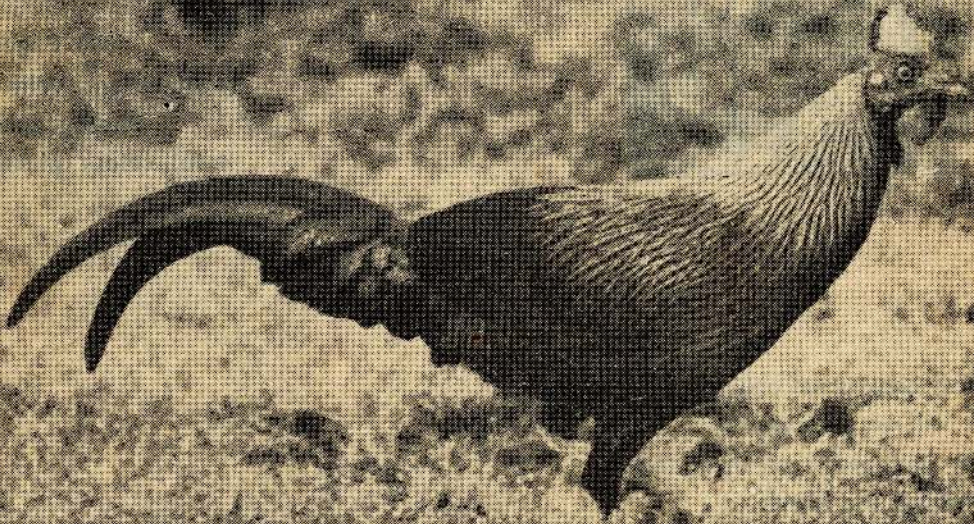


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Letter From The Editor

ONCE AGAIN, this time in the midst of a major political crisis in this country, we revert to the question of the protection and conservation of wild life (and fauna) in this country. On the cover we have a picture of what is popularly known as the *jungle fowl*. This bird, with wonderful plumage, is now being shot out of existence by persons who cater to the choosy palates of foreign tourists and local gourmets. But it is not the jungle fowl and the spotted deer alone that are being threatened with extinction. The stupid policy followed by the Department of Wild Life Conservation since 1970, when all game wardens and rangers were withdrawn to special enclaves, has given a free hand to poachers and the hunters. The Department has obviously been motivated by the logic which Rodney Jonklaas so ably proliferated into two lengthy articles in the *Daily News* of August 5 and 6 under the title *The Problem of Surplus*. His argument was simple: man had the right to destroy all other species of life which impinged on his right to lord it over the earth without any inconvenience being caused to him by the lesser species. There is much to be said for the ruthlessly frank approach to the question. It is this kind of thinking that justified the killing (and the genocide) of the Red Indians to make room for the better-armed Anglo-Saxons in the wide open spaces of North America. With the same cold logic the aborigines of Australia and the Maoris of New Zealand were destroyed. They were liquidated because they were inferior in fire-power to the white races who wanted new pastures to whet their exploitative appetites. Rodney Jonklaas does not seem to realise that, if his argument is carried to its logical conclusion, it will mean that beings not in possession of lethal weapons must be destroyed to make room for the animals which have acquired fire arms. This also means that the well-armed mobster has the right to kill and eliminate the surplusage in human beings who have become a burden on the environment which was his special preserve. The Rodney Jonklaases of this era cover themselves with glory by pretending that they seek to destroy only predators who menace rural peasants in the periphery of the jungles. The *Daily News* published a rejoinder to Jonklaas by Ranjith Senanayake, but this was an emotional (Buddhistic) appeal for fair play which was dismissed by Jonklaas by ridiculing Ranjith Senanayake's arguments and by holding aloft the fact that he (Jonklaas) was an educated man with a science degree (was it in biology or zoology?). In this issue of *Tribune* we have published a lengthy comment by Herbert Keuneman in his *Building a Village House* series entitled *An Argument For Not Shooting Mr. Jonklaas*. It is an interesting and incisive piece which our readers will enjoy reading. Incidentally, it is heartening to see that sections of our daily press have awoken to a new consciousness of the need to protect and conserve our wild life and fauna. Take, for instance, the Sunday papers of August 31. The *Observer* had a frontpage story about a wounded elephant in the Amparai area which the veterinarians of the Department of Wild Life Conservation were not inclined to treat. It is strange that the highly paid veterinarians of the Department are rooted in Colombo—(do they enjoy private practice in the metropolis which makes it difficult for them to move out?)—and they seem to be unwilling to go to places where they are needed. *Tribune* has received a report from Amparai—this has to be confirmed—that an official of the Wild Life Department (it may be even a veterinarian) had told the villagers that they should drive the wounded elephant into the jungle so that it die in peace there (without being photographed and be written about in the *Observer*). On the same day the *Observer* had a story about the slow extinction of the wild ponies on Delft Island without the Department of Wild Life Conservation losing any sleep over it. The *Observer* also had a "story" released by the Department that a plan was ready to capture the surplus buffalo population in Yala in September—and the note about this by R. Kahawita in our issue of 6/9/74 showed the dangers inherent in this futile operation. The *Sunday Times* of August 31 also had two stories—one about the indiscriminate destruction of turtles at Kalpitiya and the other about a leopard cub that had been captured. Even all this press publicity does not seem to move the Department. As we to press, news is to hand that the wounded elephant near Amparai had died and that it had been cremated with full honours with officials of the Wild Life Conservation Department turning up to pay their final respects to the burning carcass (vide *Observer*, Sunday, September 7). Reports have reached *Tribune* that the Vavuniya authorities had sent frantic telegraphic and radio messages last week that a wounded elephant was stuck in an abandoned tank not far from Manikulam, but no reply had been forthcoming from Colombo because the "office was closed".

EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

On Food Production

THE POLITICAL CHANGES which have overtaken the United Front should not create a new euphoria that, with the departure of the over-enthusiastic ideologues of the LSSP from the Government, unheard of miracles would drop like manna from heaven because the SLFP has assumed an even more dominant role than before in the affairs of the country. What the SLFP can do or will do in the Ministries of Finance, Transport and Plantations is yet to be seen, but there is no doubt that the public will extend the fullest support to the efforts of the new Ministers—if vindictive witch-hunting, sectarian partisanship and exclusive politicalisation, characteristic of LSSP administration, are abandoned.

This apart, there is one very important problem which most people seem to have lost sight of: namely the question of food production in this country to make it self-sufficient. The generosity of the USA (calculated generosity, some say) has enabled this Government to have an overstock of PL 480 wheat flour which not only helped this country to overcome the last food crisis but which has also given a breathing space to our government to catch up with food production. There is today at least a six months stock of flour. And with such ample flour stocks, smaller quantities of rice are enough to satisfy popular demand.

But this large inflow of surplus PL 480 American wheat flour has had a most deleterious effect on the local production of food crops—and for this we have only ourselves to blame. In the 20 years and more of PL 480 exports of American surplus agricultural produce it has been known that such imports tend to have a depressing impact on food production in the developing countries which failed to take countervailing measures to deal with this problem. American assistance in the form of PL 480 food im-

ports cover current food shortages and at the same time create a superficial impression of abundance in these countries. This led to a further reduction in local food production, especially in countries where, for one reason or another, the Government has not devised a system of worthwhile incentives to make the wheels of agricultural production continue humming in spite of PL 480 imports.

In spite of the many lessons of the past, Sri Lanka did not take the appropriate measures to safeguard local food production when the unexpected imports of large PL 480 imports became available early this year. The PL 480 imports were no doubt vitally essential to prevent the famine which was round the corner around April. How the Prime Minister was able to persuade the USA to give this flour or why the US Government gave it to Sri Lanka is another matter, but there is no doubt that without this flour food riots and worse would broken out in many parts of the country.

But when these PL 480 imports were arranged for, the Government should have taken adequate steps that the manioc, sorghum, kurakkan and other little water-utilisation crops which the farmers had planted owing to appeals by Government to grow more substitute subsidiaries, were assured of prices which the farmers had hoped for when they embarked on this cultivation. Farmers had risked higher costs in planting because of the high prevailing prices. But when the PL 480 stocks arrived, there was a disastrous drop in the prices of these food crops. With flour on the market, there was not even a demand for manioc and sorghum in many parts of the country. It was only after several weeks that the Government realised that a great tragedy had overtaken the farming community and a new scheme of guaranteed prices and guaranteed purchases by the PMB was announced for items like sorghum and maize. But this really came too late; and the guaranteed prices offered were really too little considering the costs of the inputs and the inflation.

THE RESULT was that farmers have now become chary of growing

anything at all. Even the optimistic risk-takers have cut down the scale of their operations. There is very little sorghum, manioc and kurakkan being grown this year. Even with good rains this year, farmers, peasants and agricultural producers will not be inclined to enlarge or even intensify their cultivation of paddy—beyond meeting their own requirements and a little more for tax-free cash—because the cost of inputs have increased far beyond the cost of inputs on which the last PMB guaranteed price was based. With flour so cheaply available, there is only little off-ration demand for rice, and the enterprising farmer has now found that it was only the price of the off-ration rice on the open market that was adequate for his troubles in growing paddy.

Unless the Government is able to devise a scheme of incentives to cope with the realities of the situation, food production will stagnate and will decrease. The scheme of incentives must take into consideration the impact PL 480 imports has already had on the real farming community and also allow for the consequences of the over-stocks in the island (and the stocks which are likely to come in the next eighteen months.)

Government must also take very serious steps to induce the farming community to engage themselves in agricultural production of cereals and other substitute food crops in spite of the seeming abundance in the country owing to the import of PL 480 flour. It must be remembered that in Sri Lanka very favourable conditions exist for a real major breakthrough in food production. With a little hard work and imaginative and realistic planning, this country can become self-sufficient within a short time. For the time being at least, ideological orthodoxies, political obsessions, historical hallucinations and racial inhibitions must be set aside in order to mobilise the available manpower in the country to engage in food production.

WITH THE PROSPECTS OF GLOBAL PEACE as a result of the spirit of detente spreading out in all directions, developing countries have excellent opportunities to increase food production as the first priority in the production drive they must inevitably pursue

in the interests of the nation. According to some statisticians, the world output of food in the last 20 years has gone up 50 percent, that is 22% more than the population growth. It has also been calculated that less than 50% of the cultivable land on this planet is really cultivated. Even developing countries have, even under the most dismal conditions, increased food production, on an average, by 0.5% percent.

It must be remembered that agriculture is the most capital intensive of all economic undertakings and money must flow into the developing countries from outside in the form of loans, grants and the like, if a breakthrough is to take place. Nonaligned countries have suggested that the military expenditure of the Big Powers should be cut down and the money thus saved should be siphoned to the developing countries—not to supply food but to enable them to modernise their agriculture through the latest achievements in science and technology.

It must be mentioned that today there is a false sense of security about the world food situation. The last global food crisis was averted through a variety of short term measures, but the crisis has not gone away. Though the topic of food crisis has faded from the newspaper headlines, many agricultural experts have fears that a number of countries are still in great peril of hunger, malnutrition and starvation—more than they were a year ago. Although no major crop failures have been reported, forecast, this year, experts are apprehensive because the world's margin of food reserves has narrowed considerably in the last year.

This is how a commentator on agricultural matters has summed up the situation in the *New York Times*:

They (the experts) are also worried that the currently optimistic crop forecasts are fostering a sense of complacency that could lead to a slackening of long-range efforts to establish a global food reserve system and to improve agriculture in the poor countries. The world's supply of reserve grain, which was already precariously low early last summer, is even smaller now. Much of it was used for famine relief last year and global crop shortfalls of about 66 million tons last year prevented any significant rebuilding of stocks.

In the year since the early signs of last year's food shortages began to appear, the world's population has grown by about 74 million mouths. World Health Organisation officials estimate that about 400 million people in various countries remain in a state of malnutrition. Thus, a modest spell of bad weather that would have had little impact in past years could now precipitate a sizable food shortage. If, as some climatologists suspect, the world is experiencing a major shift in weather patterns, last year's disastrous weather could be repeated this summer.

So far, however, the early Food and Agriculture Organisation forecasts are that this year's global harvest will be 8 per cent above last year's. Since 1974 was a poor year, most of the predicted improvement represents only a return to normal. According to FAO estimates, most of that increase will come from the United States and the Soviet Union while expectations are for declines in the crops of Western Europe, North Africa and the Near East. India's winter wheat crop, now being harvested, is expected to set a new record high. The failure of this crop last year was a major factor in India's famine.

