause 4 of the Proclamation of 2nd March, 1815 reads:—"their Civil Rights and immunities according to the laws, institutions and customs established and in force amongst them" were guaranteed to "All Classes of the People subject to the Right of the British Government to reform abuses."

I had reluctantly extricated myself from the warm bed very early, polished the brass and leather of the Ceremonial Uniform, read and re-read the notes of investigation and was doing my utmost to do my best.

I had heard of the abrasive censures of His Lordship on officials irrespective of rank for any fault or lapses. He had told an Inspector—a well-fed, robust, rotund assembly of adipose tissues, who had served over two years in Kandy and who had been obviously benefitted by the most congenial climate, fairly copious draughts of the aperitif (coconut special), and the excellent Kandyan cuisine, "Inspector, Kandy is a very healthy place but don't tell me you are here only for reasons of health."

To another, who was quite proud of the neatly clipped moustachio but who had unfortunately and inadvertently 'caressed' it while giving evidence which the judge did not very much approve of. His stern observation was—"If you spend more time, Inspector, learning the Law and less time trying to look like Clark Gable, you will of some use to the Department and the State."

It was, therefore, not without reprobation that I wended my way to the Audience Hall that morning.

The Hall stood like a Stately sentinel in proximity to the hallowed Dalada Maligawa. Pervading the solemn precincts was an awe-inspiring atmosphere of Dignity.

My mind immediately raced back to the time about forty eight years ago when I was a tiny tot, a student of Vincent Girl's High School, Batticaloa, an Educational Institution founded by the Wesleyan Methodist Missionaries. The principal was that grand English Lady, Miss Croft and her able assistant was Miss Champness. Not being a faultless philologist, 'So perfect and so peerless' in syntax, synthesis or even in the sparkle of the fur-brushed use of elegant figures of speech, I have sometimes lisped the innocent paradox of being an old "boy" of a "girls" school.

(To be Continued)

FOR THE RECORD

Tamils Of Sri Lanka

We publish below copies of two letters that appeared in the London Times on 4 and 12 February, and which were reproduced in the Ceylon Daily Mirror of 24 February:

Sir,

Few know that a fifth of the people of Sri Lanka (Ceylon) has gradually, over twenty years, been deprived of political rights and now faces the relegation to second-class status of its language. The Tamils of Ceylon have inhabited the north of that island for over two thousand years and always till the British came have formed a separate community separately governed.

Now, on February 4, a resolution is being put in the Sri Lanka Assembly calling for a separate state for the Tamils. It has the support of a wide range of Tamil opinion, including many of the most moderate and responsible Tamil spokesmen.

These people fear that their attempt to recover what they regard as their historic right may be used as an excuse for physical attacks and mass arrests. They have suffered violence and repression on several occasions since Sri Lanka gained independence.

We do not presume to tell the Government of Sri Lanka their business. But we can assume that they will gain the respect of the world if they handle these demands in the spirit of some other Commonwealth countries that have been faced by demands for devolution, such as Canada and the United Kingdom.

If, on the other hand, violent repression is used against the Tamils, we hope that every British person who has relations with Sri Lanka including our Government and the business community, will make their disapproval known possibly by a trade boycott.

We, the undersigned, have formed ourselves into a Committee to express British interest in the Tamils of Sri Lanka. We greatly hope that the Government of that state will fulfil the hopes of those who think best of them.

John Foster
David Astor
Robert Birley
G. Michael Scott

2 Hare Court
Temple E.C. 4
January 30.

Sir,

Permit me to reply to a letter in your issue of February 4 under the title "Tamilis of Sri Lanka". There are some mis-statements in this letter which I would like to correct. It is not historically true that the Tamils of Sri Lanka "always have formed a separate community, separately governed." Anyone familiar with past history should know that except during certain periods Sri Lanka has been a centralised state.

Secondly, the statement that the Tamils have suffered violence and repression on several occasions and that there might be physical attacks on them and mass arrests in a malicious distortion of facts and a slander against the Government of Sri Lanka.

It is unfortunate that this letter should be timed with a resolution calling for a separate state for the Tamils because this concidence contradicts the otherwise welcome assurance that the writers do not presume to tell the Government of Sri Lanka their business. This amounts to interference in the internal affairs of Sri Lanka their business. This amounts to interference in the internal affairs of Sri Lanka and could act as an incitement.

