

# TRIBUNE

## TRANSPORT SCANDAL MANUFACTURES' DREAM

The report of the Bus Nationalisation Team of the Ministry of Transport is a dismal document which sounds the death knell of any scheme of nationalised bus transport. The Minister of Transport and the MEP Government will only succeed in digging a grave for themselves if they let themselves be bamboozled by a hasty report produced by a team of amateurish officials lost in the conceit bred in the bureaucratic cocksureness.

The team consisted of M. F. de Jayaratne, L. S. B. Perera, Shirley Amerasinghe, (all of the Ceylon Civil Service), S. A. Scharenguivel (Accountant, Port Commission) and B. D. Rampala. Only the last mentioned is qualified and experienced in transport. But whisperers

in informed circles indicate that Rampala and Amerasinghe did not have much to do with the Report. Commuter the well informed Transport columnist of the *Times of Ceylon* gives expression in his column on August 16 to this suspicion. After tearing the Report to pieces he states thus: "Could the answer be that Mr. Rampala (and for that matter Mr. Amerasinghe too) had nothing to do with the writing and signing of this Report?"

Two semi-holiday jaunts to India where nationalised transport is still in embryo (and where it has not started functioning properly) does not qualify Civil Servants and Accountants with the knowledge of transport acquired by pouring over files in a Transport Commissioner's (or Port) office to be experts nationalised bus transport.

### Number

Why were no technical experts who have some knowledge of bus transport in countries that are running successful nationalised services consulted? Before proceeding any further, the Minister should invite expert opinion on the question of the number of vehicles that would be required.



For some strange reason the team of civil service experts have hit upon a fantastically exaggerated number of buses as being essential for running an efficient nationalised service. *Have they been led up the garden path by agents of bus manufacturers who are now haunting this country like birds of prey (throwing cocktail parties) anxious to sell vehicles to the Government? Some local bus magnates too are chaperoning such agents in high places who are experts in selling "condemned buses" (slightly re-conditioned) to belch smoke and raise thunder on the peaceful streets of Colombo!*

To sustain this unnecessarily large fleet of vehicles (which should gladden the hearts of bus manufacturers and their local agents), the team has the brazenness and effrontery to suggest an increase of fares under the glorious term of "rationalisation." The UNP rushed to its doom because it permitted inefficient bus operators to charge excessively for a poor service. The team of civil service experts seem to think that they can under the pretext of nationalisation increase the fares so that inefficiency, waste and incompetence could be successfully covered up.

In all earnestness, *Tribune* warns the MEP Government to beware of the Report on Bus Nationalisation produced by civil service arm-chair specialists. The report is nothing but a bus manufacturers' dream. To follow its recommendations will mean disaster. A fresh report by experts experienced in economic and efficient transport is called for.

### TRIBUNE

CEYLON NEWS REVIEW  
COLOMBO, August 18, 1956  
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# FILM

## CARRINGTON V. C.

David Niven

*English at the Empire*

This film took me by surprise. There were no big names, if you except David Niven. No superlatives. No headlines. But despite the fact that practically the entire action of the film takes place inside a court room, it held me in thrall to the end. We have been told that we must not judge a nation by the films it makes. We are warned, for instance that the American way of life is not the way Hollywood makes us believe it is. Perhaps not. But an English film is I think, fairly typical of the English - their humour, their conversation, their way of life and thought. I feel that you do not see in an English film, whether in its people or places, anything you would not see on any ordinary working day. In the shops. In the pubs. In the courts or class rooms. In the offices. Nothing is put on or dressed up as it were. It is all down to earth, honest without any of the tiresome frills and furbelows that make the average American film ring rather hollow.

### Pinched it

The story of the film is quite straightforward. Major Carrington is court-martialled for pinching the cash from the safe. This, Major Carrington does not deny. But his defence is that he did it to advertise a grievance. His pay cheque has always been unduly delayed, thanks to the machinations of his superior officer who is jealous of his V. C., his background, his breeding and his popularity. Major Carrington therefore informed his C. O. that he was going to pinch the cash and pinched it. There was nothing surreptitious about it. He wasn't exactly proud of his effort. But he wasn't ashamed of it. We are instructed in the process and conduct of a court-martial by a Judge-Advocate who holds a watching brief for the law. In the course of his evidence Carrington's C. O. flatly denies that Carrington did in fact acquaint him with his intention to remove the cash. In this he is supported by Carrington's wife, who through motives of misplaced jealousy,

recants in the box. Carrington, conducting his own defence and still claiming kinship with that rare and extinct species nowadays known as the gentlemen, gallantly des roys in Court, a letter written by his wife, in support of his defence. This of course cooks his goose. But Carrington is the type that will cook himself a hundred geese rather than not play a straight bat. Carrington is convicted despite the fact that panel of judges are inclined to think that there is no moral justification for their doing so. But the laws of evidence get in the way of justice and the President's casting vote decides the case. The film ends here, although we are given a broad hint that there will be a successful appeal later on.

All this is no doubt very dull reading. But I assure you it looks and sounds much better on the screen. David Niven who appears to be legal tender on both sides of the Atlantic has the gift of mixing his roles and drifts from the comic to the serious with consummate ease. The loyal Cockney sergeant, whoever he was, practically stole the film. And the women was forthrightly and intelligently English. In

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fact everything about this film is as Alexander Woollcot said in another connection, as British as Piccadilly. And if the sound of that word makes you nostalgic, you will most certainly enjoy this film.

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# Foreign Capital

The subject of foreign sponsorship is a controversial one, as, in spite of its obvious merits, it has many inherent disadvantages to the economy.

Generally speaking, foreign sponsorship makes two important contributions, know-how and capital. With regard to the latter, Ceylon is not (at least at the present time) greatly concerned, as it has sufficient capital funds available for the financing of all industries which are being considered for establishment in the near future. Of course, this situation may not continue if the pace of economic projects and industrial development is speeded up, or if the finances of the country are adversely affected by a dropping off in its export markets. The problem of know-how, however, is a more serious one. Local entrepreneurs for the most part are lacking in many aspects of know-how, including that of specialised processes, as well as in the general know-how of management organization. Foreign sponsors, almost without exception, bring with them the necessary processes required, and are usually equipped with a background of management experience which is sufficient to underwrite the success of the ventures which they undertake. In most cases, they are able to bring an enterprise into operation at a more rapid rate than local entrepreneurs, which makes for quicker industrial growth.