Over all, the FAO, in its May 16 quarterly report, said the food situation has improved in the last quarter, but the world still depends crucially on this year's crop outturn. Early prospects are favourable for wheat and coarse grains, but weather could still play havoc with spring-sown crops. The outlook is uncertain for rice. The FAO projections, which largely agree with those of the US Department of Agriculture, are based on the assumption that weather for the rest of the growing season will be favourable in all major agricultural regions of the world. That is the same assumption that was made last spring when the forecasts were also for good harvests. As it turned out bad weather, chiefly drought, afflicted significant portions of North America, the Soviet Union and India.

Despite all the nice, optimistic projections on crops, some of those crops have not even been planted yet, said Dr. Dale Hathaway, an agricultural economist at the Ford Foundation and an adviser to the Secretariat of last November World Food Conference. We are right back where we were in 1974 at about this time except that stocks are lower than ever. Dr. Ralph Cummings Jr. of the Rockefeller Founda-

tion, another agricultural economist, said he also is worried about growing complacency over the food situation. "The thing that bothers me", he said, "is that six months ago everyone was concerned. Now no one is and I don't see that the world is in any greatly different situation than it was".

According to a report by the Overseas Development Council, a private organisation concerned with the problems of developing countries, the world in 1975 is more vulnerable to a major new grain shortfall than at any time since the second world war. Under present circumstances, the group said, a shift in supply of only 1 or 2 per cent below or above effective market demand can mean either soaring prices and increased malnutrition, or plummeting prices and lower farm incomes.

Sri Lanka must draw the appropriate lessons from what has happened in this country and in the rest of the world and formulate a dynamic policy of growth to persuade the farming community to make this country self-sufficient. This can be done and must be done.

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POLITICAL PERSPECTIVES

What Next?

By Pertinax

On September 2, the three LSSP Ministers had not shown any willingness to tender their resignations, when so requested by the Prime Minister, and they were removed from office by the President under powers vested in him by the Constitution. On the next day, the Ministries so vacated were handed over to the care of three SLFP Ministers on what is regarded as an interim arrangement: Mr. Felix R. Dias Bandaranaike was sworn in as Minister of Finance at the Embassy of Sri Lanka in the USA at Washington whilst Mr. P. B. G. Kalugalle and Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwa took their oaths in Colombo as the Ministers of Transport and Plantation Industries respectively. Thus ended one chapter in the contemporary political history of this island. It ended a eleven year association between the SLFP and the LSSP.

It will be recalled that after carrying on a political running war against the SLFP governments from 1956 (in spite of no-contest electoral agreements for the 1956 elections—not observed one hundred percent—and the July 1960 elections), the LSSP in 1964 suddenly deserted its allies in the United Left Front (formed in 1963) and joined a Coalition government with the SLFP in June 1964. History will record that LSSP sectarian adventurism was one of the main causes of the downfall of this Government in December 1964 (it is customary to blame national and international "reactionaries" for such successful de-stabilisation, but one must not forget that de-stabilisation is not possible unless weak links are created and exposed through over-hasty, sectarian and adventurist actions which turns friends into enemies and throws sections of an otherwise loyal population into the hands of the enemy). In the years 1965-70, when an inept and shortsighted UNP government tried to turn the clock back by pretending to go forward, the United Front of the SLFP, LSSP and the CP came into being in the agitatfonal at-

mosphere of the Opposition and this coalition won the 1970 elections on the Common Programme that had been accepted by the three parties in 1968. This electoral manifesto was only one of the many reasons why the UF won the 1970 elections—many observers tend to forget that the acts of commission and omission of the UNP government from 1965 to 1970 were responsible even more than the Common Programme for the debacle which Mr. Dudley Senanayake and his party suffered at the polls.

From all that has happened between 1970 to 1975, historians will conclude that the different parties in the UF had their reservations and separate understanding about important provisions in the Common Programme and the manner in which they should be implemented. But the LSSP, apart from holding three key and sensitive portfolios, were able to use swagger, bombastic political idiom and brash adventurism to stampede the SLFP into following policies which appeared spectacular in the field of radicalism but which have brought the economy of this country to virtual bankruptcy and total economic stagnation without taking it anywhere near the proclaimed objective of socialism (and the promised millenium).

Small benefits have no doubt been conferred on selected sections of the population with patronage politics enthroned as the high art of government. The CP, the weakest and smallest partner of the UF, generally tended to tail behind the LSSP, but it had occasionally protested against some of the LSSP-inspired or supported actions as being contrary to the interests of the working class, and this had brought much trouble to the CP and its paper, the *Aththa*, and also the hardline section of the Party (whilst it lasted). The CP's *Aththa* had very often pointed out that the economic and financial policies of the Government were self-defeating and that they served no purpose beyond running down the economy, but unfortunately the *Aththa* could not rise above the leftwing agitational political idiom of the thirties and the forties—virulent onslaughts in sharp and often crude language characteristic of a rabble-rouser, totally unmindful of the fact that the CP was a

government party (itself dabbling in a over-sized quantum of patronage politics). If the *Aththa* had developed the art of saying what it had to say (and much of it was correct) in language and idiom which the common masses (of the SLFP and even the UNP) would have accepted, (the *Aththa* manner made enemies of friends), the history of the UF government would indeed have been very different.

There is no purpose in probing the "ifs" of recent history—it will be for the historian and the researcher to do so. But what is important today is: what next?

Three new SLFP Ministers have taken over the functions of the LSSP Ministers. Of the three LSSP deputy Ministers, one has quit the LSSP and remains in the Government—whether he will join the SLFP is problematic. Two Deputy Ministers' posts have been rendered vacant. With Mr. Felix R. Dias Bandaranaike taking over the Ministry of Finance, the question of a Minister to handle the large packet he had managed earlier will arise. Will Public Administration (which was truncated from the Ministry of Finance in 1970 because of SLFP fears about the LSSP) be returned to the Ministry of Finance? Ministers must be found to look after Home Affairs and Local Government and Justice. If Mr. Neale de Alwis is made permanent in a post in which he has acted so often, nobody will have anything to complain about and the current interim *status quo* can be continued for sometime longer. Justice is the one Ministry that can create difficult problems—if the tradition that only a fully-fledged lawyer should hold the post (the Deputy Minister who has often acted does not have the qualification) is to be maintained.

These matters in the Ministerial jig-saw puzzle have made many speculate whether or not a major Cabinet reshuffle was in the offing. The *Daily Mirror*, last Saturday, flew a kite suggesting that such a major reshuffle was likely within the next two or three weeks. It almost prophesied that such a reshuffle was definite. But more astrological-minded persons have looked up the almanacs and have begun to whisper about a possible major reshuffle on various dates this month and the next.

All this is in the field of speculation and guesswork. Whilst some kind of reshuffle is likely sooner or later, there is no likelihood that the Prime Minister will rush into anything immediately. She will probably give a little time for everything (in what is left of the UF and in the SLFP LSSP, CP UNP and FP) to settle down and find new levels of political sensitivity before she moves. Now that the three-cornered SLFP-LSSP-CP united front is no more, the PM must establish a new relationship with the CP—a meeting between the party leaders is likely to take place soon.

But even before thinking about a major Cabinet reshuffle, the Prime Minister has to resolve outstanding budgetary, financial and economic matters. With the new Minister of Finance she has to give shape and form to last year's nebulous and anomalous budget which still remains without any teeth in the form of a Revenue or Finance Bill. The new Budget must be got ready before the end of October. Money must be found to meet current bills, national and international. The wheels of trade must be oiled with bank credits. But above all, methods must be devised to provide incentives for industry and agriculture to get these sec-

tors moving into productive gear. (It is one thing to distribute land and make some people happy, but it is another matter to make the farming community—old and new—to start production in real earnest). This will entail a wholesale revision of the LSSP-inspired income tax laws and other fiscal and monetary policies.

All this must be done with a weather eye open on the hardships too long suffered (unnecessarily) by the common people. It must be remembered that a General Election is due in 1977 (if not earlier) and that the LSSP will be now active in the agitational field in the Opposition. (Dr. N. M. Perera had already turned prophetic when he suggested at the Homagama meeting last weekend that he could not see how this Government could last another six months). In the circumstances, political prudence will no doubt persuade the Government (and the new SLFP Minister of Finance) to adopt measures which will not only bring nationwide relief but also undoubted electoral support.

With the world prices being what they are, the Government can easily bring down the price of wheat flour by half to enable bakers to sell a pound of bread at fifty cents. In the same way, the price of sugar can be brought down to Rs. 2 a pound (the jeggery makers, who are now making

unconscionable profits, can easily do with less profits). The price of diesel oil and kerosene should be brought down (by cutting down on the BTT collected and other internal taxes). This will immediately bring down the cost of vegetables and locally produced foodstuffs—the cost of lorry transport must drop if prices of essentials are to be brought down. Undertakings to producers and the farming community that the *status quo* as at present will not be disturbed for a specified period will help, and if incentives of a basic character are offered for increased production it will induce a new revolution.

These are only a few of things that a sane-minded and rational Minister of Finance will consider doing at this juncture. But there is much more to be done. But the financial liquidity position (internal and external) brought into being in a sharp and near-bankrupt manner by the LSSP Minister of Finance will no doubt be the major headache for the new Minister of Finance. (How the ex-Minister of Finance, Dr. N. M. Perera had proposed to tackle this was never disclosed, but even the problem had been hidden under tall talk about international conspiracies to de-stabilise this Government). It will be interesting to see what the new Minister of Finance will do in the coming weeks.

CHRONICLE

Aug. 29—Sept. 4

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

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

FRIDAY, AUGUST 29: Talks between the Prime Minister and the leaders of the LSSP regarding the reconstitution of the Cabinet ended in failure: last evening the Prime Minister made an unscheduled call on the President and this gave rise to speculation of

impending changes in the government: so far no changes in the Cabinet or re-allocation of ministerial functions have taken place: a meeting of the executive committee of the SLFP has been summoned on next Monday and all Ministers and MPs of the SLFP have pledged their support to the Prime Minister on any stand she would take in the present crisis—CDN. According to the *Daily Mirror* the Prime Minister who called on the President yesterday had discussed the removal of the three LSSP Ministers from the Cabinet in the event of their failing to resign. According to the *Virakesari* the Prime Minister gave time till midnight yesterday for the three LSSP Ministers to resign and a Cabinet reshuffle will take place only after the return of Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike. According to the *Aththa* the Prime Minister was very adamant that the three LSSP Ministers should be removed from the Cabinet. According to the *Janadina* no final decision has been arrived at regarding the crisis and the discussions will continue to iron out the differences within the UF. The Prime Minister will preside at the SLFP anniversary celebrations meeting tomorrow at Galle—CDM. The Ministry

of Justice yesterday sent notices containing rules and regulations on the Declarations of Assets and Liabilities Bill to thousands of Government servants; including Ministers, MPs, Judges and other top officials; those who become eligible for declaration are called upon to send in their declarations before the end of October this year—CDN. Health Ministry has issued a warning to the public that the eye disease called "Conjunctivitis" is widespread and those who are affected should seek treatment at the nearest hospital—CDN. The students of the Vidyalankara Campus of the University boycotted lectures demanding the removal of suspension orders issued on 15 students by the authorities—VK. An operation was performed on a 50 year old patient at the Welisara hospital by using the Chinese Acupuncture method instead of the normal anaesthesia administered on patients before an operation: this was performed by three Ceylonese doctors who underwent training in China on the method of Acupuncture—DM. Addis Ababa Radio reported the death of the former Emperor of Ethiopia Haile Selassie at the age of 83. Indian Minister of External Affairs, Mr. B. Y. Chavan, addressing the Foreign Ministers conference in Lima urged the conference to call all great powers to leave the Indian Ocean a nuclear free zone and not to introduce the arms race into the area to advance their own narrow, national or strategic interests and ambitions. US Secretary of State, Dr. Henry Kissinger, flew from Egypt to Israel on Wednesday night, bearing the nearly-completed draft text for a new interim Middle East peace agreement and it is expected that by Sunday Israel will approve the agreement.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 30: At an emergency meeting of the SLFP summoned by the Prime Minister for Monday at the Party headquarters Mrs. Bandaranaike will recount the events that gave rise to the recent crisis within the United Front Government: the Prime Minister will indicate what steps she has taken to settle differences within the United Front and what action she proposes to take in the future—CDN. According to the *Daily Mirror*, at Monday's meeting the Prime Minister will announce the new Cabinet minus the LSSP representatives: all Ministers, and Deputy Ministers have postponed their official tours in and out of the island to be present for Monday's crucial meeting of the SLFP executive committee—LD. According to the *Janadina* several young MPs will express their ideas and will put forward proposals to the Prime Minister to preserve the unity of the United Front: the *Janadina* editorially said that if the unity is preserved it will be a great victory for the progressive forces in the country. The *Aththa* editorially said that the present crisis is an opportunity to identify the progressives and the reactionaries in the country: according to the *Aththa* the Communist Party (Moscow wing) in a statement to the newspapers yesterday urged the Government and the progressives in the country the need for a frank discussion of the Central Co-ordinating committee of the UF representing the constituent parties of the UF. The LSSP Politbureau held an unscheduled meeting yesterday to review the present political situation in the country—DM. The Prime Minister discussed with senior SLFP Ministers yesterday matters regarding the proposed removal of the three LSSP Ministers from the United Front—VK. Two judges of the CJC (Insurgency), Justice V. Thamocharam and Justice T. W. Malaratne resigned from the CJC yesterday:

meanwhile there were talks in the Hulstorp circles that a new CJC (Insurgency) will be appointed to expedite the remaining inquiries connected with the April insurgency—VK. Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, will inaugurate a seminar at the BMICH today on "Indian Ocean as a Peace Zone" organised by the International Relations Division of the SLFP Youth League—CDM. Officials of the Shipping Ministry left for Venezuela yesterday to officially take over another ship bought by the Shipping Corporation and this ship is named "Lanka Ratne"—JD. During the first six months of this year the country's trade deficit mounted to a new high of Rs. 1,000 million—CDN. The UNP has summoned a meeting of the executive committee to study the present political crisis and what attitude the UNP should follow in this matter—VK. Eamon de Valera, former President of the Irish Republic, and once a leader of guerilla forces died in Dublin aged 92 years. Major floods in Patna in the Bihar State in India left 400,000 people homeless. Arab delegates to the Lima Non-Aligned conference agreed they would not demand an expulsion of Israel from the United Nations.

SUNDAY, AUGUST 31: Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, addressing a meeting at Galle on the anniversary celebrations of the SLFP said that the SLFP was built on the blood of its founder, Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike and it was the embodiment of the late leader's thoughts and it symbolised his life, therefore she would not allow anybody to destroy the Party—CO. The Prime Minister at yesterday's meeting further said that the UF consisted of parties with divergent political views and as such it was with difficulty that she carried on the functions of the government for the last five years: she also said that the SLFP today had reached a decisive stage—ST. According to the *Virakesari* the Prime Minister at yesterday's meeting warned those who opposed her not to engage in a confrontation with the SLFP. According to the *Sri Lankadipa*, the Prime Minister said that she will not allow the SLFP to be destroyed in the name of the unity. Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, leader of the Opposition, addressing a UNP meeting at the Party headquarters yesterday said that the resignation of the LSSP will not topple the present Government—SLD. According to the *Janasathiya*, for the last two weeks, a certain team of reactionary officials are engaged in spreading rumours that the UF will break and were actively engaged to break the unity of the United Front Government: the *Janasathiya* editorially commented that a break in the unity of the United Front will be the biggest "political sell-out" in the history of this country. The Minister of Transport, Mr. Leslie Goonewardene, on Friday handed over his official car to the Ministry: Mr. Anil Moonesinghe, Chairman of the CTB and Mr. Hector Abeyawardene, Chairman of the People's Bank, bade farewell to officials under their respective institutions: meanwhile several top officials in corporations under the LSSP Ministries have already prepared their letters of resignations to be handed over once the Cabinet reshuffle took place—ST. The People's Republic of China has become the country's chief buyer and supplier of goods heading the list of nearly 100 other countries—CO. The Marketing Department's collection of passion fruit juice for export this year has so far reached 4.5 million pounds and passion fruit

is now planted in over 4,600 acres throughout the island—CO. Speaking at a UNP meeting in Kalmunai, Mr. K. W. Devanayagam, MP for Kalkudah, said that the Communist Party can never solve the problems of the Tamils of this country having their leader in Moscow and further said that only the UNP can solve the problems of the Tamils of Sri Lanka. Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Local Government, Justice and Home Affairs, who is away at Lima at the Non-Aligned Nations Foreign Ministers Conference will return to the island only on September 10—VK. President Juan Velasco Alvarado of Peru was overthrown in a bloodless military coup in Lima yesterday but the Non-aligned Nations Foreign Ministers Conference would go uninterrupted. According to Cairo newspaper *Al-Ahram*, the proposed Egyptian-Israeli interim peace agreement will be initialled simultaneously in Alexandria and Tel Aviv today or tomorrow.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 1: Several journalists representing leading newspapers in the Europe and the South East Asia have arrived in the island to report on the happenings in the country on the present political crisis within the UF: the other foreign newspapers having local correspondents in the country have instructed them to cover in full the situation—LD. The *Janadina* editorially commented that breaking the unity of the UF will be the biggest political crime in this era. The Prime Minister will preside at the SLFP committee meeting to be held this evening at the party's headquarters and according to political observers the Prime Minister is expected to reconstitute the government during the course of this week—CDN. As a first step in the reconstitution of the government the Prime Minister will allocate the three ministries held by the LSSP Ministers to the SLFP and on Wednesday the Ministers are expected to take their oaths: according to political circles the Prime Minister herself will take over the Finance portfolio while Transport and Plantation Industry will be given to Mr. P. B. G. Kalugalle and Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwa respectively—VK. Speaking at the UNP League executive meeting Mr. J. R. Jayewardene said though Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike had predicted that the UNP will be demolished by September this year; now it has come to a point it will not be the UNP that will be destroyed but the UF: Mr. Jayewardene requested the youth leaguers to get ready for a general election in the near future—ATH. The *Janavegaya* of last Friday published the ideas expressed by eight MPs of the SLFP who generally agreed that the unity of the UF should be safeguarded: they are MPs for Chilaw, Tissamaharama, Gampola, Maskeliya, Pelmadulla, Badulla, Kekirawa and Wattala. According to a spokesman of the Ministry of Justice the Government has approved a procedure whereby all future promotions of public servants would be granted only after scrutinising the declaration of assets and liabilities of the officers concerned—CDN. Two CJs will be appointed soon to hear cases arising out of the April insurgency—CDN. The Minister of Shipping and Tourism, Mr. P. B. G. Kalugalle, addressing a meeting at Kahawatte said that within the next two years the Government will take steps to provide employment for half a million people and would bring down the cost of living—CDN. Justice Minister, Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, will leave for Washington from Peru after the Non-aligned nations Foreign Ministers' conference in Lima—CDM. The Tamil United

Front has requested the Tamils in Trincomalee to boycott the visit of Dr. Alhaj Badiuddin Mahmed, Minister of Education, to Trincomalee on the 4th of this month—VK. The Minister of Education is indisposed and has been admitted to the General Hospital—JD. US State Secretary, Dr. Henry Kissinger, put off his return to the US owing to technical snags that are holding up the Middle East peace accord. General Francisco Morales Bermudez sworn in as Peru's new President, is expected to bring no civilians into his new Cabinet: since 1968 there were civilians in Peru's Cabinet.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 2: Letters calling the three LSSP Ministers Dr. N. M. Perera, Dr. Colvin R. de Silva and Mr. Leslie Goonewardene to resign their portfolios were sent to them last night: According to political circles if the LSSP Ministers fail to resign, the next constitutional step would be for the Prime Minister to advise the President to remove them from their posts: a new Cabinet is expected to be sworn in tomorrow and will constitute only Ministers of the SLFP and the CP—CDN. At yesterday's SLFP Working Committee meeting it was unanimously decided to endorse the Prime Minister's stand in regard to the present political crisis: the Prime Minister in her speech to the Working Committee said that it was not she who destroyed the unity of the United Front but the LSSP leader, Dr. N. M. Perera: she further said that the alternatives offered by her was rejected by the LSSP and was such she is were compelled to reshuffle the Cabinet without the LSSP—CDM. According to the *Janadina*, the LSSP party organ, all attempts and speeches by a section of the SLFP Working Committee in a bid to safeguard the unity was opposed by others and those who spoke at yesterday's meeting in support of the unity of the United Front was hooted and the decision of the Prime Minister was endorsed. The *Janadina* editorially said that a Cabinet without the LSSP will be a boon to the capitalists. The *Aththa* editorially said that the UNP will try to benefit out of the present political situation and the masses should be watchful. According to the *Virakesari*, the Prime Minister will hold the portfolio of Finance in the reshuffled Cabinet. Mr. Nanda Ellawela, M.P. Ratnapura, speaking at the SLFP anniversary meeting held in his electorate is reported to have said that the Government should mete out the same treatment to the Times Group of newspapers that it had done to the Davasa Group of newspapers and his main charge had been that the Times Group of newspapers are attempting to disrupt the unity of the United Front Government—CDM. Police investigating the killing of Mr. Alfred Duraiappah, Mayor of Jaffna, searched Mr. A. Amirthalingam's house, ex MP for Vadducottai and the General Secretary of the Tamil United Front, and took into custody several documents: these documents are said to contain details about a suspect whom the Police are searching in connection of this assassination—VK. Nearly 2,500 patients are daily treated at the Colombo eye hospital for an eye disease called Conjunctivitis, now spread island-wide—CDN. Today being the 24th anniversary of the founding of the SLFP a mass rally has been organised at the New Town Hall where the Prime Minister Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, will preside and she is expected to make a special statement to the country, at today's rally on the present crisis in the United Front—DM. Israeli leaders have decided to accept the Middle East

Interim peace agreement worked out with Egypt by the US Secretary of State Dr. Henry Kissinger. An opinion poll carried out by Hart Research Associates revealed two out of three Americans want major changes in the US economic system and one out of three no longer believes in the capitalist system.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 3: The President, Mr. William Gopallawa, yesterday acting under Section 96 (a) of the constitution of the Republic of Sri Lanka removed from office the three LSSP Ministers Dr. N. M. Perera, Dr. Colvin R. de Silva and Mr. Leslie Goonewardene: the removal followed a joint reply by the three Ministers earlier in the day that they cannot accede to her request to resign from office: the swearing in of the Ministers who will replace the Ministers removed from office will take place at 9.15 a.m. today at the President's House: Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwa and Mr. P. B. G. Kalugalle will be sworn in as Ministers of Plantation Industry and Transport respectively: Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike will be sworn in as Minister of Finance in Washington by Sri Lanka's Ambassador in the United States, Mr. Neville Canakaratne: Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, speaking at the SLFP's 24th anniversary celebrations held at the New Town Hall yesterday said that patience has its limits and therefore the SLFP decided to bid farewell to the LSSP: she further said that the decision was not taken solely by her—*CDN*. The *Janadina* editorially said that the SLFP has played into the hands of the reactionary capitalist class and commented that at a time when the masses want to march forward a reactionary leadership that would attempt to stall the forward march will be smashed and the march forward will continue. Mr. Lakshman Jayakoddy, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs and Defence, yesterday read out a statement of the Prime Minister in the NSA which was a reply to the MP for Uduvil who alleged that there was a reign of terror in the Jaffna peninsula after the assassination of Mr. Alfred Duraiappah and that Police atrocities were on the increase: in her statement the Premier had said that subsequent to the assassination of the Mayor there had been a spate of robberies by armed persons despite increased Police presence and the general security situation in the peninsula had deteriorated and she as the Minister in charge of Security had taken all necessary measures to meet the situation: she said that political leaders in the Jaffna peninsula were partly to be blamed for the happenings in Jaffna because they had made inflammatory speeches and instigated people to act against individuals and the state—*CDN*. Dr. N. M. Perera is expected to make a statement in the NSA today and at yesterday's sittings of the NSA none of the sacked LSSP Ministers were present—*DM*. In a reply to the LSSP MP for Kiriella, Mr. Vasudeva Nanayakkara, Mr. Lakshman Jayakoddy, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs and Defence, said that investigations were being carried out about an organisation described as "Black Shirts" and no one would be allowed to interfere into the investigations: Mr. Nanayakkara earlier alleged that Mr. Anura Bandaranaike, Chief Organiser of the SLFP Youth Leagues had interfered into these investigations—*JD*. The interim agreement between Egypt and Israel has raised the hostility of many of Cairo's Arab allies, particularly the Palestinian Commando Movement: In Washington President Ford said that the new peace agreement reduced the risk of war in the Middle East. President