What is particularly regrettable is the invitation to a trade boycott and a hint of blackmail. It is ironic that this letter should be published at a time when Britain herself is faced with problems of devolution, but it should be mentioned that no persons in Sri Lanka have set themselves up to make pronouncements in the matter.

Britain and Sri Lanka have a tradition of long and cordial relations based on non-interference and respect for each other in the true spirit of the Commonwealth and we earnestly hope that the British people would not allow themselves to be deflected from this course by any wrong impressions.

The writers and the British public can rest assured that the Government of Sri Lanka will deal with this problem with the sense of fair play and reasonableness that has always marked on their policies on this question in the past.

V. L. B. Mendis
High Commissioner for
Sri Lanka in Britain.

13, Hyde Park Gardens, W 2
February 10.

* * *

"THOSE WERE THE DAYS"—2

Sports, Discipline And A Practical Policeman

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

"MENS SANA IN CORPORE SANO"—A sound mind in a sound body—was what Mr. Dickman, Senior was always emphasising. He was obviously in agreement with what the Great Cicero who said—"Exercise can preserve something of our early strength EVEN in old age."

The words "Mens Sana" etc remind me of a joke—a cheap one at that. An enterprising dealer in Sports goods with a fair knowledge of Latin had fixed a board with this Latin maxim prominently above his establishment which was replete with cricket bats, footballs, hockey sticks, boxing gloves, chest expanders, and other sports equipment. His rival in business across the road who dealt in womens'

garments, hosiery, bras, girdles, panties, costume jewellery, perfume, cosmetics, etc decided that, if his rival was catering ONLY to MEN he would outwit him. Being ignorant of Latin, he put up a board "WOMENS SANA IN CORPORE SANO."

With present trends of Womens' Lib, women participating in boxing, wrestling and other dangerous forms of Sport,—and, if I may quote Goldsmith, "women famed for their valour, their skill in politics or their learning, leave the duties of their own sex in order to invade the privilege of OURS", I am sure both establishments would have been equally patronised.

THE OFFICERS of the yesteryears were constantly inclined to action rather than vacuous theory and academic expertise. Their pragmatic approach is so relevant today when we see a fairly high percentage of sick reporters, casualties due to illness, and those 'weak' men who go cringing to Doctors and Ayurvedhic physicians to get certificates exempting them from Parade, night patrol and begging for 'light duty.' The aggregate loss of man hours certainly affects adversely the efficiency of the Police Service and, consequently, has set backs in the prevention of Crime.

Mr. Dickman was far-sighted. When he was in charge of the various Provinces, he was on the look-out for outstanding athletes, cricketers, soccer players, boxers and young men who excelled in other branches of sport. He did not want to start a circus of performers composed of muscle-bound 'Morons'. He merely wanted strong healthy men to be the custodians of the Law.

"Always check the Process Register at the Station very carefully" was his advice to his son who A.S.P. in charge of various Districts. He explained that a careful scrutiny of this Register will reveal all the little 'Tricks'. The penultimate purpose of an investigation by Police or even a detection of an offence is to ensure correct and speedy arraignment of the offender in a Court of Law. There have been instances of offenders escaping process by 'paying' their way out of Court. Another typical bluff resorted to by some O.I.C.C. is the ingenious method of adorning their

Books and Registers with ornate labels and neatly written entries in I.R.C.C. Registers, Wall Lists, etc.

Once, quite by chance, I wanted to personally see a certain convicted individual who, according to the Register had been convicted for violence, thefts, and burglaries on several occasions and who had been "seen" regularly by the local Police. When I probed the matter further, it was revealed that this gentleman, who was fairly ancient, was no longer in the land of the living. Not being of the ilk of the revered METHUSELAH, he had left the terrestrial jurisdiction of the local Police some years ago but was reported "SEEN". I was certain that the O.I.C. had not made orders for meeting for exhibition or investigation of spiritualistic phenomena. Some inspections today are not only a farcical wastage of time for the officer holding the inspection but a wastage of man hours which could be spent for more constructive work.

HE WAS a strict disciplinarian who believed that justice was the "first virtue of those who command and stops the complaints of those who obey". He did not make an ostentation of his resolve with a fanfare that he was going to enforce Discipline with a Capital "D" and later did some of the most indisCIPLINED things. He had the good breeding not to blast the future of young officers for comparatively minor lapses.