## Disadvantages

On the other hand, there are a number of disadvantages inherent in foreign sponsorship to which full consideration should be given. One of the principal disadvantages lies in the fact that a substantial proportion of profits made by foreign enterprise generally leave the country in the form of dividends. This presents two problems, firstly that such funds are not added to the local capital as a basis for further growth, and secondly, the balance of foreign exchange is adversely affected. These problems are in

turn aggravated by the export of invested capital itself. As foreign sponsors almost invariably interest themselves in the operations which provide substantial and early returns on the capital invested, this disadvantage has particular significance to the economy of an under-developed country. This problem is referred to in a United Nations publication, as follows:-

"A special problem to be faced ..... is the costliness of foreign enterprise. The current earning of capital invested in the United States on manufacturing industry varied between 15 and 20 per cent, and naturally such capital cannot be attracted into the under developed countries except at even higher rates. Many countries are reluctant to purchase development at that price. They prefer to reserve certain industries to their governments, or at least to their own nationals, and they try to raise the external capital they need more cheaply on public accounts."

Generally speaking, foreign enterprise is not interested in small-scale industry, but directs its attention to

We publish an extract from the Report of the United Nations Mission on "Small Scale Industries in Ceylon" dealing with the question of foreign capital. It will be noted that the attitude of the "Tribune" to foreign capital and local capital has been fully endorsed by the Mission.

large industries which are more monopolistic in nature and which normally pay higher returns of capital either because of their nature or because of special concessions granted by the governments. Accordingly, the contribution which they make does not generally involve a high degree of risk.

## Management

A further disadvantage in foreign sponsorship lies in the fact that it does not as a rule promote many nationals to the upper ranks of its supervision and management. This is a very important consideration to a country aspiring to develop local managerial ability and local entrepreneurs. As a corollary, this failure to train nationals for managerial posts or to enlarge the pool of new entrepreneurs discourages the would-be local entrepreneur, who continues to suffer from an inferiority complex as regards his ability to organise and operate in-

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## Foreign Capital

(continued from page 211)

dustry. It is of vital importance to build up the confidence of the local sector, and this cannot be done if the more important and more profitable industries are reserved for sponsorship by foreign capital.

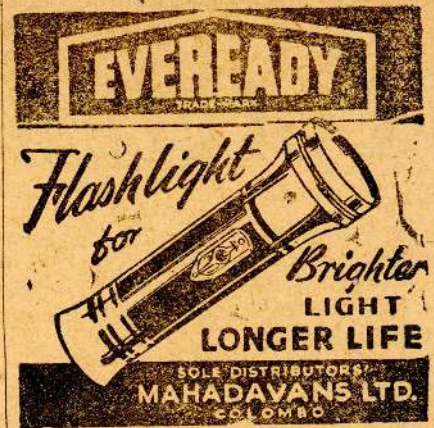
It should be noted, however, that there are some types of foreign industry which can be of advantage to the country. These types involve the manufacture of products under which special patent rights are held by one or more companies and which are not available for use by local entrepreneurs. There are also examples of foreign sponsors who, because of their history in the establishment of factories in foreign countries, have come to realise the importance of placing nationals in posts of trust and to make a practice of re-investing a large proportion of their profits in local industrial development.

The Mission accordingly recommends:-

(a) That the Government enact such legislation as is necessary for it to control the

establishment of foreign-owned industries;

- (b) That before it grants permission to a foreign sponsor to establish an enterprise in Ceylon, it makes a full study both of the economic implications of such foreign ownership and full assessment of the possibilities of local sponsorship, either in the form of a complete private operation or one jointly operated by government and private interests, or a government-sponsored operation; and
- (c) That if foreign capital is invited into the field, it be given every possible facility needed to assist it in the establishment of its industry, such as advice as to location, ability to bring in technical personnel and keep them for a reasonable period of the time, authority to export profits and capital without restriction, etc. Foreign enterprises



which have been approved should be welcomed into the local business community, and no impediments of any nature should be placed in the way of their operating a successful industry. The Government should, however, urge them or perhaps even require them to invite some local participation in their capital.

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# SUEZ DISPUTE

In defiance of imperialist threats and in the teeth of attempts to interfere in their internal affairs, the people of Egypt are marching ahead to complete liberation from colonialism. A new step in that direction was taken on July 26 when President Nasser announced his government's decision to nationalize the Suez Canal Company.

The monopoly press is up in arms. It has levelled a barrage of abuse and threats against Egypt and her President, and is endeavouring to confuse public opinion with arguments obviously meant to justify this smear campaign and Western-Power pressure.

Some papers claim that the Egyptian move is a violation of international law. There is not a shred of evidence to support that charge. Quite the contrary, there is every evidence to show that Egypt is well within her legitimate rights. The Suez Canal runs through Egyptian territory and is therefore under the jurisdiction of the Egyptian government. That is why the Canal Convention, signed on February 22, 1866, explicitly states that the Canal Company is Egyptian and is subject to Egyptian legislation. Consequently, in nationalizing the company, the Egyptian government acted within the bounds of its jurisdiction and in full conformity with the convention, which bears the signatures of Britain and France.

## Control

True, for nearly a hundred years the canal was controlled not by Egypt, but by British and French capitalists. But that control was illegal, the result of usurpation of Egypt's lawful rights at a time when she was too weak to uphold them. When Ferdinand de Lesseps founded the Canal Company, he gave Egypt 44 per cent of the shares, or virtually factual control. Later, taking advantage of Egypt's financial difficulties, engineered, incidentally not without the help of British agents, Britain acquired the shares.

