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# TRIBUNE

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## Letter From The Editor

THIS NOTE is being written a few days before Budget Day on November 5. The Estimates for the Appropriation Bill for 1976 were tabled in the National State Assembly on Tuesday October 28. The Estimates reveal a budgetary gap of Rs. 2495 millions: the total expenditure is estimated at Rs. 8,123,667,469 while the total estimated revenue stands at Rs. 5,628,161,000. The budgetary gap last year was Rs. 2,159 million and though there was a 25% cut in the estimated expenditure (so we understand) we do not know (and have not been told) how this gap was bridged if it was ever bridged at all. One of the most remarkable features of last year's Budget was that the NSA did not adopt the customary Finance or Revenue Bill—to cover the collection of additional revenue and thus legalise the expenditure. This only shows that *legality* and *illegality* are not absolute terms and that what has to be done can be done in a country, where the separation of powers and the rule of law no longer operate in the way they were intended to, without the Government being challenged in the exercise of its functions especially in the expenditure of money. We do not know what the resulting position really is, but it is likely that the present Finance Minister, Mr. Felix R. Dias Bandaranaike, will say something about this matter. If our understanding of last year's Budget is correct—we claim no infallibility and we may be wrong as hell in our thinking—all expenditure made and a major part of the revenue collected under the last Budget are technically illegal. We have never put much store on technicalities, but if we pretend to have a Constitution and a system of law then such technicalities have a meaning. We hope that the new Budget for 1976 will suffer no such default and that it will in some way correct and make amends for the illegalities which have enveloped many aspects of the Budget for 1975. This will not be easy just as much it will not be easy to formulate a Budget for 1976 within the framework of a mixed economy where the ruling governmental power has the avowed objective of reaching out to a socialist order through democratic procedures and parliamentary processes. The short-term objective of combating inflation and bringing down (if possible) the prices of essential commodities, for at least preventing the prices from spiralling still higher, must be combined with the objective of generating greater production and productivity in all sectors and more especially in the field of food production. This is a tall order for any Minister of Finance and it will be interesting to see how SLFP's FRDB will cope with the problems involved in formulating such a Budget. We know how the LSSP Minister of Finance, Dr. N. M. Perera, had done this job in five Budgets. Though there have been impressive measures of radical nature which have brought far-reaching and fundamental changes in the socio-political and economic structure of the country, there is no doubt that Dr. N. M. Perera has failed to induce greater production or productivity in industry and in agriculture. On the other hand, nearly all the measures adopted by the Parliament at the instance, inspiration or prompting of the LSSP and Dr. N. M. Perera have been self-defeating (as we had pointed out at every stage) so far as production and productivity are concerned. In fact, we have reached a stage where production has reached a stage of total stagnation—a point from which we have begun to slide backwards and downwards without any glimmer of hope that the economy will move forward in production or productive effort. We hope that Mr. Felix R. Dias Bandaranaike's Budget will not only arrest this downward slide but also provide the necessary monetary, fiscal and budgetary impetus to induce and generate greater production. From the Estimates tabled it is difficult to make any conjectures about what is in store. But it is heartening to note that a bigger capital vote for the food drive has been contemplated. This is a happy augury because it is an indication that there is a faint realisation that the main malady which afflicts agriculture in Sri Lanka, as in so many other countries, is under-capitalisation. This (under-capitalisation) is the root cause of the failure of all our agricultural ventures whether in the *janawasas*, collective farms, state farms, co-operative farms or even in the peasant allotments and in the private farms of the farming community. We do not know whether the new Budget will touch even a fringe of this yawning gap in the capitalisation of our agricultural units devoted to food production, but we can only hope that a start will be made to remedy the situation. Our picture on the cover this week is intended to reflect the deep-seated hope in everyone in this country that the Minister of Finance will be able to make realistic start to cope with the problem of food production which is the pivotal crux for the economic regeneration of this country.



## EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

## The Nonaligned Conference

MATTERS INTERNATIONAL were spotlighted in the National State Assembly on October 23, 1975 when the House was asked to approve the expenditure of Rs. 35 million for the purchase of cars for the non-aligned summit conference in Colombo next year. Mr. Maithripala Senanayake, in moving the resolution on behalf of the Prime Minister, said that the money was required for the importing of 90 Holden cars, 372 Peugeot cars and some motor cycles. He had also stated that part of the expenditure for the purchase of cars would be met Algiers, France and the USSR, and the balance would be from own money.

This motion had triggered a lively debate in the NSA about the nonaligned conference, about nonalignment and also about some aspects of the developing trends in international affairs. The Member for Panadura, Mr. Leslie Goonewardena, had opened the debate by raising the question whether there was any change in the foreign policy of Sri Lanka—impliedly after the LSSP quit the Government—and cited the support the Prime Minister had extended to President Sadat of Egypt on the Sinai Agreement with Israel under US auspices. This is how the Daily News (24/10/75) report of Mr. Goonewardena's speech read:

**Mr. Leslie Goonewardena** (LSSP—Panadura) asked whether there had been a change in the foreign policy of the government recently. He said on September 3 Egypt, despite a lack of concord from its Arab allies including the Palestine Liberation Organisation, signed a disengagement treaty called the Sinai Agreement with Israel. Sri Lanka had accepted that agreement. In the words of our own Prime Minister she had welcomed the agreement and had even rejoiced over the treaty.

May be Egypt entered into such an agreement under heavy pressure from the United States. Other Arab nations had vehemently condemned the treaty. Why was this alacrity on our part to rush to recognise and accept that agreement? Most of non-aligned groups in the world

did not favour that agreement. Clearly the Yugoslav Premier differed from our view expressed by Mrs. Bandaranaike. A joint statement was issued by the Yugoslav premier and our Prime Minister saying the agreement could serve towards a peaceful settlement in the Middle East which was contrary to what Mrs. Bandaranaike told Egyptian President Anwar Sadat? Was there a change in the foreign policy of the Government? Why did we bypass the PLO which was vehemently opposed to this agreement? Was there a necessity for us also to bend towards the US just because Sadat had done so?.....

**Mr. Athauda Seneviratne** (LSSP—Ruanwella) stated that he was happy that the conference was to be held in Colombo, but he said that Sri Lanka was a poor country with many serious difficulties, and the implication was that this country could not afford the luxury of such a conference at this stage. Would the people approve the vast expenditure he had asked. Following him, the Leader of the Opposition, **Mr. J. R. Jayewardene**, had raised a number of questions: What was nonalignment? Were there any nonaligned countries? Was Sri Lanka herself nonaligned—and he cited Mr. Leslie Goonewardena's query about our attitude to the Sinai Agreement? He also raised the question whether this country could afford such a conference.

The Daily News report relating to Mr. Jayewardene's speech was:

**Mr. J. R. Jayewardene** (Leader of the Opposition) said the Non-Aligned Conference was very dear to the heart of the Prime Minister. A large amount of money was going to be spent on it. The Member for Panadura in effect was asking the Prime Minister whether she was nonaligned when he referred to the Sinai Agreement. What was this non-aligned conference? Which were the non-aligned states? Were we non-aligned?

**Mr. Maithripala Senanayake** The Member for Panadura was not quite correct. The Prime Minister said she welcomed the agreement as being a step towards the settlement of the Middle East issue.

**Mr. Leslie Goonewardena** But the Yugoslav President very much doubted it!

Mr. Jayewardene said the first concept of non-aligned came at the Bandung conference when Sri Lanka

forwarded the Panchaseela concept. Sri Lanka had her alignments with the UK; Pakistan and India had their own treaties with the super powers. In that context were we non-aligned? Sri Lanka was undergoing severe hardships. Will a non-aligned conference benefit us? Why spend all this big money? So much was being spent on cars and nobody knew how much would be spent on other things.