I am reminded of the story when he was Superintendent in Charge of the Police Training School then at Bambalapitiya. P.C. "P" had often been at the butt-end of some practical jokes successfully perpetrated on him. One day, a colleague of his had telephoned him when he was on duty at the desk of the Charge Room and declared that it was the Superintendent speaking. The caller had managed to imitate the Big Man's voice, P.C. "P", who later got his promotion as Sergeant and who with his family provided musical entertainment at many of the Concerts held at the Police Depot, on receiving the call immediately stood smartly to attention and replied "Police Training School speaking here, SIR". A loud mocking laugh and the line went dead. That was not all. When P.C. "P" went to the barracks for his lunch break,

there was much amusement which P.C. "P" did not like very much.

He was not going to be ridiculed again and he had made his decision. It happened that the Boss actually telephoned one night—as was his habit—just to check whether the telephone operator was on the alert. In the mistaken belief that the practical joker was at his old game again, P.C. "P" was most indiscreet in his reply. The irate Superintendent walked out of his bungalow, strode out like a Colossus across the cricket field, and with a stentorian voice roared "Who was that IDIOT who answered the call just now?" P.C. "P" was suddenly transformed into a state of Rigor, paroxysm, palpitation and was almost on the verge of 'cardio-respiratory failure' with visions of interdiction and eventually, dismissal.

When he came to and explained most apologetically giving the facts of the previous experience, he expected the worst.

(To be Continued)



U.S. BUSINESS LEADER'S VIEWS

Role Of Multinationals

New Delhi,

Both the U.S. and the Indian Governments have promised to give serious consideration to what the respective members of the Indo-U.S. Joint Business Council have to say for improving the economic and trade relations, said Mr. Orville I. Freeman, Chairman man of the U.S. section of the Council, here to-day.

Mr. Freeman, who was addressing the opening session of the Council meeting said the members would seek to influence their respective Governments if they felt that they should modify and change their policies. He pointed out that such changes had been brought about in the past between the U.S. and Japan in their economic relationship.

The highlight of Mr. Freeman's address was a vigorous defence of the role of multinational corporations and an exposition of the contribution that they pro-

mise to the world's economic development.

While making it clear that "multinational corporations are not and have not been paragons of virtue," he said at the same time, "It is not realistic to expect more than a limited commitment of their corporate resources to the public interest."

MR. FREEMAN said it was for India to make its own choice in matters affecting its future economic development. "But it seems to me," he said "that the terms of choice are clear: will India go where ethnic preferences override productive considerations; where the enquiry, 'are you an Indian' supersedes the question 'can you do the job; where the ephemeral concerns of national pride override the rock bottom needs of the Indian people? Or will it choose the embracing, rational humanism that is the foundation of its ancient traditions?"

Mr. Harish Mahindra, President of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry and Chairman of the Joint Council, said in his opening remarks that while the U.S. has been an important partner in India's development effort—receiving about eleven per cent of India's exports, supplying 16 per cent of its imports, accounting for 28 per cent of its total outstanding private foreign investment and providing 43 per cent of external aid on official account—in the national economic balance sheet of the U.S. itself, India has an extremely minor role.

He pointed out that India offered vast business opportunities and was among the first ten industrialised countries of the world. India needed foreign investment in areas where there were large technological gaps while having to stimulate domestic enterprise, skills and resources. He said it should be possible for the Business Council to discuss specific proposals and identify commodities for enlarged import and export trade between the two countries. "We can outline", he said, "the scope for American investment in India and Indo-U.S. collaboration, in joint ventures in third countries."

Mr. Freeman who decried the multinational corporations as "the workhorse of the world", said "collectively multinational corporations have the brains

and muscle to save the world from self-destruction." He pointed out that "internationalisation of production" through the agency of the multinational corporations offered possibly the best hope for matching the world's population explosion with a "production explosion" since "they are the masters of new technology, have the skills and the innovative strength to engineer change and the organisation and management skills together with the cash flow and borrowing power to launch desperately needed new, large, problem-solving international enterprises".

He gave certain projections to drive home his argument. He said, "if these projects which are, of course, pure extrapolation, are valid, the future may well depend on how clearly and quickly nation-States comprehend that there can be no basic or enduring conflicts between national interests and the interests of the whole community."

While taking note of the resistance to multinational corporation, Mr. Freeman, however, said this amounted to only a "resistance to new ways and new technology" which was "as old as man himself". "The target" he said, "the devil as it were, of those forces that resist change is to-day the multinational corporation. More often than not charges made against the multinational corporation and its country of origin—usually the United States—are wrapped in the emotionalism of national sovereignty."