The present act of nationalization only re-establishes Egypt's rights. Her position is further fortified by the precedent established by the

International Court of Justice when it supported Iran's right to nationalize the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company in 1951. Even some monopoly-serving press organs admit Egypt was fully entitled to take this step. The *Yorkshire Post* wrote on July 27, that similar acts "had been carried through elsewhere without any question of their legality." The Washington correspondent of the *New York Herald Tribune* reported on July 18:

"American officials said this country cannot object to the nationalization of the Suez Canal, which lies wholly in Egyptian territory."

Nonetheless, Washington, London and Paris addressed sharp notes of protest, which were rejected in Cairo. The notes do not question the legality of the nationalization of the canal. They advance another argument, namely, that it jeopardizes free navigation along the canal. And this manufactured menace is now the central point of all the hostile Western-propaganda.

The Egyptian government, however, has made it perfectly clear

From the Moscow weekly *New Times* of August 2, 1956 we reprint with acknowledgements an article on the Suez dispute. The role which the Soviet Union has played in the current Suez dispute has brought a new element into the affairs of the Middle East which was unknown before and readers of the *Tribune* will read this article with interest as one providing an insight into the policy of the U.S.S.R.

that nationalization will in no way hamper freedom of navigation: That is stated in so many words in the communiqués which the Egyptian Embassies in Washington and London issued on July 29. They reaffirm the assurance given by President Nasser at Alexandria on July 26 that Egypt will make every effort to guarantee uninterrupted movement of shipping.

Can Egypt ensure normal operation of the canal? Undoubtedly. That is admitted, among others, by Associated Press commentator William Ryan (July 27):

"Egypt can operate the canal as it stands. There is no great trick to that."

*continued on page 214*

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# Suez Dispute

continued from page 213

## Aswan

Furthermore, the Egyptian government has announced that the purpose of nationalization is to employ the revenue from the canal to finance economic development schemes. The greater the volume of shipping, the more this revenue will be. Consequently, Egypt is vitally interested in the smooth operation of the waterway and in catering to more British and other West-European vessels.

Some of the arguments advanced through monopoly mouthpieces are ludicrous. The *New York Times* (July 2<sup>nd</sup>) declared, in all seriousness, that nationalization would cause "most severe injury not only to the fabric of world economics and trade, but also to the welfare of the Egyptian people themselves." And this comes from a paper which only a day or two earlier welcomed Washington's decision to withdraw its offer of financial assistance in building the Aswan Dam.

Speaking in Alexandria, President Nasser gave a detailed account of Egypt's negotiations with Washington on the Aswan project. He told his audience that Washington insisted on controlling not only the project itself, but Egypt's national finances and economy. What is more, the assistance was to be rendered in a way that would have made it possible for America to present new demands, political as well as economic. And after that the *New York Times* wants the world to believe that the United States is concerned for the welfare of the Egyptian people!

No, the opponents of nationalization are concerned for the interests of the Western monopolies, not the welfare of Egypt. What worries them is not only the loss of profits but the fact that nationalization is another telling blow to the whole system of colonial domination. The colonialists worked for years to build that system and to gain possession of all the wealth of subject countries. The nationalization of the Suez Canal is one more reminder — a serious one — that the Western Powers can do nothing to prevent a radical change in their relations with Asia and Africa. For the peoples of both continents reject dictation and demand equality and respect for their legitimate

rights. They are quite capable of managing their affairs in a way that will best serve their national interests.

## Nasser

Egypt's decision followed on the refusal of Washington and London to finance the Aswan Dam. The American press makes no secret of the fact that the refusal was calculated to undermine President Nasser's prestige and discredit the policy of his government. Some commentators even hinted that the Cairo government would not survive the blow. But now Washington can see that it miscalculated. Its only consolation, perhaps, is that nationalization hits American prestige and not American financial interests, since most of the shares are held by British and French capitalists. In fact, some American columnists are gloating over Britain's new difficulties in the Middle East. The Alsop brothers, writing in the *Herald Tribune* of July 30, pointed out that "it was Secretary of State Dulles who took the lead in the Anglo-American decision to withdraw the offer to help finance the Aswan Dam," and emphasized that "British prestige, influence and power have been shrinking steadily."

The London *Daily Mail* of the same date reported that the U.S., Britain and France had discussed "military plans to meet the situation" in Egypt, drawn up by the British Chiefs of Staff. According to the report, the plans "involve naval, army and air units stationed in Britain and in the Mediterranean." There are also American forces in this area.

The threat to use force to bludgeon a country into submission is no longer effective. Egypt is a sovereign nation. She has demonstrated time and again that she will not be swayed by threats, that she is prepared to uphold her rights to the end. Surely, the authors of these "military plans" are not oblivious to the fact that the growth and consolidation of the peace forces greatly restrict the possibility of launching warlike gambles.

The latest reports indicate that it has been decided to apply only economic sanctions. Britain has already taken measures to block Egypt's sterling balances in London. But press dispatches suggest

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# Parker

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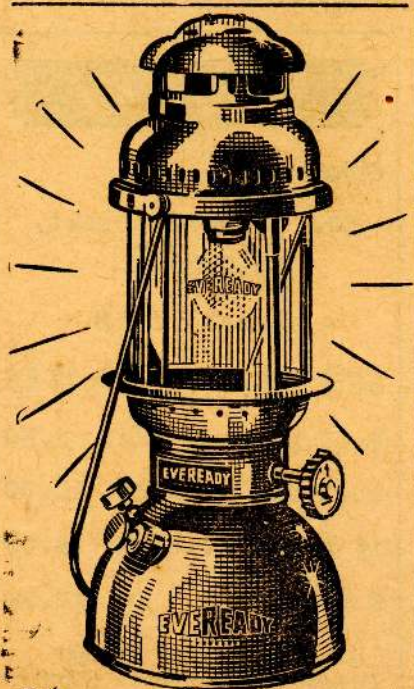
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# METTANANDA

At the very outset of this letter I would like to tell Mr. Mettananda that though he denies that he is not trying to gain popularity by criticising the present government, I would like to remind him that a person can fool some people all the time, all the people sometime, but NEVER fool all the people all the time. Well, it is a great saying which I think our so called patriots should have in mind.