**Mr. Gamini Dissanayake** (UNP—Nuwara Eliya) agreed with the views of the Member for Ruanwella that a vast sum of money was being spent for a three-day conference and that it would amount to the pawning of a few generations yet unborn. **Mr. Paris Perera** (UNP—Ja-Ela) drew attention to the "plight" of the people whose houses had been knocked down to widen the road to Katunayake and hoped that the Government would find out what such people thought about it. **Mr. Vasudeva Nanayakkara** (LSSP—Kiriella) criticised Mr. J. R. Jayewardene for being "cynical" about nonalignment and the non-aligned conference and said that this was because the UNP did not like anti-imperialism and the Colombo nonaligned summit was anti-imperialist in character. He was not surprised that the UNP was against such a conference because the UNP was pro-imperialist and anti-socialist. But now, said Mr. Nanayakkara, the UNP was changing its stance a little because the US had changed its attitudes to Russia and China. He also criticised the UNP members who had complained about the "suffering" caused to people whose houses had been pulled down. He said that compensation would be paid and that the Government was entitled to take such action to ensure improvements of such roads. The displaced should be given land elsewhere to build their houses. Mr. Nanayakkara had gone on to say that the Government Parliamentary Group had not been consulted about the holding of the Non-aligned Conference and that the Government, which was now pulling to the Right, was "using the non-aligned conference as a cover to show a non-aligned stance." **Mr. Wijepala Mendis** (UNP—Katana) asked whether reports in foreign newspapers about foreign powers seeking base facilities in Sri Lanka were correct. However, he went on to say that



the UNP had not spoken against nonalignment as LSSP members had tried to make out. The UNP had only pointed out the difficulties that the people had to face as a result of holding the conference here. **Mr. Ratne Deshapriya Senanayake** (Deputy Minister of Planning and Economic Affairs) said that some members had tried to cover up the political significance of the conference by talking of the import of cars and the pulling down of a few houses. The conference, he said, would bring 82 countries together in a struggle against imperialism: fighting as they were for political and economic independence. Those opposed to or critical about the conference were only bowing to the wishes of the imperialists. It was a vital conference, he said, for Asia and the world. It was the first of such conference to be held in Asia—the day of the Conference would be the finest moment of the Asian continent especially because it was being held after the great revolutionary victories of the peoples of Vietnam and Cambodia. He also said that the Prime Minister had never even contemplated giving any bases to any foreign power. He said that the widening of the road to and from the Katunayake airport was only part of the work under the Five Year Plan. He also said that much of the expenses of the conference would be met by foreign countries. Furthermore, he said, that the conference would bring many benefits to Sri Lanka and Third World countries. **Mr. Sarath Muttewegama** (CP—Kalawana) was chiefly concerned with pointing out to Mr. J. R. Jayewardene that it was wrong for the UNP leader to argue that nonalignment was an outdated concept and that no country was practising nonalignment. This argument, he said, was used by reactionaries throughout the world. Mr. Jayewardene had argued that since most countries had dealings with the superpowers those countries could not be considered nonaligned. Attempts to raise the standards of living in those countries did not mean the abandonment of the concept of nonalignment. It was necessary to meet the false arguments adduced for not holding the conference and expose such arguments. **Mr. T. B. M. Herat** (Deputy Minister of Transport) said that Sri Lanka was not under the

heel of any country and that every effort should be made to make the conference a success.

**Mr. Denzil Fernando** (UNP—Negombo) said that it was wrong on the part of certain members to allege that the UNP was against the holding of the Conference. What the UNP said was that, considering the grave economic difficulties faced by the people, it was not possible to hold the conference. Had the proposal of the UNP government—to construct a separate road to Katunayake with flyovers—been accepted none of the houses referred to would have been destroyed. **Mr. Ronnie de Mel** (Ind.—Devinuvara) said that the Assembly had not been adequately informed about the preparations regarding the nonaligned conference or the approximate cost. The assembly, he said, should be told of the approximate cost. According to statistics he had, the nonaligned conference held in Algeria cost Rs. 5,000 million in Sri Lanka currency. Were correct financial and tender procedures being followed in the purchase of goods and equipment

for the conference? Whatever the currency, correct financial procedures had to be followed. Could we afford such a conference in the light of newspaper reports of the sufferings of the people? Even the aid said to be given by foreign countries had not been definitely or specifically promised. **Mr. Prins Gunasekera** (SLVB—Habaraduwa) said that although the Prime Minister in reply to a question put by him in the NSA on July 17 had said that the cost of the conference could not be assessed at that time and that she would inform the Assembly later, she had not yet done so. The supplementary estimates was for the purchase of 800 vehicles but yet the government did not have money to put up school buildings which had collapsed. How could the government justify the expenditure on the conference? Mr. Gunasekera asked whether Peugeot cars had already been ordered? Would agents for these cars get commissions?

The Cambodian head of State in a recent interview had said that he did not want foreign mis-

### ANOTHER STORM AT LAKE HOUSE?

IS IT NOT TRUE that the last general meeting of the Associated Newspapers of Ceylon Ltd. (*Lake House*) has spawned an internal crisis of the greatest magnitude? That the story goes that a Special General Meeting would be held shortly to resolve some of the problems which have surfaced into the open? That Colombo town is chockful of stories (in journalistic and other knowledgeable circles) about the goings-on-in *Lake House*? That one of the juiciest of the stories concerns a million rupees (Rs. 1,000,000) of expense-account money which did not have receipts or vouchers to support the expenditure? That this story might well be a canard? That the amount may not be one million? That it may be only half a million or even quarter of a million? That it may be even just Rs. 10,000? That whatever the amount the story has begun to acquire a special notoriety? That it has begun to snowball at a terrific rate? That the bosses of *Lake House* will do well to deny it as a canard and a lie (or at least make the real truth known)? That unless this is done the maxim that there cannot be smoke without a fire will be held applicable? That those who whisper this story around in all circles—from the highest to the commonest man—insist that the Auditor General has raised this matter? That with the story still denied—it has begun to circulate immediately after the General Meeting of October 15—people have begun to ask what the highly paid Internal Auditors (appointed by the new dispensation in 1972) had done while the million rupees was being spent? That this kind of spending had gone on right under the nose of the Internal Auditors? That apart from this, the story has gained currency that even the scaled-down salaries of the Working Directors (who must work fulltime in future) must be approved at a General Meeting? That down the grapevine comes the story that *Lake House* employees, who for a time had been tempted to join pro-Government trade unions, are now flocking back to unions which cannot be called pro-Government? That *Tharunee* tamashas have not helped to keep the workers even in the pro-SLFP Unions?



sions because the government could not afford to spend money on foreigners. Today children were eating off garbage cans near the Pettah bus stand. The farmers in the NCP were in a bad way after two years of drought. Spending money on the conference would be a crime against the nation he said.

**Mr. V. Dharmalingam** (FP—Uduvil) said the wealth of the country was being spent on expanding the army and police. Holding the conference was similar to people borrowing money to hold tamashas. After the conference the country would be left with a few clean streets and a few buildings. The government would be in a difficulty to explain to the people the expenses that would be incurred.

The Prime Minister spoke at length in reply and we reproduce below the report from the Daily News, 24/10/75, of the PM's arguments.

The Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike yesterday said she was hopeful of holding the Non-Aligned Summit here next year, whatever the opposition: the people will judge the decision by its results. Mrs. Bandaranaike, replying to the debate on a supplementary estimate of Rs. 35 million sought by her in the National State Assembly to import vehicles for the Non-Aligned Conference said whether the UF Government was in power or not the country ought to be proud of being able to host such a conference. "We may be a small country" the Premier said, "but the whole world respects our non-alignment."

Mrs. Bandaranaike said judging by the speeches some opposition members seemed to be opposed to the holding of the conference here. The decision to hold the summit was taken when the LSSP was with the Government. In 1973 Sri Lanka tried to play host. At the Foreign Ministers Conference in 1973 Sri Lanka offered to be the host country but the opportunity went to Algeria. At the Georgetown meeting a decision was taken to hold the 1976 conference in Sri Lanka. There was no opposition to that decision.

Such a conference was being held for the first time in Asia. Earlier conferences were held in Africa and once in Europe. Sri Lanka was a very senior member of the non-aligned group. It was a matter of pride for our country that Sri Lanka was selected

as the venue for the next conference.

In certain quarters it had been said that the conference has being held to boost her image. But the country should be proud to host such a conference whoever was in power. Sri Lanka was a small country but the whole world respected her non-aligned policies. True the meeting would involve a fair amount of expenditure. In Algiers and Zambia to hold a similar conference they built special villas and conference halls and that might be why they spent a lot of money. But here there was a conference hall where so many international conferences had been held since it was built. And much foreign exchange too had been earned as a result. For the Non-Aligned Summit next year between 4000 and 5000 foreigners were expected to visit Sri Lanka. All were not guests; there would be very limited number of guests—about 2 or 3 from each country. Others will have to spend their own money here.

She said it was obvious that the Opposition was a little jealous about the whole thing and that was why they were fussing over it. They were also afraid that the government will earn a good name over the whole episode. Replying to the Member for Kiriella the Prime Minister said matters were discussed when the LSSP was with the Government. There were committees pertaining to the conference in which Dr. N. M. Perera and Mr. Leslie Goonewardene participated. The decision to import cars was taken then. None of these questions now being asked were raised at the Government Parliamentary Group. There were no secrets, the whole world knew what was happening.

She said it was surprising to note that the LSSP was objecting now after they had left the Government. The comments of the Leader of the Opposition were not surprising. Had they been in the government perhaps the UNP would not have opposed it. UNPers were jealous they could not do it. The Opposition Leader referred to a defence agreement of 1946 with the United Kingdom. Why could not the UNP governments abrogate that agreement? Their Father of the Nation failed to do it. In 1956 the late Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike took over the bases and with that agreement became inoperative.