Mushtaque of Bangladesh has issued a proclamation formally dispensing with the one-party system introduced by the former President Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 4: In a statement to the NSA Dr. N. M. Perera, leader of the LSSP and MP for Yatiyantota, said that by breaking the United Front the Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, not only betrayed the Left movement in this country but she had betrayed the whole country—*JD*. The *Janadina* editorially said that the Prime Minister by trying to pass the blame for the break of the United Front on to the LSSP had acted very childishly: the editorial further said that it will go down in the history that Mrs. Bandaranaike along with Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike broke the United Front: the charge that vituperative politics which was alleged as the reason for the expulsion of the LSSP cannot be accepted, the paper further commented and also said that the decision to expel the LSSP was taken by the Premier without consulting her own party and Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike decided on this before he left for Lima. The first Cabinet meeting without the LSSP was held yesterday for the first time in three weeks: Mr. K. B. Ratnayake was appointed Deputy Minister of Finance which portfolio was given to Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike who is at present in Washington: Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwa and Mr. P. B. G. Kalugalle were sworn in as Ministers of Plantation Industry and Transport respectively: when the LSSP crossed over to the Opposition UNP and FP MPs cheered and welcomed them: Chairman of the Peoples Bank Mr. Hector Abhayawardana, and the Chairman of the CTB, Mr. Anil Moonesinghe, resigned, their posts yesterday: Mr. P. B. Karandawala, Secretary to the Ministry of Shipping and Tourism, has been appointed the new Chairman of the CTB—*CDN*. Strict security measures were enforced in the capital yesterday and all roads leading to the NSA were blocked allowing only those with permits to proceed—*LD*. *Lankadipa* editorially commented that with the expulsion of the LSSP now there were no barriers for the government to complain about, and as such should get to the brass tacks and drive this country towards economic and social independence. The *Daily Mirror* editorially urged the Government to build the nation on a new footing minus the LSSP. President Ahmed of Bangladesh has expressed desire to develop closer ties with China. Signing of the new Israeli-Egypt peace agreement was scheduled for yesterday: on Tuesday, US Secretary of State, Dr. Henry Kissinger, briefed Saudi Arabia's King Khalid and Prince Fahd on the Middle East peace agreement initiated by both parties in Jerusalem and Alexandria.

POSTAL CHANGES

Many changes are now taking place consequent on the LSSP ouster from the Government. But in the Postal Department changes seem to be taking place totally unconnected with Cabinet changes (but do these portend future Cabinet changes?). *Tribune* learns that as from September 11, Mr. H. Samarasakera will act as APMG (administration) in place of Mr. Jayasuriya who retires for the second time (having done so before and being re-employed). Strange and mysterious, still, are the goings on in the higher echelons of the Postal Department.

TOWARDS A NEW ECONOMIC ORDER

Dr. Kissinger's Proposals

—US Breaks New Ground—

AT THE RECENT LIMA CONFERENCE a great deal of time was devoted to the formulation of a plan to bring about a new world economic order. That document which was intended to guide nonaligned nations to pursue a common strategy on an international level is not yet available to us for reproduction. The Special Session of the UN to find ways and means of bringing about a better economic order began its sittings on September 1. Dr. Kissinger delivered the keynote address on behalf of the United States. Whether we like the US or not, whether we detest its policies or not, whether we think that its profit-motivated society is an anachronism or not—there is no doubt that the US is still a major and dominant factor in the world economic system. Any plan to bring about a better economic order must take into consideration the policies and strategies the United States and the countries which still follow her lead (for a variety of reasons) will adopt at the present juncture.

There is ample evidence that in this era of detente and Helsinki, there is a great deal of re-thinking on many matters in the United States. President Ford now knows that it is not possible to go on in the same old way. The speech made by Dr. Kissinger on September 1 is a clear indication that the US, while seeking to sustain its own profit-based system, is willing to sympathetically understand the aspirations of the developing countries (and the poorer nations) and seek to evolve new ways of resolving problems that confront and haunt the world today.

It is a thought provoking speech, and we think that it is essential to know its full implications in order to get a proper understanding of the events that are likely to unfold themselves on the world economic scene in the coming months. We are therefore reproducing this speech of Dr. Kissinger in full in four instalments. We hope to reproduce the essential parts of the Lima Declaration and other relevant material in due course.—Ed.

THE FOLLOWING is the address by Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, September 1, before the seventh Special

Session of the UN General Assembly: (The speech was read by US permanent representative Daniel Moynihan for Secretary Kissinger who remained in the Middle East for conclusion of negotiations on a new Israeli-Egyptian interim peace agreement).

Mr. President, Mr. Secretary-General, distinguished colleagues, ladies and gentlemen:

We assemble here this week with an opportunity to improve the condition of mankind. We can let this opportunity slip away, or we can respond to it with vision and common sense. The United States has made its choice. There are no panaceas available—only challenges. The proposals that I shall announce today on behalf of President Ford are a program of practical steps, responding to the expressed concerns of developing countries. We have made a major effort to develop an agenda for effective international action: we are prepared in turn to consider the proposals of others. But the United States is committed to a constructive effort.

For some time the technical capacity has existed to provide a tolerable standard of life for the world's four billion people. But we—the world community—must shape the political will to do so. For man stands not simply at a plateau of technical ability; he stands at a point of moral choice. When the ancient dream of mankind—a world without poverty—becomes a possibility, our profound moral convictions make it also our duty. And the convening of this special session bears witness that economic progress has become a central and urgent concern of international relations.

The global order of colonial power, that lasted through centuries, has now disappeared; the Cold War division of the world into two rigid blocs has now also broken and major changes have taken place in the international economy. We now live in a world of some 150 nations. We live in an environment of continuing conflicts, proliferating weapons, new ideological divisions and economic rivalry. The developing nations have stated their claim for a greater role, for more control over their economic destiny, and for a just share in global prosperity.

The economically advanced nations have stated their claim for reliable suppliers of energy, raw materials, and other products, at a fair price; they seek stable economic relationships and expanding world trade, for these are important to the well-being of their own societies.

These economic issues have already become the subject of mounting confrontations—embargoes, cartels, seizures, counter measures, and bitter rhetoric. Over the remainder of this century, should this trend continue, the division of the planet between north and south, between rich and poor, could become a grim as the darkest days of the Cold War. We would enter an age of festering resentment, of increased resort to economic warfare, a hardening of new blocs, the undermining of co-operation, the erosion of international institutions—and failed development.

Can we reconcile our competing goals? Can we build a better world, by conscious purpose, out of the equality and co-operation of states? Can we turn the energies of all nations to the tasks of human progress? These are the challenges of our time; we profoundly believe that neither the poor nor the rich nations can achieve their purposes in isolation. Neither can extort them from the other—the developing countries least of all, for they would pay the greater cost of division of the planet, which would cut them off needlessly from sources of capital and markets essential to their own progress.

THE REALITY is that ample incentives exist for co-operation on the basis of mutual respect. It is not necessarily the case that if some grow worse off, others will be worse off. But there is an opposite proposition, which we believe is true: that an economic system thrives if all who take part in it thrive. This is no theory; it is no theory; it is our own experience. And it is an experience that we, a people uniquely drawn from all the other peoples of the world, truly desire and hope to share with others.

Therefore it is time to go beyond the doctrines left over from a previous century that are made obsolete by modern reality.

History has left us the legacy of strident nationalism—discredited in this century by its brutal excesses a generation ago, and by its patent inadequacy for the economic needs of our time. The economy is global. Recessions, inflation, trade relations, monetary stability, gluts and scarcities of products and materials, the growth of trans-national enterprises—these are international phenomena and call for international responses.

History has also left us discredited doctrines of economic determinism and struggle. One of the ironies of our time is that systems based in the doctrine of materialism, that promised economic justice, have lagged in raising economic welfare.

The contrary to the ideologies of despair, many developing countries have been increasing their per capita incomes at far faster rates than obtained historically in Europe and North America in comparable stages of their growth.

It is also ironic that a philosophy of non-alignment, designed to allow new nations to make their national choices free from the pressure of competing blocs, now has produced a bloc of its own. Nations with radically different economic interests and with entirely different political concerns are combined in a kind of solidarity that often clearly sacrifices practical interests. And it is ironic also that the most devastating blow to economic development in this decade came not from "imperialist capacity" but from an arbitrary, monopolistic price increase by the cartel of oil exporters.

The reality is that the world economy is a single global system of trade and monetary relations on which hinges the development of all our economies. The advanced nations have an interest in the growth of markets and production in the developing world; with equal conviction we state that the developing countries have a stake in the markets, technological innovation and capital investment of the industrial countries.

Therefore, the nations assembled here have a choice: we can offer our people slogans, or we can offer them solutions. We can deal in rhetoric, or we can deal in reality. My government has made its choice. THE UNITED STATES firmly believes that the economic challenges

of our time must unite us, and not divide us.

So let us get down to business. Let us put aside the sterile debate over whether a new economic order is required or whether the old economic order is adequate. Let us look forward and shape the world before us. Change is inherent in what we do, and what we seek. But one fact does not change: that without a consensus on the realities and principles of the development effort, we will achieve nothing.

—There must be consensus, first and foremost, on the principle that our common development goals can be achieved only by co-operation, not by the politics of confrontation.

—There must be consensus that acknowledges our respective concerns and our mutual responsibilities; all of us have rights and all of us have duties.

—The consensus must embrace the broadest possible participation in international decisions. The developing countries must have a role and voice in the international system, especially in decisions that affect them. But those nations who are asked to provide resources and effort to carry out the decisions must be accorded a commensurate voice.

We have learned from experience that the methods of development assistance of the 1950s and 60s are no longer adequate. Not only did the technical accomplishments of many programs fall short of expectations, the traditional approaches are less acceptable to the industrialized world because they have seemed to become an endless and one-sided financial burden. And they are less acceptable to the developing world because they have seemed to create a relationship of charity and dependency, inconsistent with equality and self-respect.

Therefore, we must find a new means. The United States offers today concrete proposals for international actions to promote economic development. We believe that an effective development strategy should concentrate on five fundamental areas:

—First, we must apply international co-operation to the problem of ensuring basic economic

security. The United States proposes steps to safeguard against the economic shocks to which developing countries are particularly vulnerable: sharp declines in their export earnings from the cycle of world supply and demand, food shortages and natural disasters.

—Second, we must lay the foundations for accelerated growth. The United States proposes steps to improve developing countries' access to capital markets, to focus and adapt new technology to specific developments needs, and to reach consensus on the conditions for foreign investment.

—Third, we must improve the basic opportunities of the developing countries in the world trading system so they can make their way by earnings instead of aid.

—Fourth, we must improve the conditions of trade and investment in key commodities on which the economies of many developing countries are dependent, and we must set an example in improving the production and availability of food.

—Fifth, let us address the special needs of the poorest countries, who are the most devastated by current economic conditions, sharing the responsibility among old and newly wealthy donors.

The determination of the developing nations to mobilize their own effort is indispensable. Without it, no outside effort will have effect. Government policies to call forth savings, to institute land reform, to use external aid and capital productively, to manage and allocate national resources wisely, to promote family planning—for these there are no substitutes.

But there must be international as well as national commitment. The United States is prepared to do its part. The senior economic officials of our government have joined with me in developing our approach. Treasury Secretary Simon, with whom I have worked closely on our program, will discuss it tomorrow in relation to the world economy. The large Congressional delegation that will attend the session, and the seriousness with which they and the Executive Branch have collaborated in preparing these proposals, are evidence of my country's commitment.

Economic Security

We ask in return for a serious international dialogue on the responsibilities which confront us all.

ENSURING ECONOMIC SECURITY. Our first task is to ensure basic economic security. The swings and shocks of economic adversity are a global concern, tearing at the fabric of developed and developing nations alike. The cycle of good times and bad, abundance and famine, does vast damage to lives and economies. Unemployment, falling standards of living, and the ravages of inflations, fuel social and political discontent. We have recently seen the corrosive effects in many countries.