Also Mr. Mettananda is rather one sided in his argument about the policy which the present government is following with regard to foreign missionaries. He stresses the point that Ceylon is the only country that keeps an open door to foreign missionaries. It is my view that it is the will of the people to accept these various foreign missionaries. It is also my view that a Government must never interfere with the religious affairs of a country and must give religious liberty to all the citizens. That must be so especially in a country like Ceylon where so many racial, communal and religious differences are present.

Though a Buddhist, I personally admire greatly the service the Christian and other missionaries do in



August 18, 1956

hospitals, orphanages and other places like Welisara which our so-called "open letter patriots" or at least "our ardent Buddhists" would never dream of doing.

It is not my intention in this letter to "run down" Mr Mettananda. He may be personally justified in thinking he is on the correct path, but what I feel is either he is over-enthusiastic or is showing unnecessary interest (which we call "born interest") over Buddhism which I feel is quite unnecessary.

If we want to improve our country what I feel ought to be done is we as a nation must work patiently as a team to achieve things which would be for the welfare of the nation as a whole rather than create havoc with "open" letters.

Galle Gamini de Silva  
August 8, 1956

## Suez Dispute

*continued from page 214*

that there is no unanimity within the Atlantic coalition, and this explains why some British papers counsel Britain to "go it alone," if necessary.

There are definite forces at work in the West to aggravate the problem of the Suez Canal,

Referring to the Soviet attitude, N. S. Khrushchov said in a speech in Moscow on July 31:

"... In our view, the question of the Suez Canal can and should be settled by peaceful means. There is no reason to aggravate relations in the Mediterranean area, and still less to foment enmity between nations in connection with the Suez Canal."

The war of nerves which the Western Powers are waging against Egypt stands absolutely no chance of success. The colonialists are accustomed to thinking in terms of punitive expeditions and find it hard to grasp the simple truth that the world cannot be hurled back fifty years. The march of history is inexorable. One manifestation

State of Sri Lanka

## Unpism?

KURUNEGALA JULY 28

The forest department sought the aid of the Wellawa Police to seize 28 logs of Halmilla timber that was on the estate of a Justice of the Peace, Mr. A. A. Ramanayake of Gane-watte.

Sergeant P. S. Wambeck, was detailed to accompany the forest officers and take charge of the timber. But it was no easy matter to set foot on the estate belonging to the Justice of the Peace.

For as the law officers were about to set foot, on the estate two men spoke up, saying that they had no business on this estate and asked them to keep off. If they entered the estate they were told they would be sorry.

The law men than explained to them that they had come with authority to seize that illicit timber that was on the estate. The reply they got was that if they had any love for their lives they would do well to keep off this estate, as any man that set foot on the estate would be shot.

The officers had to make a phone call to the Kurunegala Police and ask for reinforcements, as they were being obstructed and intimidated. As the Police party from Kurunegala arrived they entered the estate and took charge of the timber and the Justice of the Peace was fined royalties by the forest authorities for possession of illicit timber.

The Police latter went in search of two men Oliver Perera and Simon, who obstructed and threatened the Police in the function of their duty. These two were traced when they were in the act of distilling pot arack.

— Observer, 28/7

of that is the successful struggle of the peoples of the East to consolidate their independence and re-establish their legitimate rights.

Prime Minister Bandaranaike must be congratulated on having taken a firm stand against the blackmail tactics of ex-Parliamentary Secretary Rajaratne. There is universal satisfaction among all sections of the people that the Premier told Rajaratne where he got off and accepted his resignation. Furthermore, nothing more auspicious than the resignation of hunger - striking Felix Jayasuriya could have happened in so far as the SLFP was concerned. Ever since the MEP came to power Rajaratne has been poisoning the atmosphere with the most rabid communal utterances. Felix Jayasuriya was bouncing around backstage to stampede the MEP to resort to the most reactionary jingoistic policies which brought the Government into a great deal of ill odour. When mere backstage manipulations failed he staged a glucose-cum-orange juice hunger strike and for a time basked in the ephemeral glory of a national martyr in the cause of Sinhala.

## Election Law

No satisfied with pushing the MEP along the path of suicidal jingoism, it now transpires that Rajaratne wanted the Prime Minister to change the election law retrospectively in order to enable him to have a cast-iron defence to the election petition pending against him. One of the causes for the defeat of the UNP was the arbitrary manner in which the election law was hastily amended to enable E.L. Senanayake who had been found guilty of committing an election offence earlier, to stand for election. To want to repeat one of the worst abuses of power by the UNP was the selfish demand of Rajaratne. His defence to the charge was that he had pressed the Premier to effect the amendment was that it was only in consequence of a promise made before the elections by Bandaranaike that the law would be changed to help Rajaratne. The Premier's reply that at that time this matter was not discussed because not even the usually optimistic Bandaranaike

had imagined that he would come to power on a landslide. Rajaratne was undoubtedly guilty of a grave in exactitude. The only persons who could have given a promise at that stage to Rajaratne that the law would be changed were the bigwigs of the UNP who had unblushingly changed the law on more than one occasion to help shining lights of the party to overcome legal hurdles created by the election law.

However great the satisfaction may be in the disappearance of Rajaratne, there is no doubt that he is symptomatic of a disease — the disease of communalism. And the disease still prevails. Communalism in Ceylon has grown in the last ten years in the same proportion as unemployment and underemployment has grown, and until this economic crisis is resolved men like Rajaratne will continue to plague this country. The throwing out of Rajaratne and Felix Jayasuriya out of the SLFP is a heartening sign that the MEP may be inclined to meet the economic problems on a progressive political basis and not by resorting racial slogans and pseudo-fascist techniques of genocide. But until steps are taken to solve the problem of employment the canker of communalism will haunt this island.