Mr. Freeman believed that though the multinational corporation's "central mission is that of a private enterprise seeking to make a profit in competitive market place by the most efficient allocation of the firm's resources of capital, manpower, technology, management skill and other corporate capacities", it can play a key role in economic development. "The distinctive aspect of that role," he said, "is not so much the transfer of resources, but rather the impact of moving those resources of capital, technology and management skills as a package of productive factors tailed to the needs of a given opportunity or project". He drew a distinction between this and the deployment of experts and technicians through technical assistance programmes.

He, nevertheless, acknowledged that the multinationals had sometimes exacted high prices and extravagant profits besides being guilty of the "rape of the environment and piracy on the consumer". Many developing countries were now asking critical questions as whether the multinational corporate package will in the long run benefit the host country. They were also asking whether the technology applied should be capital or labour-intensive and proved a lot of new jobs or only a handful. These questions were being asked in the U.S. also, he said. There were demands for restrictions on capital and technology movements and strict regulation of the multinationals.

—Hindu



FROM LOCKHEED

On Corrupt Practices

— U.S. Govt. Proposal —

Washington,

Following is the U.S. Department of State statement on corrupt practices as presented by Deputy Secretary Ingersoll before the Sub Committee on Priorities and Economies in government of Joint Economic Committee of Congress on Friday, March 5.

I am pleased to be here today to discuss a serious problem which bears directly on U.S. foreign relations and economic interests: the revelations about alleged corrupt practices involving U.S. multinationals abroad. First, let me again state emphatically that the Department of State condemns in the strongest terms any and all corrupt practices involving corporations, whether U.S. or foreign. We have stated this position in several forums recently, but I want to reiterate it here as the basis for all the comments I make to you today. The Department's view—and my own personal views as one with experience in business and government—is that bribes or other illicit payments cannot be condoned. Moreover, this is not a new policy. The Department of State has never

condoned such payments. (1) They are ethically wrong; (2) Their disclosure can unfairly tarnish the reputations of responsible American businessmen; (3) They make it more difficult for the United States Government to assist U.S. firms in the lawful pursuit of their legitimate business interests abroad; (4) They encumber our relations with friendly foreign governments; (5) They are in the long run, bad business, as firms involved in such practices risk loss of contracts, sales and even property; (6) They contribute to a deterioration of the general investment climate.

The U.S. Government has taken the position that any investor who makes illegal payments cannot look to the U.S. to protect him from legitimate law enforcement actions by the responsible authorities of either the host country or of the United States. We support co-operation by the United States agencies investigating these cases with responsible foreign authorities seeking information consistent with the requirements of the laws and procedural fairness. However, the United States Government will provide appropriate diplomatic protection to American nationals abroad who are not treated fairly in accordance with international law. We are concerned at threats of extra-judicial sanctions which may be disproportionate to the offense and based on unproved allegations. We do not believe that economic retaliation is an appropriate response to payments which although controversial, are either lawful under the foreign law concerned, or if unlawful, are subject to specific civil or criminal penalties prescribed by that law. Of course, we also oppose such retaliation for failure to make such payments, as alleged in some recent cases. The Department of State has a responsibility to assist American businessmen who are treated unfairly.

IN INTERNATIONAL DISCUSSIONS of enterprise behaviour, the U.S. has supported two basic principles:—First, all sovereign states have the right to supervise and regulate the activity of foreign investors in their territory, consistent with the minimum standards of justice called for by International Law; and—Second, investors must respect the laws of the nations in which they operate and conduct themselves as good corporate citizens

of these nations, refraining from improper interference in their internal affairs.

Unfortunately, however, in these matters foreign investors and traders are not always faced with clearcut choices in unambiguous circumstances. Instead they frequently find themselves operating under unclear rules, and local customs and business methods far removed from those learned in business school. A foreign investor who receives "suggestions" from officials of the host government is placed in a difficult position. Many courageous businessmen have refused to go along with questionable practices abroad, and in some cases have had to forego business opportunities as a result.

We are told that businessmen from other countries take the view that what we call "improper" payments are a basic requirement of the societies in which they operate, and represent centuries-old practices which no amount of indignation or legislation can change. These businessmen are reluctant to support either domestic or international legal action for fear that such measures would not only do no good, but would also burden commerce and provide a dangerous instrument for selective application against individual corporations. Some American businessmen may share this point of view, but increasing numbers are concluding that some action is necessary to deal with the situation. What should be done?