**Mr. J. R. Jayewardene:** But Mr. Bandaranaike said that even with the bases taken over the agreement would operate.

**Opposition Voice:** We have to defend UK now.

The Prime Minister said that Algeria had agreed to pay for the import of 90 Holden cars. They were respected countries who never went back on their pledges. Yugoslavia had promised 500,000 dollars. Unlike some, they would not break their promises. One million dollars had already come to the Central Bank. Yugoslavia had promised goods like tele equipment. These things will not go to waste even after the conference. Some of this equipment could be used at the BMICH. North Korea had promised 500,000 dollars. Pakistan—although not in the Non-Aligned Group—had promised goods worth a lakh of rupees. India had promised aid. The USSR will give motorcycles and Libya financial assistance.

The Government's intention was to make the conference a success. The Peugeot cars were being bought under a French line of credit, the period of repayment extended to 15 years. Cars were imported yearly for the use of various state institutions. This year all such imports were stopped and no money had been allotted for that purpose. She agreed there were difficulties facing the country. But a conference of this nature would definitely benefit the country both politically and economically.

She said the road widening had to be done even if there was no conference here. Houses had to be pulled down and compensation had to be paid. The flats that were being built can be used by government officials who were badly in need of quarters. She was thinking of the possibility of re-exporting some of the 90 Holden cars that were being imported. The cars were meant only for the leaders who were attempting the conference. The motorcycles that were being imported were required by the police and the army; these would not go waste. The services will continue to use them.

Replying to the Member for Habaraduwa, the Premier said the decision to order cars was taken by a committee in which both Dr. N. M. Perera and Mr. Leslie Goonewardene served. Quotations were called for and orders were made. Strict procedure was followed. Maybe some



were disappointed they could not get the orders. The Member for Habaraduwa had a penchant to 'pinch' somewhere with glee. The Member for Habaraduwa confined his remarks to the four walls of the chamber and sought its protection. He should come out of the Assembly and utter those things she said. Replying to the Member for Panadura Mrs. Bandaranaike said she did send a message to the Egyptian President Anwar Sadat because she was happy about any move towards peace. She said it was another step towards peace in the Middle East. What was wrong with that? Just because she said that was Sri Lanka not non-aligned? Similar statements were made with regard to Vietnam when the LSSP was still with the Government. And with regard to Czechoslovakia and Cambodia. Did those utterances mean that we were not non-aligned? Mrs. Bandaranaike said Guyana had promised sugar. This did not amount to begging. Those countries were prepared to aid us and wanted to know what we require. She said she hoped to have the conference here next year whatever the opposition was. The people would finally judge the decision by its results.

The Assembly divided when the resolution was put to the House and the division was an interesting reflection of one aspect of the current inter-party situation in the NSA.

When the estimate was put to vote Mr. Prins Gunasekera (SLVB)—Habaraduwa) called for a division. At the voting 41 voted for the supplementary estimate with Mr. Gunasekera and Dr. W. Dahanayake (Ind, Galle) voting against. The UNP LSSP and the FP abstained. The Speaker Mr. Stanley Tillekeratne remarked. "There is a strong non-aligned group in the House."

This is one of the rare occasions when one aspect of foreign affairs has been discussed in the NSA in recent times. It is significant that one matter alluded to by Mr. Leslie Goonewardene did not arouse more attention. The Sri Lanka government's virtually unconditional support for President Sadat on the interim Sinai Agreement had come as a surprise to knowledgeable circles in this country and abroad.

It was known that the Sinai Agreement had caused a major split in the ranks of the Arab countries. Among others, Syria

Iraq, Algeria, Morocco, and Libya had condemned the separate agreement between Egypt and Israel; they had regarded it as a betrayal of Arab unity. The PLO and all Palestinian groups and organisations had denounced the agreement in no uncertain terms.

In this situation many Asian countries had taken a very cautious stand in the matter and those who had seen the Sinai Agreement as a "step forward" had taken care to express reservations which were significant. India, for instance, had expressed concern about the controversy in the Arab world and had maintained neutrality in the matter and had not come out with open support for Sadat's line. Pakistan, which usually supported Egypt and the Arab struggle against Israel, had maintained a stance of great caution against the Egyptian-Israeli Agreement on Sinai because many Arab states were against it. Saudi Arabia has shall not given her official support for the Agreement.

There is no doubt that Mr. Leslie Goonewardene did well to raise this question because it is of the utmost importance that the Sri Lanka should tread very carefully on Arab matters especially when there is such sharp division among them on the question of the Sinai Agreement. As the host country for the coming nonaligned summit, Sri Lanka should take great care in not (even unwittingly) giving the impression that she was tilting to this side or that in matters of such deep controversy among one of the most powerful groupings among the regional blocs that make the nonaligned world.

Recent broadcasts and commentaries over the BBC indicate how fluid the situation has become in the Middle East. British observers have called upon all parties to resolve the "deepening chasm" in the Arab world which has arisen because of President Sadat's unilateral separate interim treaty with Israel over Sinai. Many Arab States have not hidden their feelings that Sadat has tilted far too much over to the USA, the country, which the Arabs feel, is the creator and the mainstay of Israel.

In this situation the Soviet Union, whose position in West Asia many observers had often stated as having

weakened considerably with Sadat's anti-soviet policies and actions, seems to have come back into a new position of strength among the Arab countries opposed to Sadat's policies and also among the Palestinians who play not merely a charismatic but an extremely vital role in West Asian politics. The USSR, like any other great power, suffers diplomatic and political setbacks in this region or other, from time to time, but there is no doubt that Russia has become a major factor in international affairs—just fiftyeight years after the Bolshevik Revolution (the anniversary was commemorated this week). The recognition that the Soviet Union is a major nuclear power, second if not the equal of the USA, has compelled the two super-powers to come together in a detente to maintain a peace on mutual understanding based on fears of mutual deterrence.

The USA will celebrate its two hundredth anniversary next year. In this remarkably short period, in terms of human history, the USA has become the richest and technologically the most advanced nation the world has ever known. Though the USSR has still far to go to catch up with the USA, both countries are today competing with each other in many fields, but the most spectacular is in the field of space exploration. The detente had even brought a joint space venture which was completed successfully a few months ago.

## ON CLOTHES

Sir,

S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike of revered memory donned the clothes of the common man, the cloth and the banian, and wore trousers, jackets and bow-tie only when he "went to the dogs".

Don't you think it is time that our Cabinet Ministers and members of other Peoples' Parties should now change into the costume of the common (and commonest) man and woman by wearing bell bottoms and elephant pants?

D. V. Wijegoonewardena

295, Baseline Road,  
Colombo 9.



Coinciding with the 58th Anniversary of the October Revolution the Soviet Union has softlanded two instrument packages from space vehicles *Venera 9* and *10* which have transmitted pictures of the planet's surface back to earth. The highest praise for this achievement has come in American papers in articles written by American scientists. The most important point made is that the craft that landed on the Venusian surface had withstood the searing heat (500°C) and enormous pressures for very nearly two hours and that it took pictures of great sharpness.

**Military power and strength is no guarantee of the durable strength of any country which has emerged as a global power. Ghenghis Khan and Attila built mighty war machines and swept everything before them. But their empires and the civilisation they sought to establish vanished within a short time. Only countries, which base their power on the civilised arts, on science, on cultural advancement and technological achievement, can stand the test of time. This must be coupled with tolerance, humanism and dynamic buoyancy for a civilisation to survive and flourish. The fact that the Soviet Union has gone from strength to strength in the 58 years is an indication that the Bolshevik Revolution has come to stay. But what further transformations it must still undergo to build a permanent niche in history is yet to be seen.**

But from the womb of the October Revolution came the Chinese Revolution; but today, it is China which is carrying on the most virulent ideological campaign against Russia, and incidentally against the USA, for the detente the two countries have established. China has warned the USA against the "so-called international detente" and has cautioned all European (Helsinki) powers that Soviet militarism was the greatest menace in the world today. Chairman Mao is now reported to have taken a hand in this diplomatic offensive personally and has cautioned, amongst others, Kissinger, Heath and Schmidt.

**It is a complex and difficult world we live in and Sri Lanka has to tread very warily if it is to maintain its position of dynamic nonalignment. Sri Lanka cannot afford to tilt this way or that way too heavily on any issue if this little speck of an island is to remain friendly with all countries—as she must for sheer survival.**

\* \* \*

## FOR THE RECORD

### Budget Estimates

#### CAPITAL VOTE FOR FOOD DRIVE DOUBLED. ESTIMATES GAP RS. 2495 M

The gap between revenue and expenditure for the financial year 1976 is Rs. 2495 million according to the estimates for 1976 tabled in the National State Assembly yesterday by the Minister of Finance Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike. The total expenditure is Rs. 8,123,667,469 while the total estimated revenue is Rs. 5,628,161,000. The revenue estimates do not include receipts from domestic and foreign borrowing. Last year the estimated local borrowing was Rs. 973 million while foreign receipt amounted to Rs. 1,095 million the highest on record. The Minister of Finance will indicate those two important components of the revenue estimates in his budget speech on November 5. The capital expenditure for 1976 shows a rise of 40 per cent from Rs. 2085.5 million in 1975 to Rs. 2,999.8 million in 1976. The Government's expenditure has gone up by Rs. 690 million from the previous year—an increase of 9 per cent.