## Language

With Rajaratne within the bosom of the MEP, there would have been little or no chance for the Government to ever take the path of progressive amelioration of the worst evils now confronting the country. At every turn racial jingoists would have blackmailed the Government into adopting the most reactionary policies as it happened in regard to the *Sinhala Only* Bill. The removal of these elements from within the MEP decreases the number of racial reactionaries inside the Government, but it is no guarantee that the dangers of MEP communalism are completely removed. But it would easier for the MEP to fight

communalism outside than within its ranks. It is only by deeds that the Government can establish that it has shed itself of the evil aura which the presence of Rajaratne has bestowed on it.

The MEP Government has a wonderful opportunity to effect major changes of a fundamental nature for the welfare and benefit of the country. Without the Rajaratne's inside the Government the task will be much easier particularly because it will be possible to obtain the co-operation of the entire nation by following democratic and progressive policies. One damage the MEP must undo, and this can be effected only by an amendment of the *Sinhala Only*. The spirit of the provisions in the original draft of the Language Bill in regard to Tamil, which was dropped owing to intimidation by Rajaratne, Felix Jayasuriya and others of their ilk, should be restored in the form of suitable amendments to allay the legitimate fears of the Tamil minority. Such amendment would be the first step towards unifying the country and checking the growth of communalism and racialism. This must be followed thereafter with immediate economic measures to transform our economic structure.

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# RESIGNATION

In my notes last week I expressed alarm that the MEP was being stampeded more and more by the Rajaratne's and Jayasuriyas. And the Mettanandas. I had even feared that Bandaranaike would be intimidated into denying men of eminence positions justly due to them because they were not (Sinhalese) *Buddhists*.

Even before the *Tribune* was out last week, (it was unexpectedly late owing to certain technical difficulties in the production), Premier Bandaranaike for the first time since he came to power asserted himself and showed that he "had a backbone". It was known for a long time now that Rajaratne was pressing the Prime Minister to introduce retrospective legislation to enable him to have a fool-proof defence in the election petition pending against him. It was also known that the Premier had all along resisted this.

It was probably at this stage when the inquiry into the election petition is imminent that Felix Jayasuriya took up the challenge. Like the *Sinhala Only Bill*, Jayasuriya had evidently calculated that intimidatory blackmail tactics of a racialist character would make Bandaranaike "climb down." So Rajaratne made a *furor* about the Trincomalee March of the Federal Party. He shouted about Catholics being entrusted with important jobs—in short he echoed the manifesto of reaction embodied in the Mettananda open letter. He attempted to give "teeth" to this threat by tendering his resignation.

Unlike the time of hunger-strike, the Premier was not inclined to woo Rajaratne as he had Jayasuriya. Bandaranaike had evidently learnt his lesson and had also realised that he had adequate popular support without the dangerous assistance of racial jingoists! And so the Rajaratne resignation misfired. Not all the busybodies who haunted Horagalla were able to persuade Bandaranaike that "something should be done for Rajaratne." And with Rajaratne went Felix Jayasuriya.

## Road signs

The throwing out of KONARAGE

(a rather Indianish ge'-name) M.P. Rajaratne from within the Government, should be not lull people into the belief that all is well with the state of Sri Lanka. There seems to be Rajaratne's in many unexpected places. One example was brought forcibly to me last week-end when I motored down from Dambulla to Colombo. In fact I had motored down from the North, but it was the stretch between Dambulla and Kurunegala that caught my attention. All the way from Jaffna, the road signs were in the three languages. Occasionally, near places like Vavuniya there was a spread of tar over some of the letters, but all the way down there was no indication that there was a language controversy judging by the road signs.

This was true until well past the village of Gokarella on the Dambulla road. Suddenly about 20 miles from Kurunegala I found that all the road signs were in *Sinhalese Only*. It was not a blacking out of the Tamil and the English as in the days of the language battle, but a complete re-doing of the road signs with only directions in Sinhalese. I can read Sinhalese and I had not the least difficulty in driving along (and beside I knew this road well enough), but I wondered what the fate of those who did not know Sinhalese would be. At least, I though directions in English should remain! I was wondering as I neared Kurunegala whether this transformation had taken place at all points in the South in the few days I was away in the Northern regions.

But to my surprise from Kurunegala and thereafter the road signs were as of old in the three languages. The only conclusion I could arrive at was that a Rajaratne was operating in the short stretch between Gokarella and Kurunegala. The authorities must look into this matter.

## Another Party

There seems to be great deal of speculation whether Rajaratne, Jayasuriya and Co. could form another party and thereby "pull out" a sufficient number of MEP supporters from the Government

Parliamentary Party to bring about a collapse of the Government.

From all I can gather there does not seem to be any danger of the Government not having sufficient support to keep itself in power. Though Rajaratne and Jayasuriya represent a communalist-racialist trend which is still potentially strong within the MEP, I believe I am right in thinking that these elements would prefer to tread the *middle path* of Premier Bandaranaike.

Rajaratne will no doubt be embraced by reactionary organisations outside the MEP. Some of these organisations which had either backed the UNP or had sat on the fence in the last elections, rushed to the support of the MEP when it came to power. It was organisations like these which caused the mischief over language, and there is no doubt that they would now attempt to consolidate themselves outside the MEP. But I am certain that Bandaranaike has enough popular support in the country to withstand all the pressure that these racial organisations can mobilise. In fighting them he will obtain support from circles which were opposed to the MEP so far.

## Daily News

Two weeks ago I wrote admiringly of the new Lobby Correspondent of the *Daily News* and I had wishfully suggested that the Saturday morning Political Correspondent too should take the cue from the Lobby Correspondent. My wishes seemed to be fulfilled even before they are uttered, and the notes of the Political Correspondent last Saturday (August 11) gladdened my heart beyond measure.

The first item referred to the work of a foreign agency which was "corrupting" youth. The column pointed out that this agency was now operating in the Western Province too (formerly in the North and the South mainly) through a Youth Council. Money was being handed over freely, the paper alleged. My own investigations show that during the last few months the Western Province nucle-

*continued on page 223*

# Today's Racing

At the time of writing these notes the scratchings are not available but in the handicaps Joshua appears a certainty to win the O. E. Goonetilleke Cup in spite of his weight 10 stone 5 pounds and should be followed home by Merlin and Nomad Star.