Obviously, the principal responsibility for dealing with criminal acts in foreign countries is that of the governments directly concerned. But we too have a responsibility to make sure that U.S. laws regulating corporate behaviour are vigorously enforced, and that official U.S. programs in foreign countries are effectively managed to guard against these practices. The responsible U.S. agencies are already taking significant steps. The SEC and the IRS are giving the problem vigorous attention, and their efforts can be expected to have a substantial deterrent effect. The Departments of State and Defense have taken steps to ensure that foreign governments who pur-

chase defense articles and services under the Foreign Military Sales Program are fully informed of any agents' fees that are included in the price of the goods sold. Under the applicable regulations, the foreign government is notified of any such fee at the time of the Department of Defense offer to sell. If the foreign government responds that the fee is unacceptable, the American supplier is advised that Defense Department will not consider the fee an allowable cost under the contract.

IN SEVERAL CASES foreign governments have established a general policy that contingent fees are not to be allowed on foreign military sales cases. The U.S. Government has responded to that policy by adopting a regulation with respect to such countries that no contingent fee will be allowed as an item for reimbursement unless it is specifically approved in advance by the purchasing government. We believe that our procedures on foreign military sales transactions can be further improved and support the concept of systematic reporting along the general lines of the pending amendments to the Security Assistance Bill. Of course, it is important that any such legislation respect the legitimate need for confidentiality of business information, the public disclosure of which could harm the competitive position of American companies.

But this is an international problem and significant progress will come only on a broad scale. It is tempting to try to deal with the situation unilaterally, but there are serious risks for the U.S. in such an approach. There is widespread recognition in the Congress that such unilateral action would put U.S. companies at a serious disadvantage in the export trade. Senate Resolution 265, adopted by a vote of 93-0 last November 12, takes note of the trade-distorting effect of corrupt practices and calls upon the Executive Branch to negotiate a multilateral agreement to deal with the problem.

We have seen dramatic evidence in recent weeks of the potential consequences of disclosure in the U.S. of events which affect the vital interests of foreign governments. Preliminary results have included serious political crisis in friendly countries, possible cancellation

of major overseas orders for U.S. industries and the risk of general cooling towards U.S. firms abroad. Many foreign commentators and opinion-makers have expressed concern about the effects of U.S. processes in their countries and suggested that the United States has a responsibility to take into account the interests of its allies when it is cleaning up its own house. I wish to state for the record that grievous damage has been done to the foreign relations of the United States by recent disclosures of unsubstantiated allegations against foreign officials. As I said, we do not condone, nor does the United States Government condone, bribery by American corporations overseas. On the other hand, it is a fact that public discussion in this country of the alleged misdeeds of officials of foreign governments cannot fail to damage our relations with these governments.

We think there are many advantages to a multinational approach which is based on international agreement both as to the basic standards to be applied in international trade investment, and the procedures to curtail corrupt practices. A coordinated action by exporting and importing countries would be the only effective way to inhibit improper activities of this kind internationally. An international agreement would also help ensure that action would be taken against those who solicit or accept payments, as well as those who offer or make them.

As a first step we have negotiated strong language condemning bribery, as part of the voluntary

LETTERS

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

guidelines for multinational enterprises which are being drawn up in the OECD. However, in the area of criminal law, such as bribery, more is needed. Effective action, consistent with individual rights, must be in accordance with established legal procedures. Thus, in this area we favour action pursuant to national law and international agreement.

THEREFORE, I AM TAKING THIS OCCASION to announce that the U.S. is proposing a multinational agreement on corrupt practices. The agreement would be based inter alia on the following principles: It would apply to international trade and investment transactions with governments, i.e., government procurement and such other governmental actions affecting international trade and investment as may be agreed; (1) It would apply equally to those who offer or make improper payments and those who request or accept them; Host (importing) governments would agree (a) To establish clear guidelines concerning the use of agents in connection with government procurement and other covered transactions, and (b) To establish appropriate criminal penalties for bribery and extortion by enterprises and officials; (2) Governments would co-operate and exchange information to help eradicate such corrupt practices; (3) Uniform provisions would be agreed for disclosure by enterprises, agents, and officials of political contributions, gifts, and payments made in connection with covered transactions.

Our delegation to the second session of the UN Commission on Transnational Corporations, now meeting in Lima, has been instructed to call for such an agreement.