The main features of the revenue estimates are: (a) an increase of Rs. 500 million in revenue from FEECs—an item that has been rising ever since the creation of the foreign exchange entitlement certificate system in 1968; (b) an increase of 150 million in revenue from import levies; (c) a reduction in revenue from general sales and turnover taxes from Rs. 662,500,000 last year to Rs. 625 million in 1976; (d) a drop of Rs. 40,974,000 in the revenue from selective sales taxes. However included under this item is an increase of Rs. 44 million from the excise duty on tobacco

which the Minister increased by a Gazette notice this month. (e) a drop of Rs. 40,153,000 in the revenue from export levies; (f) an increase of Rs. 100,700,000 in the surplus from Government monopolies.

One of the highlights of the expenditure provisions in 1976 under the Ministry of Defence and Foreign Affairs is an increase of over 40 million in the total vote for conduct of Foreign Affairs. The increase is absorbed by the following main items of expenditure: (i) preparation for an holding of the Fifth Non-Aligned Summit Conference in Colombo Rs. 22,887,000; considerable foreign aid is also being given for the holding of the conference; (ii) a provision of Rs. 42,255,000 for Sri Lanka Missions abroad—recurrent expenditure; (iii) a capital expenditure of Rs. 14,578,000—the acquisition of equipment taking Rs. 13,185,000 of this provision.

Under the votes of the Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs there is nearly a doubling of the Capital vote for National Planning from Rs. 126,177,200 to Rs. 251,231,177. An important item of expenditure in this vote is the doubling of the capital vote to Rs. 250 million for the food production drive within the decentralised budget. Under the Regional Development program there is a new capital provision of Rs. 30 million which will be for assisting Divisional Development Councils in matters connected with Development projects. The votes of the Ministry of Irrigation, Power and Highways, a Ministry that usually gets a big capital vote have been reduced by Rs. 96,309,529.

Under the votes of the Ministry of Finance there is still provision for the Excise Department. A committee of officials has already made a report on how the staff in this department could be diverted elsewhere since the Government has approved the closure of the department. The vote on the management of the public debt has been increased by Rs. 229,878,410. Interest provisions on foreign loans have increased by Rs. 32,905,722. The amortisation payments of medium and long term foreign loans have increased to Rs. 341,379,513 from Rs. 341,106,500 in 1975. The amortisation payments for local loans have risen to Rs. 307,111,794



from Rs. 242,813,683 in 1975. There is a vote of Rs. 43 million for reimbursement of losses to state corporations and an increase of Rs. 222,300 in the vote for entertainment and special expenses. Under the Project Investment and loans, provision has been made for a loan of Rs. 42 million to the National Housing Fund and Rs. 50 million to the Department of Credit Councils. There is an additional vote of Rs. 867,910 for the Department of Credit Councils.

The food subsidy (now mentioned under the votes of the Ministry of Food, Co-operatives and Small Industries) provision is Rs. 892,874,208—a reduction of 199 million. The vote last year was Rs. 1,092 million. The subsidy to the consumer on rice is Rs. 840 million, for sugar Rs. 44 million and for Infants Milk foods Rs. 6 million. Under the votes of the Ministry of Industries and Scientific Affairs an increased provision of Rs. 70,697,497 has been made as contribution to public sector enterprises the vote (capital expenditure) going up to Rs. 391,506,930 from Rs. 320,930,923 in 1975. Some of the additional provisions under this vote are: (i) Rs. 37 million to the National Textile Corporation for the Coarse Count Mill; (ii) Rs. 19,300,000 for the Cotton Spinning Mill at Minneriya; (iii) Rs. 57,417,000 to the Ceramics Corporation for items like the sheet glass project, wall tiles (export) project, refractories project; (iv) Rs. 78 million to the Eastern Paper Mills Corporation of which Rs. 73 million is for the second paper factory at Embilipitiya; (v) Rs. 30 million to the Ceylon Mineral Sands Corporation; (vi) Rs. 66,700,000 to the State Fertiliser Manufacturing Corporation; (vii) Rs. 25 million to the Ceylon Cement Corporation.

Votes for the Ministry of Education have gone up by Rs. 34,632,561. The grants to universities have been reduced by Rs. 2,873,211. The capital expenditure vote of the Department of Civil Aviation has been increased to Rs. 19,476,610 from Rs. 8,453,260. Fire equipment and communication equipment will absorb about Rs. 8 million. Under the votes of the Department of Rural Development the capital vote for shramadana has been increased to Rs. 17 million from Rs. 10,800,000. The main activity of this project is the rehabilitation of 8,000 abandoned village tanks

which are to be restored on a shramadana basis.

—Ceylon Daily News, 11/10/75

**BUDGET GAP  
RS. 2,495 m.**

When the Finance Minister, Mr. Felix R. Dias Bandaranaike, presents his budget on November 5, he will have to bridge a gap of Rs. 2,495 million—Rs. 57 million less than last year's original estimates. According to the draft estimates of revenue and expenditure for the financial year ending December 1976, presented by him at the National State Assembly yesterday, the estimated total expenditure is at Rs. 8,128 million and revenue at Rs. 5,628 million. The budget gap is now customarily reduced somewhat by the expectation that expenditure will be less than budgeted for. For example the current year's capital expenditure was expected to be 25 per cent less than the figures tabled.

The gap becomes smaller when account is taken of foreign aid already negotiated for to cover projects included in the Budget.

Last year there was an overall budget deficit of Rs. 2,159 million which the then Finance Minister, Dr. N. M. Perera proposed to meet from local borrowings (non-bank sources), Rs. 909 million, counterpart funds, Rs. 865 million, and project loans and grants Rs. 230 million, (these total Rs. 1,995 million). The unfinanced budget gap was Rs. 164 million which he proposed to meet with Rs. 23 million (income and wealth tax) and Rs. 68 million obtained by levies on State Corporations. The final balance of the Rs. 73 million unfinanced gap was to be met by administrative borrowings. Under the draft estimates, food subsidy is down from Rs. 1,092 million in the current year to Rs. 892 million in the coming year. This includes subsidies to consumers on the free half-measure of rice given to non-income taxpayers (Rs. 840 million), sugar (Rs. 44 million) and infant milk foods Rs. 6 million. The public debt goes up from Rs. 1,253 million to Rs. 1,483 million. Estimates of expenditure for 1976 consists of Rs. 5,183 million recurring, Rs. 1,852 personal emoluments and Rs. 2,939 capital expenditure.

The expenditure on national planning is up from Rs. 126 million

to Rs. 251 million. This includes the outlay on the food production drive with the general scheme of decentralising the allocation of funds for capital works of a local nature. The total capital expenditure increased from Rs. 2,571 million to Rs. 2,939 million. The police vote is up from Rs. 116 million to Rs. 153 million, Army from Rs. 79,881 million to Rs. 86,627 million and Department of Pensions from Rs. 297 million to Rs. 310 million. The total revenue on the basis of existing taxation rises from Rs. 4,926 million to Rs. 5,628 million. The BTT on non-manufactured goods from Rs. 105 million to Rs. 106 million while on manufactured goods it is down from Rs. 557 million to Rs. 519.

Excise duty is up from Rs. 213 million to Rs. 217 million and tobacco Rs. 469 million to Rs. 513 million. The import duties are up from Rs. 322 million to Rs. 470 million while export duties are down from Rs. 319 million to Rs. 351 million.

—Ceylon Daily Mirror 29/10/75



**STOP PRESS COMMENT**

**Satan's Budget**

THE BUDGET presented by Mr. Felix R. Dias Bandaranaike in the NSA on Wednesday, November 5, 1975, has come as something much more than a mere silver lining in the dark and dismal clouds of economic distress which have enveloped this country for sometime now. In fact, it has brought new hope that a beginning could be made to bring the country back on to the rails of productive enterprise in the public as well as the private sector. It has not yet been possible to read the full Budget Speech. This comment is being written on the basis of summaries which have been broadcast over the Radio and also on the basis of the Finance Minister's own speech in *Behind The News* only a few minutes. It was heartening and encouraging to hear the Finance Minister declare categorically that the underlying motivation behind his Budget was to provide incentives to all sections of the community in order to induce productive effort at various



levels. This is and should be the *raison d'être* behind any Budget whether under capitalism or under socialism, and more especially under a mixed economy of a developing country (such as we have in Sri Lanka) which is reaching out to a democratic socialist future through parliamentary processes. Readers will recall that over the last five years *Tribune* has re-iterated this time without number in the face of the budget-making since 1970 which had sought to make the Budget a weapon and a tool in the class struggle to liquidate sections of the community identified as "exploiting classes". We had argued that a fully controlled, regulated and planned economy along socialist lines could nowadays be introduced only through a total consensus of the people in one package and that the efforts to usher in such a system in bits and pieces through overt and covert fiscal and monetary measures in the budget would lead to a strangulation of the productive effort such as we have witnessed in the last five years. Socialism and the revolution cannot be ushered through a creeping paralysis arbitrarily imposed on different sections of the community who have traditionally produced the wealth of the nation. We had stressed at every turn that many of the proposals in the budgets from 1970 to 1974 (especially those in non-budget presented at the end of 1974) were self-defeating and for this we had been condemned and denounced as "reactionary" and "anti-progressive", but experience had shown that we were correct in our evaluations.