The Galle Cup looks as if it is a good thing for Mullaley but I think this horse will not be an acceptor as he had two hard races and in his absence I feel inclined to think that Laugh of the Moon should win from United Steel and Boston. It will be noticed that I have left out Court of Claims which does not cast any doubt on the ability of this horse but only I do not think he is quite ready just it.

The Ruanwella Plate over 7 furlongs should be won by Berwick Law but here again I do not think this horse will accept. Should he be a non-runner, I like the chances of Palles Athene, Rosellini and Santa Rosa in that order.

The shrewd punter would be well advised to leave the Laxapana Cup severely alone as it looks a most open race. However, after Lini's run on Wednesday I fancy this

horse to be thereabout at the finish with Dry Joke and Edouard Valmont to follow him home.

The Jaffna Stakes for Arabs in Class 1 appears just the job for Taimour who I think was short of a race before the Roberts Cup and confidently expect him to win from Little Babu and Lulu al Bahrain. I have left Ghazel al Thanaya out as I am made to understand that he will not be a runner.

The N. M. de Silva Plate should lie between Counter Attack and Hatheri Pasha but if Cheeko gets a break and its a false run race he may stay in front to win the race.

I like the chances of Venus to win the Colombo Cup as I cannot see the pony getting beaten after his performance the other day when he smashed a good field to win his race quite easily. Sugar Daddy, Jirjir Ahamed should follow him home.

In the second division of the Colombo Cup I like the chances of Amru al Qays, Happy Baby and Marzuq. Marzuq did not have the luck of running the other day and should he get a smoother passage this time should go very near winning this race.

## SELECTIONS

(Subject to Scratchings)

### O. E. Goonetilleke Cup

1. Joshua
2. Merlin
3. Nomad Star

### Galle Cup

1. Mullaley (if absent)  
Laugh of the Moon
2. United Steel
3. Boston

### Ruanwella Plate

1. Berwick Law (if absent)  
Pallas Athene
2. Rossellini
3. Santa Rosa

### Laxapana Cup

1. Lini
2. Dry Joke
3. Edouard Valmont

### Jaffna Stakes

1. Taimour
2. Little Babu
3. Lulu al Bahrei..

### N. M. de Silva Plate

1. Counter Attack
2. Hatheri Pasha
- O.S. Cheeko

### Colombo Cup ( Div. 1 )

1. Venus
2. Sugar Daddy
3. Jiajir Ahamed

### Co'ombo ( Div. 2. )

1. Amru al Qays
2. Happy Baby
3. Marzuq



# UNP & MEP

Some reference, has been made to a resolution that I proposed on 20th February, 1954 at the annual session of the U.N.P. This was the resolution: "This Conference reiterates its decision to make Sinhalese and Tamil the official languages throughout the country in the shortest possible time." Now, the question was asked as to why that resolution was introduced at that particular stage and in that particular form. In January, 1954, there was an Indo-Ceylon Agreement where the phrase "the language of the area" was used, and here were some who sought to give the interpretation that Tamil and Sinhalese shall be the official languages of Ceylon, that Tamil would be the official language in one part of Ceylon and Sinhalese would be the official language in the other part. That would have affected the Muslims most because they reside in both areas and I was particularly interested therefore in obtaining a clarification and moved a resolution in that form at that U.N.P. conference. Therefore this resolution made it crystal clear that there were not going to be an official language in terms of areas, but that there were going to be two official languages.

## Parity

The words "parity of status" were never used by me, nor was I ever happy when the term "parity of status" came into use and when my Sinhalese friends interpreted that term as "fifty-fifty" in disguise. I used to advise my Tamil friends not to use the terms "parity of status" and my resolution never contained that phrase. Then this question became very acute as a result of the disregard of the Tamil language on the occasion of the opening of Parliament by the Queen on 24th June, 1954. Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam sought to move an Amendment to the Throne Speech to the effect that provision should be made in the constitution by which Tamil will be assured of a position of complete equality with Sinhalese

This is a further extract from a statement based on a speech made by Senator A.M.A. Azeez which throws considerable light on the attitude the Muslims have taken in regard to language.

as one of the official and national languages.

All that I desire to stress is that it started an acrimonious controversy throughout the country. The Muslim community had to take note of the controversy agitating the country, the feelings expressed and the tension created. Therefore, on 11th December 1955, the All-Ceylon Muslim League held a symposium on the language question. It invited various parties. We had the representatives of the S.L.F.P., the V.L.S.S.P., etc., and the Ceylonese National League which advocated English as the only official language for many years to come. We were benefitted by all these discussors.

On 18th December 1955 we had a joint conference of the All-Ceylon Muslim League and the All Ceylon Moor's Association, and we passed a resolution which is relevant to my approach to this Bill. This was the resolution we passed in December, 1955:

"That Sinhalese be accepted as the only State Language with due official recognition being given to Tamil and English, and provided that fundamental rights of the minorities in respect of religion, culture, language, etc., are incorporated in the Constitution".

## Kelaniya

That resolution was ratified by the Central Council of the All-Ceylon Muslim League on 8th January, 1956, two sets of representatives from these two organisations met and considered whether that particular resolution should be moved as an amendment to the U.N.P. resolution at the Kelaniya conference. There was a diversity of views. Some opposed the propo-

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# UNP & MEP

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sal of amendment, and felt that an interview should be sought with the then Prime minister, Sir John Kotelawela, to find out whether he had in mind the giving of due recognition to Tamil and English, and incorporating fundamental rights. At that time the idea was that there was going to be an amendment to the Constitution.

Some felt that there should be an amendment moved at Kelaniya; others felt that an assurance from the then Prime Minister would be sufficient, and that there was no need for an amendment. On 19th January, 1956, a deputation waited on the then Prime Minister, led by Dr. Kaleel, then Minister of Labour. The necessary assurance was given by Sir John Kotelawela to the Muslim League and the Moor's Association, and those who represented these bodies in that deputation pledged their support to the U.N.P. after that assurance was given. The assurance was that the Bill to be brought forward by him when he was voted to power, would conform to the requirement that due recognition be given to Tamil and English, and that fundamental rights would be recognised.