AT THIS POINT, I would like to say a few words about the Lockheed case. A number of foreign governments have expressed great concern about disclosures resulting from Senate investigations, or reports attributed to those investigations, that are said to implicate high officials. These governments have requested the Department of State's assistance to obtain the documentation necessary to investigate these allegations. The Department has always co-operated fully with foreign governments whose interests are affected by these disclosures. But we do not have the corporate documents in ques-

tion. These, where they exist, are held by Lockheed, by the Senate Subcommittee on Multinationals or by the SEC subject to a court order.

Press reports have given the erroneous impression that the State Department has not been responsive to the requests of foreign governments for information developed on this matter. This is not the case. The department has been concerned that premature public disclosure of unsubstantiated charges against foreign officials might unfairly damage the rights of individuals and cause serious problems in United States relations with other countries. However, we have never questioned the need for friendly foreign governments to have access to the information to carry on their own legitimate investigations, and we have taken appropriate steps to facilitate that access.

In recent days we have been consulting urgently with the SEC and with the Department of Justice to develop a procedure that would facilitate the exchange of information with interested foreign governments. Under this procedure, the Department of Justice would enter into co-operative arrangements with the responsible law enforcement agencies of other interested governments, as it has done in past cases of interest to more than one government. It will arrange for the exchange of information in accordance with the traditional procedures established to protect the integrity of criminal investigations and the rights of individuals affected. That is to say, foreign law enforcement officials would be expected to assure that information secured from United States sources would be treated on a confidential basis until such time as the Foreign Law Enforcement Agency had decided that it wished to proceed with a criminal prosecution against a particular individual.

Should any exchange of information require modification of the court order in the SEC-Lockheed case, the government will be prepared to propose suitable amendments to the court.

Finally, let me say that the Department of Justice is already making inquiries to determine whether overseas payments and related activities by Lockheed have involved violations of United States Law.

This matter is being pressed with vigor. It should be understood, however, that foreign governments have an equal interest in prosecuting offenses against their laws, and in some cases the nature of the alleged wrongdoing is such that foreign law enforcement officials have an even more urgent need to proceed than United States law enforcement officials. These varying priorities will have to be resolved by mutual discussion between our Department of Justice and foreign law enforcement officials.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, we are proposing two new actions to deal with the international bribery problem. First a multilateral agreement to be negotiated within the United Nations system to help deter and punish such activities by enterprises, agencies and government officials. Second, a framework for bilateral co-operation with foreign law enforcement agencies with which we can make satisfactory arrangements for the exchange of evidence. We are hopeful that these initiatives will prove to be effective.

* * *

IN TRINCOMALEE

Ravana Lore — 1

by Nimal Sarathchandra

STEWART WAWELL of the B.B.C. who was on an assignment in Sri Lanka a few years back travelled extensively in the country in search of Ravana and folk lore connected with this demon king. In one of the radio talks he broadcast he said that the historians are not so much interested about Ravana as the rural folks, but it is surprising to note that now, there is an unusual interest shown by Scholars and Historians here and in India, about Ravana and various theories are being put forth regarding Ravana, his capital and his encounters with Rama.

It was only a few months ago that the Dravida Kazhagam proposed to burn the effigies of Rama, Sita and Lakshmana at the Periyar Thidal, Egmore and the Chief Minister M. Karunanidhi had to make a special appeal to them to drop this proposal. While at the same time he had to make another request that effigy of Ravana should not be burnt at the Rama Lila festival in Delhi.

Kanniya Hot Springs

Tamil Rationalists and Dravida Kazhagamist consider Ravana a Dravidian, while the Hindus who form a majority of the population in Baharatha worship Rama as their God, and any attempt to demean their idol is regarded as an insult to their entire community and religion.

Dr. V. Raghavan who presided at a meeting held at the State Department of Archaeology some time back has said that there was overwhelming support in literature and Puranas for the view that Lanka was the present Sri Lanka and Mr. R. Nagaswami, Director of Archaeology has categorically stated at this meeting that in the Thevaran hymns of Gnanasambantar and Tirunavukkarasar who lived in the seventh century A.D. there was clear reference to Lanka as the present Sri Lanka, South of Tamil Nadu.

Though the Rama Ravana episode took place over three thousand years ago and Ravana was mortally wounded by Rama, Ravana seems to live among us through folk lore that are still remembered and retold by peasants all over the country. Koneshwar Temple, Ravana Cut (Lovers leap), Kanniya Hot springs are some historic places in Trincomalee which seems to have connections with Ravana.