FRDB's Budget makes it clear that this kind of muddled logic has been left behind by the United

Front government and that for the first time since this Government has come to power we have a Budget which is consistent with the avowed economic and political objective of gradually reaching out to socialism through the transitional stage of a mixed economy. This seems to be one of the ways which developing countries have chosen to effect a transformation of their economy and polity by a process which is not fully capitalist in the traditional sense. It must be said that the new Budget is based on balancing incentives in a way so as to secure increasing productive effort in agriculture and industry (in the public and private sectors, large and small). And as the methodology of incentives has now been accepted as the chief motivating force in budget-making, there is every hope that changes and variations will be made in the system of incentives as the economy once again begins to gear itself for productive effort after a period of enforced stagnation. A more detailed analysis will be made after the full text of the budget has been studied and evaluated, but in the meantime some of the highlights stressed in the radio broadcasts indicate that the Budget will be welcomed by all sections of the community while it will satisfy the most exacting realists that opportunities have been offered to all producers and potential producers to get moving whilst consumers have been assured that their interests have not been overlooked. Among other things, the relief given to the middle income sectors (with incomes up to Rs. 800 a month) is something that has been long overdue. The abolition of the compulsory savings scheme and the ceiling on

incomes will unlock the springs of economic activity at the levels which still provide entrepreneurial expertise. Taxation has been brought back into the proper confines and not be used for experimental endeavours to bring polarisation in terms of a class struggle understood in a sectarian sense. FRDB's budget is an honest effort to bring down the cost of living (whilst trying to contain the inflationary spiral) and also generate production (in a world of recession).

A more detailed examination of the various proposals will be made in next week's issue of *Tribune*, but there will be universal satisfaction that the gem trade has been brought within the tax net and that the BTT on tourist hotels has been increased. But even more popular than all the popular measures in what will undoubtedly be a popular budget is the decision to review the issue of the liquor licences for 1976 and implement a rule that no liquor licence will be operative within half a mile of a school or a place of worship (temple, church or mosque). FRDB's crack about the mini (nip) bottle of arrack indicates that he is aware of the social menace this small bottle has become.

In a country, responsive to wit and humour, there will be many cracks about the Budget which Satan has produced, but the last laugh will be against those who had thought name or nickname of Satan would tarnish the image of a political opponent. Satan's budget has not imposed any new hells on the people of Sri Lanka. On the other hand, there seems to be a desire to lead people out of existing hells into what might turn out to be heaven (comparatively speaking).

## CHRONICLE

# Oct. 24 — Oct. 27

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

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

**Friday, October 24:** Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, has summoned all Government Agents for a special conference next Friday to discuss the

administrative impediments to the crash food program; according to the Ministry of Public Administration the GAs will be invited to 'place before the Prime Minister any difficulties they may be facing in the smooth implementation of the Government's crash food program—CDN. The Prime Minister yesterday replying to the debate on a supplementary estimate of Rs. 35 million sought by her in the NSA to import vehicles for the Non-aligned conference said she is hopeful of holding the Non-aligned conference next year whatever the opposition to it may be: she further said results of the conference will be beneficial to the country—CDN. The Sri Lanka Independent Petroleum Employees Union has written to the Prime Minister to appoint technically qualified men to the committee that had been appointed to expedite the future program of oil exploration in the country—CDM. The Prime Minister



replying to a question raised by the MP for Point Pedro, Mr. K. Thuraiaratnam, in the NSA yesterday, said that she will not have any sympathy for those Army men who were involved in an incident recently in Point Pedro where innocent people were assaulted—VK. Mr. A. Amirthalingam, General Secretary of the TUF, and his wife who were taken into custody by a Police investigating team were released the same night—VK. The *Janadina* commenting on the large purchases the traders are making after the curb on transport and possession of rice had been removed requested the Government to take-over the stocks of rice and paddy from these traders or to control the price. During the last six months the Department of Inland Revenue raked in Rs. 380 million from those who failed to declare their income to the Department for the purpose of taxation—DM. Owing to the delay in the election of members to the Credit Councils these councils are unlikely to function till next year—CDM. According to the *Daily News* an average of 5,000 youths are leaving the country monthly in search of employment abroad. United Nations Security Council asked the Secretary General, Kurt Waldheim, to begin immediate consultations to resolve the Spanish Sahara dispute: this follows a call by King Hassan of Morocco for 350,000 volunteers to march into the territory over the Northern part which he claims as Moroccan sovereignty; meanwhile the Spanish Government yesterday renewed its search for a diplomatic initiative to stop a march of Moroccans into Spanish-ruled Western Sahara.

**SATURDAY, OCTOBER 25:** Regional Committees consisting of Political Authorities and technical experts will soon be appointed to decide what quantum of land must be set aside for village expansion from the recently nationalised estates—CDN. The President, Mr. William Gopallawa, in a special U.N. Day message said that the United Nations was formed on the wish of the peoples to save the future generations from the horrors of war—CDN. The Ministry of Justice okayed a proposal by Mr. Pieter Keuneman, Minister of Housing and Construction, to set up a special court called the National Housing Court to deal exclusively with Housing Department cases—CDM. The *Janadina* editorially commenting on the Non-aligned conference to be held in Colombo next year referred to the speech by the Prime Minister in the NSA recently and said that the large millions of rupees that would be spent on this conference will be in the region of something that the country cannot afford at the present juncture. Price of nylon fishing nets and other synthetic thread used for fishing have been reduced from 15 to 25 per cent with immediate effect—VK. The Committee appointed to make the selection for the University will commence work in mid November—DM. A special team of Police investigators left for America to investigate into an alleged racket by a leading Colombo firm in the import of motor vehicles involving millions of rupees—DM. The Prime Minister speaking at the 69th annual sessions of the Institute of Engineers, Sri Lanka, held yesterday, called upon the private sector to change its attitudes in keeping with the changes that are taking place in the country—CDN. Mr. Rukman Senanayake, MP for Dedigama, has written to the Chairman of the Disciplinary Committee of the UNP, appointed to inquire into his conduct during the Colombo South by-election, to hold an early inquiry enabling him to make a detailed explanation—CDN. The Turkish

Ambassador to France was killed yesterday by gunmen: he is the second Turkish envoy to be killed in this manner in two days: Turkish Ambassador in Austria was shot dead two days ago. Pakistan was elected to a two-year term on the Security Council after India, the only other candidate, withdrew. China pledged support to Nepal for national independence and against foreign interference.

**SUNDAY, OCTOBER 26:** All Chairman of co-operative societies, directors and employees who receive an annual salary of Rs. 7,200 and over have been instructed to declare their assets under the Declaration of Assets and Liabilities Act—CO. At a special religious ceremony held at the Dalada Maligawa Kandy, Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwa, Minister of Agriculture and Lands, said that every inch of land plundered by the British after the Kandyan Convention of 1815 has now been restored to the Kandyan with the nationalisation of estates—ST. In a statement to the *Virakesari* the First MP for Mutur and the Deputy Minister of Broadcasting and Information, Mr. A. L. A. Majeed, requested the 100,000 odd Muslims living in the country to unite and struggle to create exclusively 14 electoral seats for the community. A Parliamentary delegation led by Mr. Stanley Tillekeratne, Speaker of the NSA, left for New Delhi yesterday—VK. The dissident group of the UNP which recently formed a new political party will contest the next General Elections—VK. The UNICEF with the assistance of the 27,000 dollars it received from America for Sri Lanka will soon start a National Nutritious Scheme to liberate the children of Sri Lanka who suffer from malnutrition—SLD. The NSA has allocated 26 days for the debate on the Budget that will be presented by the New Minister of Finance, Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike on November 5—SLD. Amendments to existing Divorce and Marriage Laws of the country have been submitted to the NSA to make it easy for those who wish to marry or divorce—SLD. The Jaffna Campus of the University has decided to introduce courses to award degrees in poetry, story writing, film production and drama—SM. Mr. C. Kumarasuriar, Minister of Posts and Telecommunications, has been appointed Political Authority for Mannar and Vavuniya districts—JS.