Developing economies are by far the most vulnerable to natural and man-made disasters, the vagaries of weather and of the business cycle, sharp increases in the prices of oil and food have a devastating effect on their livelihood. Recessions in the industrial countries depress their export earnings.

Thus economic security is the minimum requirement of an effective strategy for development. Without this foundation, sound development programs cannot proceed and the great efforts that development requires from poor and rich alike cannot be sustained.

And because economic security is a global program, it is a global challenge:

—The industrial nations must work together more effectively to restore and maintain their non-inflationary expansion.

—Nations which supply vital products must avoid actions which disrupt that expansion, and

—The international community must undertake a new approach to reduce drastic fluctuations in the export earnings of the developing countries.

Since the economic health of the industrial countries is central to the health of the global economy, their efforts to avoid the extremes of recession and inflation become an international, as well as a national responsibility.

In a new departure this past year, the leaders of the United States and its major trading partners have begun closer co-ordination of their national economic policies. A shared sense of urgency, and the exchange of information about trends and intentions, have already influenced important policy

decisions. President Ford intends to continue and intensify consultations of this kind. The successful recovery of the industrial economies will be the engine of international stability and growth.

Global economic security depends, secondly, on the actions of supplies of vital products.

Thus the United States has believed that the future of the world economy requires discussions on energy and other key issues among oil consuming and producing nations. The Government of France is inviting industrialized oil producing, and developing nations to re-launch a dialogue this fall on the problems of energy, development, raw materials, and related financial issues. The United States has supported this proposal and worked hard to establish the basis for successful meetings.

BUT THIS DIALOGUE is based on an approach of negotiation and consensus, not the exercise of brute economic power to gain unilateral advantage. The enormous, arbitrary increases in the price of oil of 1973 and 1974 have already exacerbated both inflation and recession worldwide. They have shattered the economic planning and progress of many countries. Another increase would slow down or reverse the recovery and the development of nearly every nation represented in this Assembly. It would erode both the will and the capacity in the industrial world for assistance to developing countries. It would, in short, strike a serious blow at the hopes of hundreds of millions around the world.

The forthcoming dialogue among consumers and producers is a test. For its part, the United States is prepared for co-operation. We will work to make it succeed, in our own self-interest and in the interest of all nations. We hope to be met in that same spirit.

The third basic factor in economic security is the stability of export earnings. The development programs—indeed the basic survival—of many countries rest heavily on earnings from exports of primary products which are highly vulnerable to fluctuations in worldwide demand. Countries which depend on one product can find their revenues reduced drastically if its price drops or if exports fall precipitously. Most have insuffi-

cient reserves to cushion against sharp declines in earnings, and they cannot quickly increase the exports of other products. Facing such economic problems, most cannot borrow to offset the loss, or can only do so with extremely high interest rates. In such situations countries are frequently forced to cut back on the imports on which their growth and survival depend. Thus the unpredictability of export earnings can make a mockery of development planning.

The question of stabilization of income from primary products has become central in the dialogue on international economic concerns. Price stabilization is not generally a promising approach. For many commodities it would be difficult to achieve without severe restrictions on production or exports, extremely expensive buffer stocks, or price levels which could stimulate substitutes and thereby work to the long range disadvantage of producers. Even the most ambitious agenda for addressing individual commodities would not result in stabilization arrangements for all of them in the near term. And focusing exclusively on stabilizing commodity prices would not provide sufficient protection to the many developing countries whose earning also depend on the exports of manufactured goods.

The United States Government has recently completed a review of these issues. We have concluded that, because of the wide diversity among countries, commodities, and markets a new, much more comprehensive approach is required—one which will be helpful to exporters of all commodities and manufactured goods as well.

Let me set forth our proposal:

The United States proposes creation—in the international monetary fund—of a new development security facility to stabilize overall export earnings.

—The facility would give loans to sustain development programs in the face of export fluctuations—up to \$ 2.5 billion, and possibly more, in a single year, and a potential total of \$ 10 billion in outstanding loans.

—Assistance would be available to all developing countries which need to finance short-

falls in export earnings, unless the shortfalls are caused by their own acts of policy.

—The poorest countries would be permitted to convert their loans into grants under prescribed conditions. These grants would be financed by the proceeds of sales of IMF gold channeled through the proposed \$ 2 billion trust fund now under negotiation.

—Eligible countries could draw most, or under certain conditions all of their IMF quotas, in addition to their normal drawing rights. Much of that could be drawn in a single year, if necessary—part automatically, part subject to balance of payments conditions, and part reserved for cases of particularly violent swings in commodity earnings.

—Shortfalls would be calculated according to a formula geared to future growth as well as current and past exports. In this way the facility helps countries protect their development plans.

—This facility would replace the IMF's compensatory finance facility: it would not be available for industrial countries.

The United States will present its detailed proposals to the Board of Directors of the International Monetary Fund this month.

This development security facility would provide unprecedented protection against disruptions caused by reductions in earnings—both for countries whose exports consist of a few commodities and for those with diversified and manufactured exports whose earnings also fluctuate with business cycles. In the great majority of countries, this new facility will cover nearly all the earnings shortfall.

This new source of funds also reinforces our more traditional types of assistance—without the stabilization of earnings, the benefits of concessional aid for developing countries is vitiated. For industrialized countries, it means a more steady export market. For developing countries, it helps assure that development can be pursued without disruption and makes them more desirable prospects in international capital markets for consumers and producers, rich and poor alike, it buttresses economic security.

Thus the success of our efforts in this area will demonstrate that our interdependence can strengthen the foundations of prosperity for all while promoting progress in the developing countries.

(To be Continued)

BUILDING A VILLAGE HOUSE—48

An Argument Against Shooting Mr. Jonklaas

By Herbert Keuneman

THIS ARTICLE was going to be a polemical one, written—as such articles generally have to be—*ad hoc*, *ad captandum*, perhaps even *ad hominem*, and carried to point—as such articles can get carried—*ad absurdum*! But, starting in an instinctive burst of indignation against a two-part contribution by Rodney Jonklaas to the CEYLON DAILY NEWS of 5 and 6 August arguing the case against the pleas of Wild Life Conservationists (I do not agree with what Mr. Jonklaas seems to imply, that to call these enthusiasts Protectionists renders their very genuine concern any less admirable or more ridiculous) my reaction has gradually simmered down during the intervening month to what is, I hope, a more rational state of mind.

The difficulty about writing the kind of article I had originally intended would have been the respect in which I have always held Mr. Jonklaas—and still do—as an expert on Wild Life and, in a sense, a devotee to it; as an explorer in fields of it into which I could never dare to follow because I should be paralyzed with sheer funk; as a man, especially, who has thought out his position and is unafraid to announce it unequivocally (more so than many who hold the same position yet offer lip-service to the other side for public relations' sake.)

Not but what, if one were entering into a mere matter of scoring debating hits, Mr. Jonklaas does not lay himself open to a few shrewd blows. *item*: Mr. Jonklaas is still, within the limits imposed by a comparatively lately enlightened Government policy, a 'sportsman' in the Colonial sense—I do

not blame him; he was born into the tradition, as I myself was though I outgrew my adolescent condition sooner—who can still enjoy with undisturbed equanimity the 'thrill' of collecting a brace of snipe before breakfast, emulating only in degree and not in kind Sir Samuel Baker (who preferred elephants!) *item*: when Mr. Jonklaas who pours such scorn upon the sentimentality of the 'protectionists' really lends himself to the task he can out-sentimentalize any protectionist you care to name; to witness, his pitiful picture, of your son killed by an animal, as though that were any less bearable than (it might be two or three) sons killed in a motor accident! Would he, then, advocate the extermination of the motor car and the animals—for such they are, ineluctably—that drive them? or, at least, their restriction to areas where they cannot possibly interfere with that salt of the earth: pedestrians?

item: I believe it is true that Mr. Jonklaas makes a business out of certain aspects of Wild Life exploitation, and—one hears—a perfectly legal business, too. But in that case he must appear by so much the less convincing as an objective commentator on Protection. In 1971 nobody questioned the morality of leaving the villager (and his sons) to be killed and his crops to be devastated by wild animals in order to keep him from an unconstitutional change of government. This, of course, altogether reasonably; although it is arguable that such a change might not have affected the average villager—the average politician was a different kettle of fish—as adversely as the measures necessary to 'save' him! Yet now, a mere four years later, his right to defend himself against the wild is suddenly resurrected in the sacred name of profitability. (What percentage of the profit, incidentally, does the villager reap?)

item: Mr. Jonklaas makes no real answer to two of the abuses that have chiefly stirred local protectionists to indignation: the cynical experimentation of unnecessarily shifting a species population—or any part of it—out of an environment in which they are established into an artificially created and quite unproved tourist 'draw' (whether in Beruwala, Kegalla, or

Man's Supremacy ?

anywhere else) for no visible benefit to any but the fortunate owners of such venues; and the criminally callous ineptitude of those to whom such work is entrusted. Instead, he has—rather unworthily of himself—waxed more than a little sarcastic at the expense of those who are not cynical and callous and arrogant about man's usurped domination over the beast.

One of the 'sentimentalists' against whom Mr. Jonklaas waxes particularly sarcastic, though he nowhere names him, is clearly that well known and steadfast advocate of Protection, Patrick Decker. It is an unfortunate choice. And so also is the choice of one of Mr. Decker's practical suggestions (regarding the noosing of buffalo) as a subject on which Mr. Jonklaas' sarcasm can go to town. For Mr. Decker is, as most Ceylonese must be aware, one of the few local men whose knowledge of animal wild life equals, if it does not exceed, Mr. Jonklaas' own; while the same may certainly be said of his powers of reasoning, even if these may not leap to Mr. Jonklaas' frigid conclusions. (Mr. Decker's recommendation of Manilla rope of sufficient size for buffalo-noosing operations—the necessity for which I do not recollect he has at any point disputed save from the angle of transport practicability—is that, unlike the ropes selected by said-to-be-trained reputedly expert personnel, it is less likely to stretch thin into a cruel and inefficient garotte that strangles and butchers the animals it is intended only to capture.) I cannot think of any conclusion more unedifyingly cold-blooded than that lesser beings, so to speak, are expendable.

Are they? Mr. Decker, because he is warm and empathetic and humane, finds the suffering needlessly inflicted upon the Yala buffalos harrowing and intolerable; Mr. Jonklaas, because he is 'realistic' and modern-thinking and human (without the -e) brushes aside this sort of concern with any living creature's rights but those of Man as irrelevant, the mere convenience of evolution's presently climatic species constituting a moral justification of its judgements and actions. In other words, if I had to judge—on the grounds of purely evolutionary attainment—between preserving the Deckers of this world and protecting its Jonklaas, I should

reluctantly have to shoot Mr. Jonklaas!

THE TROUBLE IS, he forces such a judgement by the really quite unreinforced assumption that there is no criterion of action beyond that of ecological status. And he throws his assumption off so cavalierly, so casually, that it is easy not to pause to question it; especially in this age when exclusive self-interest is the popular principle, unbridled competition the popular motivation and violence the popular method.

'Since the human being should receive the priority, it stands to reason that the animals must give way!' Never was false proposition uttered with more unctuous aplomb. Yet, cheap and claptrap though the generalization be, Mr. Jonklaas could not have chosen a juncture of human history, at this nadir of the human spirit, when it was safer to make. I think he is guilty of a little posturing, as though he were a politician, when he announces heroically his readiness to be taken to task ('in print' as though that made the suffering worse) and to be 'criticised and possibly slandered' for his brave espousal of the Rights of Man as against the rights of animals.

Actually, there is little lighting for this Ajax to defy. Especially in Ceylon in 1975, every poacher that ever supplied a *bat kade* with wild-boar meat or sold a leopard skin to a tourist or a live purple coot at great profit

to a foreign dealer, every chena squatter that fires small shot into an elephant in a fit of exasperated pique (for he knows that even the sting of SG is no more directly effective than the mere noise and flash accompanying it; and I do not think he consciously calculates that the SG may, after a great deal of time and agony, result in one raider the less) every reckless subscriber, in no matter what part of the world, to today's short-sighted policy of a human prerogative to loot—in a generation, if need be—the earth's resources will applaud Mr. Jonklaas, far less 'slander' him. That may be done by coming generations. But Mr. Jonklaas' concern is clearly with Mr. Jonklaas' generation and its immediate prosperity.