On 17th May this year, we had a glimpse of the Bill that was being prepared by the present Government through the newspapers. The Bill as it appeared was not acceptable to us. Between the publication of the details of the Bill on the 17th May and the publication of the present Bill, some vital clauses, providing for some recognition to Tamil, had been omitted. The present Bill is worse than the draft Bill which appeared on 17th May.

## Draft

When the draft of the Bill appeared in the papers, we passed a resolution on 20th May, three days after the draft was published. This is the resolution:

"Whereas the All-Ceylon Muslim League in December, 1955, passed a resolution that Sinhalese be accepted as the only State Language with due official recognition being given to Tamil and English, and provided that fundamental rights of the minorities in respect of religion, culture, language

etc., are incorporated in the Constitution, and whereas the Draft Bill which has been approved by the Sinhala Only Committee of the MEP does not give due official recognition to the Tamil and English languages, and whereas no steps have been taken to incorporate in the Constitution the Fundamental Rights of the minorities in respect of religion, culture, and language, and whereas the Draft Bill violates the fundamental language rights of the Ceylonese Muslims and whereas the immediate change over to Sinhalese as the official language and the completion of the process before January, 1960, denies to the Muslims the opportunity of participating fully in the life of the country and imposes on them disabilities and disadvantages.

All the effect this resolution appears to have had on the Government was that instead of January, 1960, they made it 31st December, 1960. They probably think that the Muslims are so capable of acquiring a new language quickly that twelve months would make all the difference to them! We are not claiming parity. We want opportunities for participating fully in the life of the country, and our quarrel is that the Government does not give us time to cope with the situation. They are over-hasty. To conclude my quotation from the resolution:

"This Central Council of the All-Ceylon Muslim League hereby unequivocally declares that it cannot accept a Bill in terms of the proposed draft.

This resolution was passed on 20th May, and on the 24th May we had the honour of an invitation from the Prime Minister to discuss this resolution and the language problem with him. We met him in the morning. We spent four hours with him. We expressed our point of view fully. He saw our difficulties, but that same evening Mr. F. R. Jayasuriya commenced his fast to death. He was good enough to call off his hunger strike on the 26th, and on the 28th he had the privilege of attending a meeting of the Parliamentary Group of the MEP. It is not for me to discuss the purport and manner of his fast, which are well known. Although Mr. Jayasuriya's

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# HAMINA

Hamina was the dirtiest little girl in class. Her nose always ran but she never possessed a handkerchief — not even a piece of rag. She often cleaned her nose in her frock. Her face was dirty, her frock was dirty, and her slate was dirty. She possessed only one frock and it was at least six inches longer than what it should be.

Leela obeyed her ayah and never sat next to Hamina. One day her ayah asked Hamina how she got that name. Hamina lowered her head and did not reply. Leela's ayah turned to the other children and asked, "Is that a name? Hamina... Hamina..." She laughed. "Shall I tell you how you got that name?" she asked Hamina. Hamina did not reply. "You are a Padu girl. Do you know that?" She asked again. "Your mother, that Padu woman got permission to collect cowdung in the lady's cattle-shed. Ask the fat Padu woman whether she collected cowdung?" Hamina's head went lower and lower. Lot of girls gathered round Leela's ayah to listen to the story. She collected cowdung and whilst she collected

cowdung she used to overhear us calling lady's mother Hamina. That is how you got your name!" ayah said lifting Hamina's head with the tip of her umbrella. "Hamina is now Hamina. Hamina — a Padu woman. A Padu woman to be a Hamina.....Don't you children call her Hamina.....She is a Padu girl. These creatures are ladies now. We will have to serve them one day!" and she pushed Hamina with her umbrella. Hamina ran behind the school and hid. Hamina made it a habit to hide behind the school during the interval. She never brought a cent to buy at the gate where all the girls flocked in the interval.

Once Leela's sweets fell from her hands on to the ground. Ayah said there were germs and threw them into the garden. Hamina darted from behind the school wall and pounced on the sweets. Leela screamed behind her, "Don't eat them."

There are germs! Give them to the dog.

Ayah laughed.

Hamina knew nothing in class. She couldn't write. She couldn't read and she could not add. Ayah said Padu women need not learn to read or write or add. What did they read or to whom did they write and...what have they to add except the annual increment to the family? ayah asked.

"Then why should she come to school?" Leela asked.

"They want to become ladies now," ayah told her. "We never saw a Padu woman wearing frocks. They wear a piece of cloth at home." Leela was astonished to hear that a classmate of hers could wear a piece of cloth at home. Ayah to prove her point lifted Hamina's frock with the tip of her umbrella. True enough there was a piece of cloth worn underneath. Leela ran to tell the other girls and they all chased Hamina to see the piece of cloth. Hamina ran like a deer. She ran round and round and in the end when the girls surrounded her Hamina hung her head down and bit her nails. The

girls asked her to show the piece of cloth but she went on biting her nails. She did not speak or look up. Then the bell rang and the girls had to give up seeing Hamina's piece of cloth.

Next day the girls found Hamina behind the school wall sucking. They brought their sweets to her. They offered the sweets just for a glimpse of the piece of cloth. Hamina turned her face to the wall and stayed rigid. One girl got close enough to raise her frock what a chorus of voices stopped her. "Don't touch her. She is full of germs."

"You will fall ill!"

"Don't touch us after touching her!"

Then they all went and Hamina squatted on the ground waiting for the bell to ring. Intervals were long and meaningless. If she could finish her work at a stretch and go home it would not have been so trying.

Then suddenly the girls swooped down upon her. They carried sticks hastily broken from branches and trees. Hamina's eyes grew bigger and bigger and tears gathered into their depths. She darted through the circles of girls and ran. The girls armed with sticks chased her. They hounded her own down near the gate and lifted her frock with the sticks. One stick pulled the cloth down. The filthiest of rags it was. "So filthy it is it cannot even be burned," Ayah said. The girls ran away leaving Hamina. One carried the piece of cloth at the end of a stick. When the bell rang they threw it on to a bush at the end of the garden.