**MONDAY, OCTOBER 27:** Mr. Robert Senanayake father of Mr. Rukman Senanayake, MP for Dedigama, in a letter to Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, President of the UNP, referred to some statements purported to have been made by Mr. Jayewardene and which appeared in the English language morning dailies of 20th October, said that at no stage during the by-election campaign he suggested the withdrawal of Mr. Rukman Senanayake as a candidate from Dedigama: Mr. Senanayake in his letter further said that it was the memory of his late brother, Dudley, that won the election for Rukman at Dedigama—CDM. According to the Ministry of Food, Sri Lanka will soon buy 50,000 tons, of rice from Pakistan at a much cheaper price than the world market price—CDM. The Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, addressing a mass rally, at Nuwara-Eliya yesterday appealed to the workers and administrators of the estates nationalised to treat the estates as national properties and work for better productivity in these estates—CDN. The Prime Minister further said that workers should not believe the false rumours spread by some elements to the effect that workers of the nationalised estates will lose their jobs and the Government will take revenge from the estate workers—VK.



Addressing a meeting in Colombo yesterday the Deputy Minister of Planning and Economic Affairs, Mr. Ratna Deshapriya Senanayake, said that within the next few weeks all foreign banks operating in the country will be nationalised—VK. Out of the 1673 District Development Councils inaugurated by the Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs by the end of March this year only 984 are functioning today—ATH & JD. Influential officials of the C.T.B.'s SLFP trade union are planning to oust the new Chairman of the CTB, Mr. J. C. T. Kotelawala—JD. Twelve officers will leave for Paris on the 30th of this month to study French and on return to the island these persons will be employed for services during the Non-aligned conference to be held in August next year in Colombo: in addition to this, several officers conversant in French, German, Spanish, Russian and Arabic languages too, will be appointed as interpreters on a casual basis until the conference is over—ATH. Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwa, Minister of Agriculture and Lands, declared at the Dalada Maligawa, Kandy, that he has drawn up a plan to return lands belonging to the Kandyan temples which were captured

by foreign rulers from these temples—DM. All members of parliament were last week issued with forms to be filled under the Declaration of Assets and Liabilities Law—CDM. A Railways Technical Committee's award of Rs. 50 million tender for the supply of 10 diesel power-sets to a Japanese firm is now being queried by the Department of Railways: this probe follows representations made at the highest level that the selected engine does not conform to the country's railways own technical specifications—CDN. The 21st Parliamentary Conference of the Commonwealth countries will start in New Delhi tomorrow: this is the first major international conference to be held in India since the Government imposed a state of emergency in June this year and took into custody several prominent leaders of the Opposition. U.N. Secretary General, Kurt Waldheim, arrived in Morocco yesterday for talks with King Hassan in an attempt to resolve the dispute over Spanish held Western Sahara. Dr. Henry Kissinger, Secretary General of the US, who returned from a week-long trip in China told President Ford that US-China relations are basically sound.

## FIFTYEIGHTH ANNIVERSARY

# The October Revolution

## —Its International Significance—

by Basil Perera

EVERY YEAR that passes since the victory of the October Revolution in Russia in 1917 only enhances its significance for the entire course of subsequent world developments, for the destinies of all mankind. It is this aspect of the Revolution that will probably be uppermost in the minds of those outside the USSR as they join the Soviet people in celebrating the 58th anniversary of the Revolution on November 7th this year. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Russia was the country where all the basic contradictions of imperialism had reached their sharpest form. There, what Lenin called 'the most modern capitalistic imperialism' existed side by side with survivals of feudal serfdom, and regions where capitalism was more or less developed bordered on parts where pre-capitalist, semi-feudal and even patriarchal clan relations prevailed. The nation-wide struggle against Tsarist autocracy and feudalism merged with the struggle for socialism by the working class in alliance with the poor peasantry and other non-proletarian sections of the working

masses and a popular anti-war campaign for peace. That was why Lenin after the victory of the Revolution pointed to the wealth of experience gained by the Bolsheviks through this great variety of the forms and methods of struggle and noted its historic significance to all other countries.

The October Revolution opened up a new era in the world-wide people's struggle for social emancipation. Soviet Russia became the base and bulwark of the world revolutionary process. "Our socialist republic of Soviets," wrote Lenin, "will stand secure, as a torch of international socialism and as an example to all working people. Over there—conflict, war, bloodshed, the sacrifice of millions of people, capitalist exploitation; here—a genuine policy of peace and a socialist republic of Soviets." Notwithstanding the spate of lies and slander of the world imperialist press, the truth about the October Revolution and the first workers' state to which it gave birth continued to reach the working people throughout the world. In many countries the workers launched big 'Hands off Russia' campaigns, set up Councils of Actions and even formed international detachments of workers to fight side by side with the Red Army against the White Guards and the troops of the interventionists.

*It was the October Revolution which ushered in a new epoch in world history, the epoch of the revolutionary renovation of the world and of the transition from capitalism*

*to socialism. After 1971, the main contradiction in the world has been between socialism and capitalism. It is the struggle between these two systems that has determined world political developments.*

The guns of the cruiser *Aurora* which heralded the October Revolution announced to the world that capitalism as a social system was doomed. The Revolution snapped the chain of world imperialism at its weakest link, giving birth to a new social system. That a number of other countries too embarked on the socialist road immediately after World War II and in later years is a striking confirmation of the inevitable triumph of the new social system brought into being by October. The emergence of a world socialist system was the most historic even after the victory of the October Revolution. Within a short time, these socialist states, most of whom started from scratch at a very low economic level, developed into highly advanced states with high living standards for their people. These countries are today fast outstripping the capitalist states in economic growth rates and are making giant strides in science and culture. The Socialist system today has become the decisive force in the world-wide struggle against imperialism, the bulwark of peace, democracy and social progress.

THE REVOLUTIONARY TRANSFORMATION of the world initiated by the October Revolution also created new conditions conducive to the struggle of the inter-



national working class for its immediate and ultimate aims. The organisation and international bonds of its various contingents were strengthened. After October, the working class in all countries became a pivotal factor of the modern era. Under state-monopoly capitalism, when the working class has to struggle not only against individual capitalists but against the bourgeois state, their struggles have become increasingly political. The changes in the balance of class forces have, in individual countries and on a world scale, broadened the possibilities for effecting the transition from capitalism to socialism and brought to life new means of struggle for socialist revolution. The October Revolution dealt a crushing blow to the whole system of colonial rule and gave a mighty impetus to the spread of the national liberation movement throughout the world.

It was the October Revolution that triggered the crisis of the colonial system of imperialism. After World War II when fascism, the main spearhead of imperialism, was smashed and other imperialisms too were greatly weakened, the system of colonial oppression collapsed under the hammerblows of the national liberation revolutions. More than 80 independent national states have come into being on the territory of the former colonies.

Soon after October, Lenin paid special attention to national and colonial questions. He probed the driving forces of the national movement and pointed out that "the movement of the majority of the population of the globe, initially directed towards national liberation, will turn against capitalism and imperialism." This is exactly how things have turned out to be. Many countries that have cast off the colonial yoke are today taking the non-capitalist road of development with the ultimate aim of building a socialist society. Lenin considered the possibilities of backward countries embarking upon socialism, skipping the capitalist stage of development. A prerequisite for this, he said, would be the establishment in these countries of governments truly representative of the interests of the people, a revolutionary democracy and co-operation between these countries and the socialist states.

This too is what is happening today. The nations that have thrown off their imperialist bondage are closely co-operating with the socialist countries, the Soviet Union, in the first place, in their struggle against neocolonialism, for economic independence and progress. Nowhere was the power of the alliance between world socialism and national liberation shown better than in Vietnam. There the mightiest imperialist power proved unable to subdue a small Asian country fighting for its liberation, thanks to the new balance of forces brought about by the October Revolution.

THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION precipitated radical shifts in the entire systems of international relations, threw imperialist foreign policy into a deep crisis and proclaimed the principles of peace and international security, equality, friendship and co-operation among peoples. After the October Revolution, 14 armies of intervention sought to strangle the Revolution at its birth, lest its 'contagion'

spread to the rest of Europe. They failed. When socialism became a world system after World War II, imperialism did not even have the strength to start new wars of intervention. Their dreams of 'containment' of Communism or 'rolling back' the frontiers of socialism remain dreams to this day.