It is strange to find a BSc.—Biology, too! I believe—arguing thus but some biologists do get not much farther than the digestive system of the Earthworm and the nervous system of the Cockroach. And as far as Mr. Jonklaas' argument goes he presents it skillfully and with an illusion of sweet reasonableness. Indeed (if you accept his clearly implied conclusion: that the weaker not only historically will but *morally* may be sacrificed) he presents it unanswerably. Almost.

There are, however, two paralogues built into it (unless reason will turn its back upon both Science and Religion) that produce its own demolition; the ineluctable dialectic!

ICELESS ICE BOX

An iceless ice box has been designed for campers, boats, trailers, buses, trucks, and any place where low voltage and trouble-free use is required. The ice box is a simple, efficient, solid-state unit designed to work without ice, according to the manufacturer. The method of cooling is by thermo-electrics: when two metals of dissimilar composition are joined and an electric current is introduced, a cooling effect takes place in one of the metals, absorbing any heat surrounding that metal. This heat is then transferred to the other metal and dissipated. The temperature within the box is the same or cooler than a 50-pound (22.5-kilogram) block of ice. The box does not make ice nor will it freeze. It is factory pre-set. The Iceless Ice Box operates on 12 volts D.C. as supplied by a battery, battery charger or converter. (The unit should not be plugged into a regular 110-volt wall plug). During operation the box will draw four amps. The entire pumping system is located in the door. The ice box comes in two sizes and ranges in price from \$ 106 to \$ 123, depending on the size and quantity purchased. One model is 23 inches (58 centimeters) high and 18 inches (45 centimeters) wide; the other model is 26 inches (66 centimeters) high and 20 inches (50 centimeters) wide. The models are manufactured by A & E Mobilair, Division of A & E Plastik Pak at 200 West 146th Street, Gardena, California 90248.

BUDDHISM, at least, has never allowed the fact that death awaits every living thing to justify interference in the life-course of one by any other: this is a basic tenet of *ahimsa*. Would Mr. Jonklaas—could Mr. Jonklaas in the true moral climate of a Buddhist world—have dared to argue as frivolously as he now argues with us an inherent right of human over other forms of life? What of the animalcula, the lowest forms of then recognized 'sentient beings', which the Buddha bade his disciples strain out of their drinking-water as an essential deed of their ethic? I suppose Mr. Jonklaas' disciples would claim this was hygienics and no question of ethics at all! Again, what of the hare, the cobra, the elephant forms in which the *bodhisattva* became incarnate? The 'modern' Buddhist may dismiss the *jataka* tales as parables; but parables of what moral principle?

The scientific self-contradiction is one you do not need even a bachelor's degree to discover and I am amazed Mr. Jonklaas did not detect his own fallacy: that in the last analysis the human being (on whom is bestowed, alas! not by Mr. Jonklaas alone, an ineffable prerogative over the 'animal') is unequivocally an animal also. If there exists the difference one instinctively acknowledges between man and beast, it is that aspect of humanity that is anti-beastial by which man is distinguished. As the old toothpaste slogan used to say: 'Something new has been added'.

Now, what was new? Not the dawning of the faculty of reason: it dawned also for Proconsul and Sivapithecus, but they are no more. Not the acquisition of a knack with implements: the Olduvai dig yielded tools as well as hominid remains, yet Dr. Leakey himself called his hominids *ape-men*. Not the beginning of powers of communication: birds, far down in the evolutionary scale, have their 'songs' and mating calls and alarm calls and 'scolding' notes and cries of challenge. Not, by any means, the development of the ability to organize a State: 'so work the honey-bees'. Not—especially not—an accession to brute ascendancy: brontosaurus climaxed this particular line of self-improvement, and where is he? Yet possessing, to begin with, nothing that other species did not at least

in some measure possess, man, weakest of all the greater beasts in tooth and claw, has not only survived but actually established himself as Earth's premier evolutionary product. What had he new? what has he different?

What tipped the balance in his unlikely favour could only have been (to speak in Marxian terms) a qualitative change such as inevitably follows the achievement of a critical point in the course of 'normal' quantitative alteration. Heat ice, and it is suddenly..water: heat water, and it is suddenly.. steam. Develop an ape's capacity to reason to the point where he acquires a social sense, a sense of his species rather than of himself exclusively, and he is suddenly..man! What ineluctably appears is that somewhere along his evolutionary course there was added to the physical the metaphysical component which—alone—divided man from the lesser animals. Humanness has appeared.

IT IS TOO MUCH to believe that this humaneness should then atrophy while the rest of what made man..say, his intellect—continued to evolve; that his social sense should not deepen into altruism, or altruism widen to include species other than his own. It is only the dialectic, which is never absent from the evolving organism, that has caused man from time to time to turn his back upon the very attribute that has conferred his status as Man upon him; it is only his animal propensity for becoming a brontosaurus that has made 'altruism', in our day, a pejorative word!

Man can co-exist with animals; man *did* co-exist with animals and raise as evidence of his success the mightiest and noblest monuments the world has known, at a time when the power of his species to dominate was infinitely less than it has recently become. Yet paradoxically it is his power over Nature that threatens his extinction now. Every buffalo he needlessly—heedlessly—tortures to death..every tree he short-sightedly cuts down.. not only diminishes the resources upon which he ultimately depends but also diminishes *him*. In power run riot he can fight his own supremacy to a standstill, he can fight *himself into the oblivion that has overtaken every intransigent species*.

Man must co-exist with animals (and every other aspect of nature). For if the stronger is uninhibitedly to deny the weaker humaneness, with no better justification than immediate advantage backed only by the knowledge that he is strong, we may be sure that the principle of unbridled competition will not long apply between man and Nature only; it is but a step—a step that has already too often been taken—to apply it between man and man. The fellow-man whose possessions you covet or with whose view you disagree or who quite accidentally gets trampled under in the rush to the top, he is expendable because he is not strong. This is the monstrous assumption made not only by Mr. Jonklaas (whether he be conscious of making it or not) but by worldwide millions of contemporary society. Who may meanwhile, in all innocence, count amongst themselves fervent members of Conservationist groups! *The first thing to conserve is humaneness.*

Humaneness is every right conceded by one man to another, one group to another; every forsaking of a barbarous custom, every repeal of an unjust law, every acknowledgement of a wrong done and every restitution offered; every generous act of a victor or potential victor towards the vanquished or vanquishable; every refusal of the Law of the Jungle. Competitiveness, self-seeking, filling oneself with spoil, can be pushed to only one hideously logical conclusion: the emergence of the ultimate murderer in barren isolation..and natural selection will put a stop to him. Humaneness—the willing forgoal of privilege—carries no such inbuilt contradiction. It offers no answer to Mr. Jonklaas' wistful question: 'Is there a solution?' But its re-creation will create a climate in which an answer is possible.

There is no other solution.



NEXT WEEK

- * LSSP AND THE UF
- * GAME RANGER'S RESOLUTION
- * RAIL JOURNEY TO KANDY
- * MORE ABOUT RAILWAYS

K A Z I -21

CGR & CTB

By ANATORY BUKOBA

24th May,

The ticket bought, I was well on my way ere I found, just by chance, that the train I was on would not stop where I was bound. Where I got off, I was told that a train, just in, was a fast one too, and it was just before it set off that I learnt it was slow. All this, from the same horse's mouth, as it were. No time for the stairs: a jump down to the track, a long climb up to the train, all in the nick of time.

Then the bus; the road was impassable beyond where I wanted to go, and beyond where ninety-nine percent of us wanted to go too. The one percent got off before the conductor and the driver arrived. The bus was to go on and short haul towards its final destination. The driver said, thus ignoring its proper route altogether as far as the floods, and beyond the flood. It was the only bus that served that route. The other side could care for itself. My fellow passengers were concerned about their end of the journey. This looked like being the last bus for the night. The driver was adamant; he would not drive along that route, he said, and we would all have to get off. We will not get off, the passengers said. Officialdom, in the person of the time-keeper had gone home for the night. There was only the police left, and they were at their station. The driver made as if to start the engine up. The people were adamant. Everybody on the bus, they said, wanted to go to the village akin the flood, and theirs was the official route, and this was their last bus that night; the distance being no joke. They said there was no point in this particular bus ignoring their rights and going along a road frequented by other bus routes.

The driver left the bus. A baby began crying at the back. The bus was full. The steps were crowded. There was no room anywhere. Not one man left the bus. Officialdom of another sort was seated beside me. No one leave the bus, he said, it will only be a

matter of time before the driver will have to go on our way. The driver and the conductor came back from the direction of the police station. He started up the engine; he re-iterated his command that all get off the bus that were not going along the route that he had selected. Now, I have to cut a long story short, for I cannot possible go into all that was said. The question of diesel was one point brought up. He switched off his engine. Eventually he drove us all to the police station, and he disappeared inside. Police came out. The same kind of order prevailed. I could not hear all that was said, but I did hear a woman say yes and we shall cook him a meal too. Not one person had left the bus. I am reminded, now, of a policeman who refused to arrest those in military uniform at a May Day parade. How could he? he said. That was a joke. These people wanted to get home. They went home.

There was one unfortunate incident on the way, and I felt sorry for the driver, but that involved the occupants of a car, and I was much in the dark about it all.

The next day, I found the people along this road very friendly. Some had me in their house, the rain still persisting, and I felt that the coconut areas were looking up socially. It rained all day scarcely easing off. Then the rain did really set in. I felt sorry for the cattle. The milk yield, I heard, had dropped that morning.

At times, the new bus, I was on, was stopped, and the passengers feted, Wesak style. This has been going on for years, but I do not think there has been much seen of it the last few years except this year. In Colombo at the Gas Works Road end, near the statue there was a grand *dana* on, and a big queue to it.

Inania of this, that and the other

Family Courts

By INNA

Everyone can teach everyone else by presence, word, activity. The rush for non-formal or informal education in the wake of Ivan

Illich, Paulo Freire, Paul Goodman has more to it than meets the eye. Perhaps the youngsters in the first outer-camp at Tanamalwila's Sarvodaya Centre manifested the truth when they put up the poster which adorns their little common-room hut: "I am a debtor to every person, big or small. I can learn from him something for my life and our life."

I thought of this when I read the *Daily News* snippet: "Seminar on Need for Family Courts" speaking about the establishment in Sri Lanka of Family Courts, seminar organised by Ceylon Women Lawyers' Association (CDN, June 26th 1975). I did not follow up the news item. I wonder how many came. I wonder if the Family Services Centre at Bambalapitiya was invited. I wonder if Muslims were invited.

The Mahkamah Sharia Singapura (Sharia court) of Singapore is doing a grand job of Family Court trials. The student of Islam knows how Islamic law is very particular and gracious to women and to family life. They try their best to cure the element of swift divorce, but in Singapore's Sharia court, the accent is on preventive measures. When I visited it with a team of dialogists (Islam-Christian dialogue) in March this year, I found it a hive of activity. The magistrate in charge of the court graciously explained to us how it worked, and how within a year the divorce cases had been cut down by more than half. "What these poor couples really want, is someone to talk to, someone to unburden their minds to and then it is easier for them."

A filling index is not the most-important thing, but the thrashing out of the marital problem, ably done by the young and efficient secretary. She records the occupation, income, age, race, no. of children and their ages and makes special record of the complaint which is the bone of contention between husband and wife; she traces it to the root cause (s); does the same with each of the two 'contending' parties. One important point is recorded in the card: "Do they or do they not live in their marital home 'with the in-laws'? Questioning goes on as regards any third parties involved. It all goes to show how the most spontaneous interview can be codified for reference and for helping

others in future, for it is true to say that human nature is always the same but persons are different; cases may be similar because of oneness in humanity, but cases are different because of uniqueness of personality. There is also a tab for the 'Immediate problem', just one little note, and the rest of the large card of the card-index is meant for brief notes on the two persons. Even as many as twelve or more interviews have been held and they are prepared to do more. "Divorce seems so remote now," said one of the magistrates. How true, if there is such assiduity.