A FOREIGN TOURIST or any other visitor to Trincomalee will no doubt include in his itinerary a visit to the hot springs of Kanniya for without having a bath at this health restoring springs, the trip to this historic eastern town of Lanka would be incomplete. After travelling about five miles along the Trinco-A'pura Road you turn left and a mere two hundred yards will bring you to this sacred unic place.

Kanniya hot springs are well known for their medicated and soothing effects. Many go there for a bath in the seven different wells but very few are aware that Kanniya hot wells have some connection with Ravana.

It is believed that Maha Vishnu created the hot wells. One day Ravana was carrying the Lingam (symbol of Shiva) which was presented to him by Lord Konesh-Vishnu who was in the guise of a Brahmin informed Ravana of his mother's death. Ravana was much grieved but Vishnu consoled him

and reminded him of the duties he had to perform as a son and that if the last rites are performed in this sacred place (Kanniya) that the soul of his mother would reach heaven.

Ravana who wished his dear mother's soul to be in heaven requested the Brahmin (Vishnu) to do the last rites. The Brahmin acceded to his request and took Ravana to a place called Kanniya situated west of Trincomalee and dug the earth in seven places with the pole he had in his hand. The seven spots so dug later turned into the seven hot springs. Ravana performed the last rites for his mother's repose with the assistance of Vishnu.

Except for the folk tales which is still being retold by the villagers there is little recorded history of the hot wells.

JOHN DAVY who travelled extensively in this island in his book "The interior of the Island of Ceylon" published in 1821 says "The temperature of the water in the seven wells at 7 a.m. on 19th October, 1817 was as follows 101, 101.5, 107, 88.5, 88.6, 105.75 and 91. Hence the highest temperature was 107 and the lowest was 88.5. When the temperature was taken at 10 a.m. the temperature of the water at the sixth well has dropped from 105.75 to 102. The temperature of the atmosphere at 7 a.m. was 77 and at 10 a.m. it was 80. Hence with the increase in temperature of the atmosphere the temperature of the water decreased.

John Davy mentions about the medicated value of the hot springs and that the water is used to cure rheumatism and certain types of skin diseases because of the chemical contents. When a sample of water was taken to Kandy and tested he had found little salt, carbonic acid gas and nitrogen in the water.

Though the popular belief is that the water springs in the different wells from the same spring, the temperature in each well differs from the other. The quantity of water in the hottest spring is more than in the other springs.

MR. C. H. L. SIRIMANNE who was in charge of the Minerological Department did some research regarding these hot springs in 1954. He has stated "a spring is naturally

formed at a place where the level of the water under the soil meets the surface of the soil. The level of water is not always the same. When the level of the water rises after rainfall the flow of water from the spring increases. With the decrease in the rainfall in the dry season the level of water under the soil drops and the flow of water from the spring decreases."

He was of the opinion that the current of water under the soil, lies beneath this place surrounded by walls.

However springs are there beyond these walls too. During rainy season as the level of water rises small springs are formed all over the place.

It would not be appropriate to call the springs at Kanniya "wells" as a spring found on digging up the earth is called a well whereas at Kanniya the springs are found at the surface of the soil. The springs at Kanniya would have dried up and vanished if not for the brick walls that surrounded them. In order to provide privacy for the various individuals who make use of the wells a surrounding brick wall 6 ft. in height was constructed in 1817 but walls were not built around the wells though metal stones were heaped around each well. Later the surrounding wall was built higher and separate walls were constructed around each spring which gives the appearance of wells.

Hindus who perform the last rites to the dead at this spot make use of the Pandara Vannan Hall and Panchanathakurukkal Hall which are found constructed near the hot wells.

Devotees who visit Kanniya burn incense and campher and pray to God Ganesh for wisdom and other temporal favours. Seventy five years ago there was no temple except for a circular stone which was regarded as a symbol of God Ganesh. A temple was later built and it was the property of the Trincomalee Mariamman Temple for a long time. Today this is managed by the Uppuveli Village Council and with the help of public funds a hall has been constructed for use of those who visit Kanniya hot wells.

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TRIBUNE, March 20, 1976

Confidentially

Lake House Again !