On the contrary, the growing might of the alliance of the three streams of the world revolutionary movement—the world socialist system, the international working class movement and the national liberation movement—is limiting the manoeuvres of the imperialists on the world arena, increasing the possibilities of asserting the principles of national sovereignty, the right of nations to self-determination, the equality of all countries, big and small. Thanks to the power of this alliance, we have witnessed in recent years the transformation of the world scene from one of 'cold war' and confrontation to one of growing international understanding and detente. By their vigorous, co-ordinated

#### MINISTER K. B. RATNAYAKE

Minister KBR has certainly begun to make things hum on the CGR. He went on a station-to-station tour inspection on the Northern line and found out for himself just what has to be done to make it easier for people to travel in the CGR. The news about his tour had produced miraculous changes: the grass had been cut along the tracks; bushes, shrubs and weeds cleared from station platforms; employees who had spent the last five years lolling around canteens and kassippu sit-ins were up and doing. With the ban on liquor, catering service waiters have developed a new interest in serving passengers short eats, and we hope (soon), tea and coffee. But whilst the situation in the outstations has shown remarkable improvement, in and near Colombo everything seemed to be moving slowly. The grass has been partly cut, but what has been cut has not been removed. Most long distance trains now run on time. But, some of the inexperienced drivers, who had been promoted on political and other grounds (not for technical proficiency and capability), handle locomotives (new M4s) in bullock cart style: jolting, knocking, braking at fast speeds, jerking on starting after stops; and then speeding crazily to make up for lost time. Such drivers (it is not difficult to spot them) should either be reverted to shunting engines or be given a refresher course on the mechanics of driving a powerful locomotive. It is easy to know when an experienced driver handles the controls. The engine moves smoothly and starts and stops without a jerk or a knock. After many many months, ticket inspectors seem to have emerged in force, even at far distant points on the northern and upcountry lines (earlier these inspectors did not go far beyond Colombo where they were stationed). And, after over three years, a regular commuter told *Tribune* that he spotted a Security Officer curbing the rowdy antics of a mod hooligan who was seeking to have fun with women passengers in the same compartment by teasing them. (A few months ago any Security Officer who had tried to do this would have been branded as a "reactionary" who was out to vanquish revolutionary fervour). Hats Off to Minister Ratnayake for the start that he has been made. There is a long way still to go, but the start is the most difficult.



actions, the people have imposed peace on those who clamoured for war and ensured the most favourable conditions for their further advance.

The history of these last 58 years has been one in which the world revolutionary process has advanced, drawing in more countries and peoples. From the outset this development has proceeded in struggle with imperialism which tenaciously resisted the forces of revolution and mounted counter-offensives whenever it could. There have been temporary reverses and setbacks, both due to imperialist intrigues and internal difficulties within the revolutionary movement caused by its rapid growth and the heterogeneity of the social forces taking part in the anti-imperialist struggle.

But, by and large, it can be said that the main trend of mankind's historical development after the October Revolution has been determined by the forces to which the Revolution gave birth, by the anti-imperialist forces fighting for the socialist reorganisation of human society.

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ANGLICAN VIEW-2

CHURCH UNION

—obstacles in the way—

by Jepharis

HERE IN SRI LANKA we find that the Pieris', the De Mels and the De Soysas (members of the Karawe fishing community along the coast), the Pereras, Bandaranaiques and Obeyesekeras (members of the Goigama farming community further inland), the Hulugalles, Dunuwillas and Ratwattes (members of the Radala Kandyan aristocracy) and the Attygalles, Coreras and Kotalawalas (members of the Salagame washing community) were in the vanguard of the prominent, affluent, landed, influential low-country (except for the highland Radala) Sinhala Families who headed the converts from Buddhism to the Anglican brand of Christianity during the early years of the British occupation.

Incidentally, Wesleyan and Baptist missionaries also landed here in the early 19th century and

gained many converts from Buddhism. Portuguese and Dutch colonists had earlier converted the local people to Roman Catholicism and Presbyterianism during their respective regimes. The former even proselytised at sword-point, and the natives not only changed their religion through fear, but were also attracted by the "plums" of office which their new colonial masters attractively held out to all those who were converted.

We publish posthumously, in two parts, the last article sent to us by Jepharis, who had died recently under tragic circumstances in a bus accident near Nuwara Eliya. In the last four years, Jepharis has been one of the most regular and steadfast writers whose contributions have appeared in the columns of the Tribune. He was a freelancer in every sense of the word and with his independent means he had ranged far and wide in search of subjects on which to write. Jepharis wrote on a wide variety of topics, all of them centred on the country he so dearly loved, Sri Lanka. Deeply religious, Jepharis devoted a great deal of his time to religious and social work. He was a keen and meticulous researcher in a wide variety of matters. In the death of Jepharis, Tribune has lost one of its most enthusiastic and ablest of its regular correspondents; and the country has lost one of the most promising of the younger writers in the English language. Church Union was one of the topics nearest to his heart and it is a fitting tribute to his memory that we should publish this article now because the United Church of Sri Lanka will be formally inaugurated shortly—Ed.

*Without trying to read their innermost hearts (this is clearly God's duty, which I do not wish to usurp), it would appear probable, though unfortunate, that our forefathers, changed their religion, not so much out of an inner conversion of faith, or change of heart, as to succour the favour of their colonial rulers—in fact, not only aping the West, but also adopting the religion of*

*the West, in order to secure a foothold of worldly advantage. This is one of the reasons why their descendants seem to be suffering today.*

We find that these rich, landed and influential families still hold sacred positions of trust and honour in the Church of Ceylon to this day (particularly in the "high church", giving credence to the idea that the idea Church is in league with "vested interests"); and it is possible, indeed very probable, that this "stronghold of reaction," this "bastion of privilege," this extreme rightist "element of ultra-conservatism" and "pseudo-feudalism", is standing in the way, nay, even willfully placing stumbling-blocks in the path of Church Union today (to say nothing of national unity), by banding themselves together into such radical, reactionary, tradition-bound groups and factions as the "Anglo-Catholic Union", the "Church of Ceylon Defence League," etc. etc.

When Metropolitan de Mel was once asked what would be the fate of the Defence Leaguers under the new scheme, he whimsically replied: "Father Arndt would have to find them jobs!" The Rev. G. E. H. Arndt (1884-1967), son of a sub-warden of S. Thomas' College, Mutwal, at the turn of the century, was a notable advocate of Anglo-Catholicism, and the Editor of the "Anglican", the organ of the Church of Ceylon Defence League. He hailed from a well-known Anglican family, his brothers including Lawrence H. Arndt (1887-1959), who distinguished himself in the ICS (Indian Civil Service) and Leonard A. Arndt (1889-1954), member of the Thoman staff, both at Mutwal and in the early days at Mount Lavinia, who had a penchant for producing Shakespearean plays. At a time when the theory was put forward that "the vocation of the Anglican Communion was to disappear", Fr. Georgie Arndt wrote me (in 1960 I think it was): "the idea that the Anglican Communion should disappear is itself beginning to disappear."

THE ANGLICAN CHURCH was looked upon as the "bridge-church" nicely poised in the centre between the two extremes of Roman-Catholics and non-conformism, and embracing within its fold all shades of ecclesiastical thought ranging



from the right to the left, the liberal to the evangelical, and the 'high' to the 'low'. It was a most "elastic" church, in the elasticity of its all-embrasive and broad-minded theology, and expected to be a "bridge" for the unification of all the churches of Christendom. Once this unification was accomplished, the bridge itself would be demolished. Hence the theory that the vocation for the Anglican Communion, like the British Empire, was to disappear!

Again in Sri Lanka, it is most unfortunate that so-called man-made "constitutional difficulties" have somehow held up and delayed the implementation of a scheme which was first mooted in 1879 (during the first Coplestone episcopate), was brought up again in 1912 (during the second Coplestone episcopate), made a notable step-forward with the setting-up of the Negotiating Committee among Anglicans, Methodists, Baptists and Presbyterians in 1941 (during the Horsley Episcopacy) and still further progressed with the publication of the little handbook "The new United Church of Sri Lanka" in 1956 (Episcopus Archibaldus). At the CCYM English Conference of 1964, the study theme: "That all may be one" was yet another milestone, this time taking the youth into account, along the road to union.

Besides the first three denominations mentioned, in Sri Lanka we also have the Dutch Reformed Church (again, divided into two consistories, the Ceylon Presbyterian Church and the Presbytery of Lanka, to contend with), a lingering relic of the Hollanders' occupation from 1658-1795, but proud of its architecture, notably the substantial, stately edifice crowning an eminence at Wolfendhal dating back 2½ centuries to the year 1749. The DRC registers of births, marriages and deaths have been an important source of reference from which most of the data feeding the genealogical tables found in the DBU journal have been gleaned.

Roman Catholicism was first introduced here by Jesuit Fathers in the time of the ancient Sinhala kings, and was consolidated during the Portuguese period (1505-1658). From that time to this, it has increasingly gained a foothold on our soil, and now seems to be firmly entrenched, and un-

willing to compromise its position with the other "progressive" denominations: favouring the coastal areas, where the simple fisherfolk are its staunchest adherents. The colossal edifices seen all along the coastal belt, and more rarely inland, and particularly along the "Catholic strip" between Colombo, Negombo and Chilaw, bear a silent testimony to their sturdy faith.