Hamina waited for them to go to class. Then she approached the bushes but dared not take the cloth down. She hid behind the wall and waited for the end of the day. She did not go to class.

Next day Hamina did not come to school. And days followed each other and no Hamina appeared. The piece of rag on the bushes remained for a few days casting a cloud of darkness in the cleanliness of the school compound that the head teacher took such a pride in.

Ayah told the lady Leela could continue to attend the village school for a few more years.

## UNP & MEP

(continued from page 220)

friends may think that no language owed so much to one individual as the Sinhalese language to Mr. Jayasuriya, history, I am sure, will pronounce a different verdict. The Bill became truncated and incomplete — whether as a result of Mr. Jayasuriya's action or not, I do not know. The Bill became less satisfactory to us. After the present Bill was published, the Working Committee of the All-Ceylon Muslim League passed this resolution on 8th June:

"The Working Committee while regretting its inability to support the Official Language Bill in the form in which it has been introduced by the present Government in the House of Representatives on June 5, 1956, re-affirms the League's acceptance of Sinhalese as the only State Language of Ceylon".

**HEADLINES  
&  
DEADLINES**

BY PUCK

**OPPOSITION MEN SEEK TO JOIN GOVERNMENT**

Observer, 14/8

*The old old story*

**WEDDING GOES UP IN FLAMES**

Times, 5/8

*Burning love!*

**TIMES HANGS HEAVY ON THE HANGMEN**

Times, 5/8

*Hoist on their own petard*

**WOMAN TELLS OF NIGHT ENTRY**

Times, 15/8

*Hush!*

**BEVY OF MINISTERS (ALL MALES) SPEAK AT CHILAW RECEPTION**

Observer, 5/8

*Changing Sex?*

**MR. RAJARATNE ASKED ME TO SAVE HIM, SAYS P.M.**

Morning Times, 15/8

*Amen!*

**BURMA EYES OUR DOG SANCTUARY — DATA IS SOUGHT FROM MAYOR**

Sunday Observer, 5/8

*Why not give it away, Mr. Mayor?*

**SIR JOHN—UNP IS NOT DEAD, NOR AM I**

Observer, 15/8

*Believe it or not!*

**HALF A MILLION ACRES - OR BUST (C. P. DE SILVA)**

Morning Times, 15/8

*Why not bust?*

**FORTY NIGHT TELEPHONISTS COMPLAIN**

Morning Times, 16/8

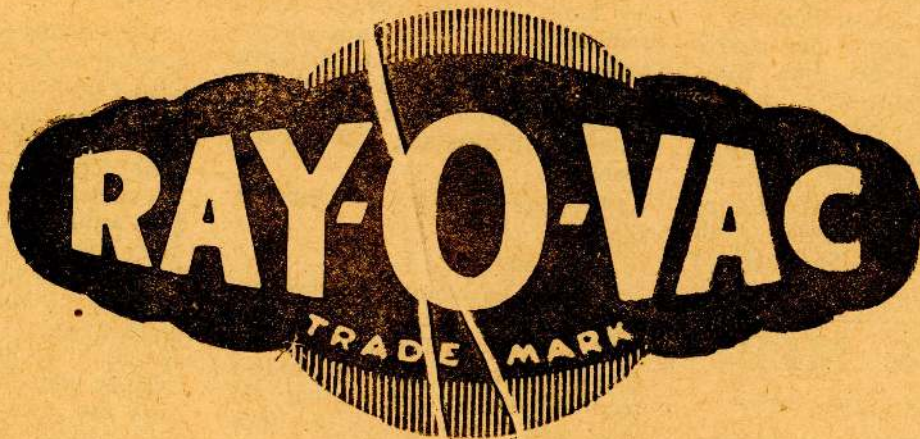
*Not enough sleeping time!*

**SIGHT OF GALLOWS DISTURBS HOME MINISTER**

Morning Times, 16/8

*But not the murderers!*

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# Just Briefly

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us has spent Rs. 6,000 on helping a number of University students to travel in a neighbouring country, sent two students to Indonesia to attend a Conference after giving them talking points about supporting the delegation from Phillipines and Pakistan (what our students did there I do not know), and financed another two to go to Manila to attend some Seminar. What more money it has spent I do not know, but the Government would be extremely foolish if it let matters drift in the way it is doing.

*Tribune* has for the last two years and more, in fact, ever since it came into existence, has stressed that all foreign aid should be channelled through Government. It has taken a long time for Lake House to come round to this point of view, but it has. The *Daily News* columnist last Saturday emphasised this most vehemently and pressed for an in-

vestigation into the functioning of this organisation. Two years ago when *Tribune* first raised the cry that the Asia Foundation (Committee for Free Asia) should be investigated and that its bounty should be channelled through Government it was a cry in the wilderness. Today, Lake House has taken up the cry.

I am still marvelling at the change that has come over Lake House ever since the *Student of Politics* articles graced the columns of the *Daily News*.

## Dictator

According to report in the *Observer* on Thursday, it would appear that the Commissioner of Motor Transport is anxious to clothe himself with near-dictatorial powers. He also wants appeals from his orders to the Supreme Court, eliminated. He wants vari-

ous safeguards against the abuse of bureaucratic power removed under the plea of their being "cumbersome".

The Minister of Transport must not walk into a trap and recommend legislation which will make dictators of civil servants. Life will become intolerable not only for bus operators but also the public if the customary safeguards to protect the rights of the individual are arbitrarily discarded. As it is the Commissioner of Motor Transport continuously violates some of the major laws under the Motor Traffic Act. For instance, he permits a number of operators to run services without stage carriage permits. While conniving at such illegality, which has arisen through the inefficiency of the Department, he now seeks wider powers. The aim seems to be to have the power himself to regularise illegality of every kind without even having the remotest check of a possible appeal to the Supreme Court.



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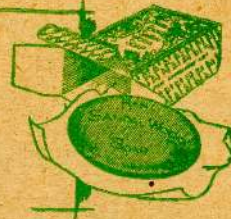
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