The Shariah court in Singapore is an object lesson to many. The Seminar on *Need for Family Courts* was a step in the right direction. It is a pleasant sight to see a couple smiling their way out of the Shariah court after a session, after several gruelling sessions perhaps, where they saw that life and love end together if the love has been self-effacing and sincere. Some sacred books say: "Love is stronger than death."

TRAVELOGUE

The Road To Kandy

By Ina Trimmer

THE JOURNEY whether by car or train is full of allure. The road rises within 72 miles from sea level to mountain heights and includes almost every phase of life in the Island. Not only is there the attraction of a variety of scenery but many types of industry and occupation are glimpsed which differ according to terrain, altitude, and climate. No one who can spare the time to visit Kandy whether for a few hours or a longer stay should omit this trip for it gives a comprehensive idea of how Ceylon lives.

The scene changes constantly. The journey by road, after leaving the Fort, begins with the crowded streets of Pettah—the native business centre of the Island—with its shops and markets, and multitude of races. Moors and Indians

own the shops on either side of Main Street which are thronged with Sinhalese, Tamils, Burghers, and a sprinkling of Europeans, Malays and Afghans, for Pettah is the largest shopping centre in Ceylon. On the left beyond the line of shops is Kayman's Gate, an old Dutch Belfry, and on the road to the right is Edinburgh Market, the Ceylon counterpart of Covent Garden. Further on is Wolfendhal the old Dutch Church, on an eminence at our left, facing the harbour, still the principal place of worship of the Dutch Reformed Church in Ceylon. We pass through the narrow streets of the old Dutch quarter, now occupied mainly by Moors, where still lingers a touch of the past in the old houses that remain, built high above the road, with their old-fashioned steps and great heavy doors surmounted with fanlights that belong to other days. We cross Skinner's Road and speed along Prince of Wales Avenue, wide and straight, to Victoria Bridge that spans the Kelaniya River. At the fork beyond the bridge we take the road on the right, the road that leads to the heart of Ceylon.

Soon there is not a sign of town life. Village houses and huts set in gardens take the place of congested city and suburbs, and instead of built in areas vegetation abounds. The road is shady with great Ingasamen (Rain Trees) trees; the air is sweet with Arecanut and other flowers; the scene is one of exquisite rural peace. Rice fields lie basking in the heat of a sweltering sun, verdant expanses of green in varying shades undulating in the breeze with a vibration incredibly light and graceful, or sometimes thick with black mud, in ridges and furrows, where the swarthy Sinhalese works ploughing or sowing, his bare body caked with ooze. There are two rice crops in Ceylon which differ in sowing and reaping according to districts and elevation, but chiefly elevation. The Yala, which is the major crop, is generally from April to September, and Maha or Masse' is sown about the end of October with seeds that give quicker results.

It is only recently that any attempt has been made to change the age-old ways of agriculture in Ceylon, but still the sower goes

forth to sow as his forefathers did, nude but for a span of cloth round his loins, a wide brimmed hand-woven hat of grass or bamboo on his head, the seed known as paddy, carried in a flat basket on his hips. When the seedlings show their pale greenness above the black mud, village women transplant them in rows, making order out of confusion, for as in the parable of old "The seed fell some on stony ground, some amongst thorns, and some by the wayside." With songs they lighten their labours.

"As certainly as if to heaven a pebble you may throw yet will it not abide at all but falls to earth below, so, well proportioned to your deeds or be they good or ill will the event your heart desires be meted to you still."

THUS THEY SING, standing ankle deep in water, their colourful clothes girded about them and on their heads tied scarf-wise cloths of brightest pink, and blue, and purple, to protect them from the sun. These toil-hardened daughters of the soil are cheerfully busy with what must be even to them a tiring and back breaking task. As they bend over the tender blades, so lightly fashioned, vibrant and quivering in the faintest breeze, they call to each other—"Sing sisters."

"True was the utterance of old of wise men long ago:

Better to choose a single life whose troubles well we know,

Than marriage, where no love may be or joy to make one's own

And woe is me! The greatest grief has chanced to me alone."

The sad chant rises and falls in the monotonous cadence that is Eastern music.

So quickly their fingers move so lightly they take the young blades of paddy but a hand's breadth high and lay them in bundles of green on the gelatinous mud. Soon the field which in the early morning was flourishing with tender paddy is bare of vegetation, an expanse of black viscous slime waiting to receive again into its plentiful embrace the thousands of plants that replace those uprooted out of it.

Again the women raise their voices in song taken from their Kavis.

"For you to wait so long, enduring
 woe and pain
 And seek to win me for your own,
 whom you shall ne'er obtain,
 Is just though a famished gull
 that food is needing sore
 Should wait until the sea dried up,
 upon the sandy shore."

At reaping time the women work again in the fields with gleaners following in their wake as in the days of old, and they sing special songs of the joys of fruitfulness and of the bounties bestowed by nature. This is always a time of great rejoicing and picnic meals are eaten under a spreading tree. After the grain is harvested and taken to the "Kamatha" or Threshing Floor, usually a small piece of high land in the midst of the fields, the workers use a special vocabulary which only those who work in the fields can understand.

Buffaloes trample out the paddy from the ears as they walk round and round the threshing floor while the men with a mournful penetrating cry urge them to continue their ambulation. The paddy is then winnowed against the wind in large Kullas—handwoven winnows made of bamboo, somewhat like a shovel, a shape that has not been changed from the immemorial.

THE GRADIENT is easy. A clean and well kept park on either side of us, at Veyangoda 25 miles from Colombo marks the country residence of Ceylon's Grand Old Man, Sir Solomon Dias Bandaranaike, who died but recently, friend of many Kings and personal friend of Queen Mary.

Hill and dale comfortably alternating through groves of coconut and darkly umbrageous rubber estates, the road winds onward past the Ambepussa Rest House on the left, half way from Kandy. A steep ascent leads up to the town of Kegalle, a planting centre, and passing through the bazaar we speed towards Kandy, the road a wide ribbon that rolls out before us twisting round the hills, then flat and straight between fields. The gradient increases. Uphill is more frequent than the level plane. On the left a jagged crag like a ruined Tyrolean fortrees rises into the sky. It is Uttuwankande the mountain stronghold of Ceylon's most notorious highwayman, Sardiel, who in the old coaching days saw in this rocky pinnacle an advantageous site to

watch the road below for victims and a hiding place to evade capture.

SARDIEL began his life of crime early, as a barrack boy in Colombo from where he fled after robbing his master. Soon after he was charged with murder and while awaiting trial escaped from Hultsdorf Goal and made his way to Kegalle, his hometown, where he gathered together a band of scoundrels as lawless as himself. They made the heights of Uttuwankande their lair, a most convenient place of vantage that overlooked the main highway from Colombo to Kandy, the connecting link between the hill country and the plains. From here they pounced on the coach and robbed and killed as often as they desired. Several admiring women became the wives of these ruffians who seemed to bear a charmed life for when the Police attempted to capture them, they only succeeded in being killed themselves. At length one of Sardiel's accomplices thinking it was impossible to hold out much longer and hoping to save himself gave information to the Police that his leader was visiting in a house close to Mawanella bridge. The Police attempted to raid the upstairs building where Sardiel was, and two of their party entered it with guns, but Sardiel shot the first through his brain and would assuredly have got the second but his gun misfired. The Policeman took his opportunity and fired wounding Sardiel in his leg. But the outlaw was not to be captured so easily for he had an armoury of guns with him. The Policeman retired helpless till the Government Agent of Kegalle, Mr. Saunders, arrived most opportunely with a company of Ceylon Rifles and Police and surrounding the house they set fire to it. Sardiel held out till the fire reached the upper room then in desperation, he and his accomplice, a Malay, Mamalay Munaar, gave themselves up. They were taken to Kandy in a triumphal procession accompanied by European and Ceylonese troops, and a mob crazy with excitement.

Sardiel was a miserable specimen, undersized and puny, a mixture of many races including European and Malay. In his nature distorted with crime and ruffianism he had one strain of charity, he did not rob the poor.

The two men were imprisoned in Bogambara Goal and after trial were sentenced to death on April 4th, 1864. While awaiting execution a Catholic Priest visited them in goal and Sardiel passed over to the higher tribunal awaiting him, repentant and a Christian. He died with the Lord's Prayer on his lips.

The road is steeper now, curving round the hills that follow each other in quick succession. Little huts by the wayside are typical of village life; those of the poorer folk thatched with the planted leaves of the coconut palm, and the more pretentious with tiles.

With a sharp turn to the left the gradient increases perceptibly and one of the longest mountain passes in Ceylon is ahead, known as the Kadugannawa Incline. Upward, still upward! The road winds on steadily uphill, the ascent unrelaxing. Waterfalls cleave the hillsides; the air is cool; the plains are far behind. Still we rise while hairpin corners lift us appreciably higher. Bible rock shows itself on the right and beyond are mountains, range upon range, into the far distance. A sharp elbow turn carries the road under a great rock that spans the highway like a rough hewn arch of granite.

SINHALESE LEGEND foretold that the nation who bored through that rock and built a road that cut through it would unite all Ceylon under one ruler. The British accomplished this feat when Sir Edward Barnes was Governor of Ceylon.

It is almost the summit of the pass. A few more curves, a little more climbing and Kadugannawa is reached, 1718 feet above sea level, the climax of that crescendo of ascent. On the right is a slender tower 125 feet high overlooking the railway station and village clustering at its foot, built in memory of Captain W. F. Dawson, Commanding the Royal Engineers "whose science and skill planned and created this road."

From Kadugannawa a gentle descent leads on to Kandy 9 miles away, through a Rodya hamlet about a mile from the Kadugannawa railway station. The Rodyas are an interesting section of the inhabitants of Ceylon and there has been much speculation as to their origin. They cannot even lay claim to being

LETTER

L. S. S. P.

Sir,

With reference to the comments in the Editor's Note Book of 30.8.75 re L.S.S.P.'s case, I quote, "The L.S.S.P. leader stated that his party had accepted Ministerial portfolios to perform a job of work in relation to the people and not play about. If the people were ready to go ahead along the socialist road and to sacrifice, what was the difficulty in implementing a progressive programme?"

The phrase "people were ready to sacrifice" is not what the people have expressed. It is an assumption of the politician and the leader like Dr. Perera who does not know what it is to sacrifice—they have the best of things and the road to socialism brought them cart loads of good fare. Do not rely on Dr. Perera and the like to tell the truth, for they do not know what starvation is; what it is to sleep on the pavement; what it is to be unemployed with a starving family at home; to be naked for want of clothing; to beg for crumbs; to eat manioc every day. These, the leaders, do not understand, so they talk of sacrifices to be on the road to socialism. It is a good thing for the politician to take a turn to spend a night on someone's doorstep as his bed, or scrounge in the street dust bins for a morsel of food, or be without any income or wage for a couple of months; or even to reduce their income by half, or go about begging for clothing, or be pushed around in a public transport, or be on the other side of a bureaucratic table to transact business, then they—the political leaders who preach "people are ready to sacrifice" will know how many are with them. Or test it at the polls, as any democratic people would do, to get the consent of the people to suffer and sacrifice. Leaders like Dr. Perera are shy of the polls, once they get into the shoes, they like to be in them till the shoes wear out, for they never had if so good—and to speak of people who are prepared to sacrifice—sacrifice for what? It is for the voiceless voter. In a 157 member Assembly the major partner commands 90 seats so why

the lowest caste of the Sinhalese for they are outcasts and the name means refuse. Though centuries have passed since their expulsion from the rest of humanity, there was up to late British times very little change in their status, and mode of living. No Westerner can realise the degradation of these poor folk who live apart from all others on land specially portioned out to them. The Sinhalese call their houses "Kuppayam"—Dwellings of Outcasts—and will have no intercourse with them, not even to this day. They are not allowed to draw water from any well but those in their own special domain, for they are unclean, nor can they enter the homes of even the lowest caste. Men and women till quite recently had to go unclothed from their waist upwards and the men were not allowed to cover their heads. No land could belong to them except the communal allotment granted by Government to several families in a district. Hunting was debarred, ordinary work in fields or houses was denied them but they were allowed to weave mats which they do with beautiful colours and of texture exquisitely fine and soft. They were also granted the concession to beg which they do to this day. If refused alms they would say "we are Rodiyas you must give to us." If still refused they curse the stony-hearted one but it does not happen often for a Rodiya curse and a Rodiya charm are dreaded in Ceylon.