IT IS NOT A FACT that the canteen at Lake House was under boycott? That the CMU has now strengthened its membership so much that its rival, the SLFP Union, has dropped its membership to a virtual zero? That this CMU-dominated Union in Lake House had recently called upon its membership to boycott the canteen until the food served was improved and its service was streamlined? That everybody admits that the old Lake House canteen had been the best of its kind (before the takeover)? That the management had subsidised its mid-day rice meal (the rice was supplied free at company expense) so that a complete rice meal was supplied at 50 cents a piece? That the old management had continued this practice right to the end and had also insisted on top class service from the caterer so that rice and other meals at the Lake House canteen had become the talk of the town? That the new "nationalised management" continued the practice of supplying free rice so that the subsidised rice meal at 50 cents could be continued? But the allegedly "socialist-minded" management, which had replaced the capitalist Ranjit Wijewardene, had thought it necessary to eliminate the caterer probably because he was a "capitalist roader" of some kind? That after the old caterer was kicked out a new caterer with the correct "socialist connections" was brought in? That the new caterer had proclaimed that he was true blue and genuine red? That, even if his post-1970 politics was maintained at the correct colour-level, it was not very long before he showed his true colours where his catering was concerned? That, step by step, the food and service in the canteen had deteriorated to the extent that complaints had piled up at a tremendously fast rate? That the new management, probably mesmerised by the flag waving of the new caterer, had ignored the complaints—with the result that the boycott was the last weapon decided upon by the employees of Lake House to push the

caterer out? That the complaints about the caterer are now many and numerous? That one of the main charges against him is that he was using part of the rice supplied by the management (free in order to provide a rice meal at 50 cents) was being used by the caterer to feed his personal employees at another business undertaking of his? That this kind of charge is hard to prove because there was a great deal of movement between the Lake House canteen and the other business establishment of the caterer? That apart from this grouse about the company-subsidised rice meal, there was a great deal of dissatisfaction about everything else in the place? That a place which was once spotlessly clean was now a "filthy joint"? That in the old days tea had been served to certain categories of press and newspaper workers at their desks during rush press hours—to keep deadlines—but the new management (probably under pressure from the caterer) had issued an order to stop this practice? That this enabled the caterer to make more profits because he was able to cut down on the number of canteen workers? That the new management had stated (privately, of course) that it was a "capitalist practice" to serve some people at their desks? That it was "socialism" to make everybody line up in a queue to get their cup of tea? That it did not seem to bother the management that it has become more and more difficult to keep deadlines because key press categories spent much time going down to the canteen at rush hours? That more than all this what triggered the boycott was the very bad food that was served out at increased prices? That at the time this note was written the boycott was at its height? That it is not known whether some settlement has been arrived at since? That the only settlement that would be acceptable to the workers of Lake House was a guarantee that the canteen will be cleaner, that it will provide better food at reasonable prices and that Lake House employees were not cheated of their subsidised rice meal? That it is also whispered freely that the CMU has presented another charge sheet against the present management and that it has urged upon the Government to appoint a Commission of Inquiry

to go into the mal-administration of Lake House since the takeover? IS IT ALSO NOT NECESSARY to cause an inquiry to be made into the quantum of reading material now available to the readers of Lake House publications? That when the Wijewardenes were the owners of Lake House and they had managed the affairs of this premier newspaper organisation, the average quantum of advertisement was around 40 to 45 percent of the total columnage? That there had been a persistent hue and cry that the reading public was being cheated of reading material because of this high ratio of advertising? That there was then a noisy demand that advertising should be restricted to a maximum of 25% of the total columnage of the paper? That all UF parties had insisted that the ratio of advertising in the capitalist newspapers should be scaled down? That when these capitalist papers were "taken over" by the Government hopes had been raised that an attempt would be made to put into practice what the Left Parties had preached over the years? That instead the opposite has taken place in practice? That overheads and top salaries were increased to such abominable heights that increased revenue became imperative? That newsprint shortage and high international prices had also provided a smokescreen for the management to fool the public not only to increase the price of each copy but also cut down the size of the papers? That advertisement rates were also raised three and four times? That what is worse is that the ratio of advertising is now between 60 and 70 percent of the total columnage? That on certain days the advertising ratio went up beyond the 75% mark? That though two morning papers cost a rupee each day there was not enough reading matter in them for ten minutes for an average reader? That there was so little "international news" that it can be said that our daily newspapers do not seem to bother about what took place in the rest of the world? That the state of Sri Lanka's Fourth Estate (so far as daily papers especially those under governmental aegis are concerned) is that they are no more than advertising sheets? That it is time that Government did something about this?



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