It is impossible now to discover what was the reason for this repudiation. Legend and tradition give many causes. One is, that they were originally the hunters of the Sinhalese Kings Court. One day, being unable to serve venison at the royal table, they made a dish of human flesh which the King ate with relish. Enquiries were made about the recipe of this dainty and when the horrible truth was discovered, the King's wrath was such that death was too honourable. His decree that they should be outcasts for eternity has not been reversed and it will be long before these unfortunate people are allowed the right to live as others do.

There is another story attached to them, a more romantic one. A Princess of royal blood fell in love with a commoner, and the King incensed, drove the pair out with a curse on them for ever.

Whatever the cause for this terrible punishment, in spite of the humiliation and hardship these unfortunate people have suffered through the years, they are exceptionally well favoured, particularly the women who are fair to look upon. Their mien is dignified, and in form and feature they are beautiful.

It is no wonder that the Kandians held out so long against all invaders of their kingdom, for nature made their city a natural fort. Besides the encircling hills, the great Mahaweliganga wide and sweeping, often in spate from the rains upcountry guards both entrances whether from the North or South. To enter Kandy from Colombo the river has to be crossed, to leave it at its Northern end the same river has to be crossed again. A wonderful strategic position in the days when rivers had to be crossed by boat or ford.

The bridge at Peradeniya consisting of three steel arched girders of 67 feet 9 inches clear span was built some years ago to replace the famous old satin wood bridge built by Major General Fraser which had a single span of 205 feet.

How beautiful is the approach to Kandy! The white bridge that spans the river with its lovely reaches on either side of thickly wooded banks, the sweep of water with here and there a golden sandbank, the hills that rise so close above, Hantanne on the right sloping upwards like a breaking wave where the drifting clouds flirt tantalisingly with its sharpened peak, make a picture unforgettably beautiful. Half a mile further the Peradeniya Botanical Gardens on the left beckon the wayfarer to explore their cool and shady depths, while right opposite the Rest House holds out an invitation to drink a cup of Ceylon Tea.

Past the Government Agricultural offices and buildings, past Kingswood College on Randle's Hill on the left, through the bazaar, with Primrose Hill on the left, the railway line and tea slopes on the right, the road sweeps on to Kandy; through Ward Street where all the large shops stand, and so to the Queen's Hotel or the Hotel Suisse on the other side of the lake, the Mecca of the tourist traffic to the hill capital.

Whether your visit to Kandy be long or short your journey should be done by both road and rail, either going up by train and returning by car or vice versa.

hesitate to throw the leftist out if their political and oral behaviour are obnoxious? Surely the major partner has enough brain power amongst its membership to replace the obnoxious elements.

R. Kahawita

September 1, 1975

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REVIEW

It Happened In Irkutsk

By K. Sivakumaran

PITCHAI VENDAM—a translation of Alexi Arbutov's play, **IT HAPPENED IN IRKUTSK**. Translated by Gnanam Lambert and directed by A. Thaseesiyus for the Tamil Sangam of the Katubedde Campus.

It was a very pleasant evening watching the happenings in Irkutsk in the late fifties, enacted in Tamil on the stage, in rather a stylized fashion, which included, judicious use of cinematic techniques, not for their own sake, but for creating an effective impact. The Tamil title of the play sounded rather pedantic, and it was called, "Pitchai-vendam" which meant, in this context, "Not on Begging". One should depend on one's own earning and not on an honorarium paid on sympathy, is the message of the play. The class unity, the gradation in terms of effort, the human understanding of the problems, the discovery of more easier mechanical devices to make the burden of work lessen, the stress on profitable recreation and the emancipation of the weaker sex even within the Soviet Union, are some of the subsidiary themes in the play; but the beauty is that these are artistically woven into a fine piece of theatre. There was never a dull moment witnessing it. Although the play has its intrinsic merits, it was on boards, that it excelled. Much of the credit goes to its director, young Thaseesiyus, who has already established a name for himself as one of the three or four major drama producers in Tamil. Along with Zuhair Hameed, Thaseesiyus and N. Suntharalingam, there are other directors like, J. P. Robert, Anthony Jeeva and S. S. Ganeshapillai who treat drama seriously. But Thaseesiyus shows his preference for stylized presentation as evident from his earlier

interpretation of *Codai* for instance. In this play too stylization takes major honours. His meticulous attention to all departments on the stage, plus his imaginative directorial efforts make him a fine student of the stagecraft. He has evidently controlled the abundance of talent into purposeful endeavour.

Of course the contribution by the translator and the players is not to be ignored. In fact their own understanding of the demands of the script has helped the director. Particular mention should be made of the remarkable way Gnanam Lambert uses the Tamil language. His beautiful rendition into the Jaffna idiom was partly responsible for the immediacy and the direct communication of the lines. For the first time I felt an alien play has been staged as an assimilated Tamil play. Leave the names of the characters aside and you get the felling of an original play staged in Tamil. The costume and lighting had pleasing effects on the play.

Anandarani Rajaratnam as Valya, P. Suganthan as Serghe, K. Balendra as Victor and K. Subramaniam as Segiek with Farook, Selvanayagam, Vijayasivaji, Shanthinathan, Rajkumar and many others contributed in a magnificent way their parts for the overall success of the production. The apt choice of melodic occidental and oriental music too should be mentioned.

It was refreshing to see a competent and flawless Tamil play after sometime. What the Tamil theatre lacks now is technical virtuosity. Such translations can help to improve this discipline.

CAPSICUMS

The Big Chillies

Chillies are an important condiment and culinary supplement. They add special flavour to the dishes which stimulate the taste buds and to some extent the appetite also. But the difficulty with the ordinary chillies is its strongly pungent nature. Some do relish this hot taste and others shy away from it. But the damage that such a pungent food can do to the alimentary canal and digestive organs makes it unwholesome. For those

who would like to enjoy the flavour of the vegetable alone without the acid qualities, the giant chillies will be the right item. It has the strong odour of ordinary chillies even as one dresses the vegetable but is absolutely free from irritation.

Giant Chillies or Capsicum, botanically *Capsicum annum* var. *grossa*, are bell-shaped non-pungent and thick-fleshed. These are used as vegetables like brinjals or tomatoes and commonly known as sweet peppers or Simla Mirch. These bull-nose chillies can combine with any other vegetables and thus can be used for number of dishes. They come to market along with the exotic vegetables.

Capsicum contains all nutritive elements but are rich in two vitamins A and C. In addition, they have a fairly high content of iron. As it is possible to take sizable quantities of this mild type of chillies without detriment to one's health it is easy to meet the requirement of nutritive principles. The sweet chillies in 100 grams of edible matter contains 1.3 gm. protein, 0.3 gm. fat, 0.7 gm. mineral matter and 4.3 gm. carbohydrates. It has also 10 mg. of calcium, 30 mg. of phosphorus and 1.2 mg. of iron. Among vitamins, it contains 427 micrograms of carotene, representing vitamin A. 0.55 mg. of thiamine, 0.05 mg. of riboflavin 0.1 mg. of niacin and 137 mg. of vitamin C. It is as rich as cabbage in vitamin C and almost equals beans in vitamin A. According to an American scientist one pound of the bell-pepper or sweet chillies contains enough ascorbic acid (vitamin C) to supply the daily requirements of nine men.

As it is more costly the giant chillies have not become very popular. It is now cultivated in the plains during the colder months of the year. If it is cultivated on larger scale and priced reasonably it can come within the reach of many consumers. This is desirable because Capsicum can well be used as a regular vegetable than be looked upon as a delicacy or fancy stuff. It is also possible to preserve it for the off seasons because it can be pickled.

—Hindu

Confidentially

Railways

IS IT NOT TRUE that there is so much to be done in the Railways that it will be difficult to know where to begin or where to end? That *Tribune* had been spotlighting the mess in the Railways on so many occasions that it became a little tired, (after some time) about writing about the Railways at all? That for five years now that whatever was written, even in the most constructive manner about defects, about negligence, about deliberate sabotage and about wanton inefficiency was dismissed as criticism that emanated from "reactionaries" out to denigrate the LSSP and the United Front? That *The Nation* once chastised the *Tribune* for having pointed out some glaring defects in the Railways by asserting that we were prompted by "reactionary" impulses to look at only the negative side of things (brought about by UNP "reactionaries" still lingering in the Railways) without looking at the positive "socialist" managerial techniques which had been introduced by the LSSP? That *The Nation* had also pleaded for time for the reforms introduced by the LSSP Minister to bear fruit? That five years have now gone by and the situation in the Railways is one of dismal gloom? That after five years of LSSP administration there has emerged a new brahmin caste of Party slogan-shouters (who are now falling headlong one over the other to find out what slogans would please the new Minister and Administration) who had made a mockery of the administration? That in the weeks to come *Tribune* will list the shortcomings in the Railways one by one so that remedial action may be considered by the new Administration? That for the present reference will be made only to a few glaring matters well known to every railway commuter? That railway carriages are now neither washed properly nor cleaned properly when the trains draw up to the platforms? That in the bad old "reactionary" days an inspector had the duty to check on the gangs who were put on the job of washing and cleaning the trains? That after the "proletariat" took over, no inspector was permitted to boss the workers? That

inspectors were regarded as "bourgeois" appointments—until the inspectors from union ranks did no checking on the work? That in the bad old days no train was permitted to draw on to the platform unless an inspector had signed a written form that the train was okay? That if the inspector fell down on his job there was someone higher to pull him up and take the necessary disciplinary action to make him do his job? That in the first days of the "proletarian" takeover, a few inspectors had refused to sign the forms okaying the train? That physical pressure was brought on these inspectors by the union thugs in charge of the work gangs? The complaints by inspectors to the higher-ups (for relief) brought no relief? That, on the contrary, the complainants were punished (and victimised) as "reactionaries" who wanted to harass and exploit the proletarian work force? That today the party-card holding Inspectors join with the work gangs to play cards and drink arrack during the time the carriages and waggons are supposed to be cleaned and okay certificates are signed as a matter of formality in deference to out-of-date "reactionary" administrative rules? That this is the main reason why there are no clean railway carriages today? That this why railway waggons are used which have not seen any "maintenance" or "servicing" for months together? That carriages and waggons now seem to run until they come apart? That once in a while when a big Party shot is moved to remind the proletarian workers that something must be done to keep the carriages clean hose pipes are turned on the carriages for a few minutes?

IS IT ALSO NOT STRANGE that railway accidents and derailments have continued to proliferate in spite of the hullabaloo which had been raised about them during the last two to three years? That in nearly all cases it was found that the derailment and accidents were due to the utter negligence (and worse) of union-favoured employees who were more often than not drunk on the job? That an investigation will show that some recent accidents were due to the negligence of men who had been given jobs (promoted) they were not qualified for? That they had been pushed up over many other deserving cases on the ground

of political affiliations? That such men behaved as if they had permanent immunity to do as they pleased? That it did not bother them if they were drunk while driving a train and could not see the signals properly? That many accidents were prevented by the preventive action of assistants who had been overlooked in promotions? That some of the new personnel placed in charge of trains do not even seem to know how to read the colour signals? That if one compiles the number of accidents and derailments in the last three years (after the Railways had been purged of the bad old reactionary elements who were willing to do a job of work unmindful of political slogans) one will be staggered by the phenomenal number of avoidable accidents which have brought disgrace to the Railways? That when accidents do take place and passengers are ferried in buses in between intermediary stations the kind of treatment railway officials mete out to passengers is enough to make commuters want to resort violent protest? That Sri Lankans are a long suffering people and they have learnt to put up with a great deal? That the restaurant car service has broken down and is now in shambles? That foreign tourists who travel in the few air-conditioned coaches and observation carriages still available in our trains—both are kept filthily—have bitter memories about trying to get a drink or something to eat?



● POSTAL

IS IT NOT A FACT that matters have begun to hot up again in the postal setup? That there is a great deal of eyebrow-lifting that a bigwig who should have been put on the mat (like others now under interdiction) has been permitted to "retire" without undergoing the tribulations of fellow officers who now await "trial" (at departmental inquiries)? That there seems to be much dissatisfaction that the officer concerned was given the okay for retirement at the highest levels without conforming to normal administrative procedures? That if he had been treated like the others his pension would have been withheld—with the fear that he may even lose it completely if held "guilty"? That special favours to privileged favourites undermines public administration?



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