CERTAIN AMERICAN MISSIONARIES landed in the Jaffna Peninsula in the early and latter years of the British occupation, and not only bequeathed surnames like Handy, Page, Hallock, Mather, Watson, Wilson, Thomas, Rockwood and so on, to the local Jaffna Tamil populace, as they converted them from Hinduism, but also brought with them their own characteristic brand of American "Protestantism", or should one say "non-Conformism", e.g. Pentecostalism, Seventh-Day Adventism, Jehovah's Witnessing, Christian Science, etc. As these sects consider themselves to be called apart from a fallen, worldly and apostate church (as represented by the "Babylon" of the Book of Revelation) to preach a special last warning message to perishing mankind it is doubtful whether they would ever enter into a scheme of church union, or even endorse or approve of such a scheme, which they consider to be a stratagem of the evil one rather than the work of the Holy Spirit. The Ceylon Gospel Tabernacle (Pentecostal) however, in its "speaking in tongues", has a message for the unification of the churches which ecumenism would do well to heed, even if it does not recognise or approve of it.

The present constitution of the Church of England in Ceylon dates back to the episcopate (1875-1902) of Dr. Reginald Stephen Coplestone, 4th Bishop of Colombo. It is unfortunate that the constitution-makers of the eighteen-eighties were so short-sighted that they either could not foresee or refused to envisage a time when the Church of Ceylon would either (1) want to abolish itself or (2) enter into a scheme of union with other denominations; but it is a fact that they made no provision for such a situation ever arising at any time in the future; when they drafted the then Constitution of the Church of Ceylon, which in an un-amended form, is

the Constitution still in usage to this date (1975), intervening National Independence, Republican Status, and Church, Negotiating Schemes notwithstanding!

However, it is not altogether surprising that in the golden jubilee year (1887) of Queen Victoria's 64-year reign, the best legal brains in Her Majesty's chief crown colony were quite unable to comprehend a time when the British Empire, and with it the Anglican Church abroad, would cease to be. Only Canada, in 1867, had by then been granted Dominion Status, and it did not seem likely at that time that the other colonies would follow suit. The Commonwealth of Australia was not to come into being until January 26, 1901, just four days after the old queen's passing; the Union of South Africa, under General Louis Botha, with George V's ascension in 1910; The Dominions of India and Pakistan in 1947, and Ceylon in 1948 after World War II.

It is a sad commentary on Christianity—in our enlightened twentieth century that the church is so tied-up, hemmed-in and cramped-about with man-made (Satan-inspired?) rules and regulations, as to possibly hinder, and even block, the potential work of the Holy Spirit for its on-going welfare and progress.

If a constitution which held good in colonial times, has outlived its own usefulness, and no longer serves the needs of a contemporary situation, an indigenous church, and a progressive nation, THEN IT OUGHT TO BE SCRAPPED, by a two-thirds majority vote of the house of Clergy and Laity, if need be, at the very next Diocesan Council Sessions to be held in October this year (1975); in favour of an amended, or entirely new constitution, which provides for the Church of Ceylon wishing to lose its identity in a scheme of union with certain Christian Churches—so that the old colonial label "Anglican" might disappear from contemporary usage into history—and Bishop Harold and others' (and no doubt the Holy Spirit's) vision of an "United Church of Sri Lanka" become a reality.

Other difficulties that Anglicans (who comprise about 10% of local Christendom and about 1% of the Ceylonese population) have



in going into a scheme of Church Union, apart from the afore-mentioned constitutional one, is that they do not like to compromise (1) their episcopal traditions (their belief in the necessity of having an historic apostolic succession, characterised by the order of bishops priests and deacons instituted by a "laying-on-of-hands"; (2) the honour they give to the Blessed Virgin Mary (without actually worshipping, or claiming intercession from her, as the Catholics do; (3) the Saints, Apostles, Evangelists, Martyrs, Doctors and Confessors of their liturgical calendar; (4) their reliance on the types and sacraments of Baptism, Confirmation, Holy Common and Holy Matrimony; and (5) certain other of their doctrines and teachings as embodied in the XXXIX ARTICLES OF FAITH (1565) found in their Book of Common Prayer (1662).

Still, not one of the above beliefs is either indispensable to the Christian life here in earth, or essential to one's salvation. The Good Lord never insisted on us having to split hairs over doctrinal differences or argue on the finer points of theological controversy. He does not NEED our knowledge, wisdom, wit, scholarship, and intellect.

None of these qualities can be salvaged beyond the grave and carried with us into the Kingdom. If we are rooted and grounded in LOVE, there is no reason whatsoever why the problems and difficulties which one has tried very feebly and inadequately to deal with in this imperfect memorandum, together with several other points which one may have left untouched cannot, be overcome.

(Concluded)



**NEXT WEEK**

- \* NEW BUDGET
- \* UNIVERSITY ADMISSIONS
- \* NATIONALISATION
- \* MAJESTY OF THE LAW

**PALMYRAH REPORT—3**

**Low Utilisation  
—Tree Tax System Held Responsible—**

The Palmyrah industry of Ceylon is at present concentrated in the Jaffna peninsula. There is some cultivation and associated activity in the Mannar district. Much less cultivation and associated activity is found in the Trincomalee, Batticaloa and Hambantota districts, and scattered growths are found all over the island.

As the palmyrah, unlike coconut, has not been intentionally cultivated as such (it being just allowed to grow), it is difficult to derive figures of area under cultivation. The cultivations are scattered and the density of palms per unit of area is widely different from one place to another. Hence, the extent of cultivation can only be estimated. According to the aerial surveys undertaken in 1961 by the Canadian Hunting Survey Corporation, (Hunting Survey Corporation Ltd.' A Forest Inventory of Ceylon, 1961. Also, vide—Sessional Paper No. XI of 1968. Report of the Land Utilization Committee, 1968, Govt. Press, Colombo p. 10), the total acreage under palmyrah in Ceylon is 70,010 acres, which constitutes 0.4 percent of the

total area of the island. It is located entirely in the Dry Zone, and constitutes 0.7 per cent of the area of the zone. The aerial survey photos in respect of the major palmyrah areas have been mapped out and shown in Annex IV. (The demarcation of revenue divisions in the Jaffna map should be treated with some caution, as the exact delimitation after the recent re-allocation of divisions in the district was not available).

**JAFFNA REGION.** When one refers to the palmyrah industry of Ceylon, the reference is to the long-established industry in the Jaffna region. The aerial survey photographs indicate an acreage of about 42,000 under palmyrah in this region, although estimates made by Divisional Revenue Officers suggest a lower acreage. Findings of a recent survey conducted by the Industrial Development Board indicate a total of 7.7 million palms in the region. If the latter figure is accurate, the average density of palms in the Jaffna region is about 182 per acre.

Two-thirds of the island's acreage and almost certainly more than two-thirds of the island's palmyrah palms are found in this region. An estimated distribution of the acreage, palms, density and utilization according to the thirteen revenue divisions is given below:

Table 2.1: Palmyrah palms in the Jaffna region

D.R.O Division	Estimated Acreage (a)	Estimated No. of palms (b)	Density per acre	Percentage of palms tapped (b)
1. Pachilaipalli	9,000	549,050	61	0.85
2. Valigamam-West	7,000	2,205,388	315	1.05
3. Valigamam-North	6,500	806,925	124	4.03
4. Vadamarachy-S.W.	6,400	746,295	117	0.75
5. Islands	4,750	1,369,284	288	1.05
6. Thenmarachy	1,800	581,419	323	1.29
7. Delft	1,700	61,200	36	1.41
8. Valigamam-East	1,600	260,700	163	2.29
9. Poonakari	1,400	425,070	304	0.14
10. Vadamarachy-N.E.	1,000	563,475	563	1.38
11. Jaffna	800	76,550	96	8.88
12. Karaichi-Kilinochi	100	19,453	195	6.78
13. Thunnukai	25	1,825	73	4.11
	42,075	7,666,634	182	1.46

Sources: (a) Hunting Survey Corporation Ltd.  
(b) I.D.B.C. Survey of Resources of Jaffna Peninsula, 1971



## Tree Tax To Co-ops

The estimated acreage is based on the aerial survey referred to earlier. The estimated number of palms and the ratio of tapped palms is from a resources survey sponsored by the Industrial Development Board of Ceylon. Although a high degree of accuracy cannot be expected from the latter source, certain broad conclusions could be drawn. The widest extent of palmyrah in the region is found in the Pachilaipalli, Valigamam-West, Valigamam-North and Vadamarachy-South West divisions. The islands off the Jaffna coast too have a considerable extent. On the other hand the most number of palms, appear to occur in Valigamam-West and Islands Divisions, which account for nearly one half of the region's total. The density of palms, however, are highest in Vadamarachy-North East, Thenmarachy, Valigamam-West, Poonakari and Islands divisions. The lowest density is found in Delft, Pachilaipallai and Thannukai.

**The utilization of palmyrah palms in the Jaffna region, however, is surprisingly low; only 1.5 percent of the palms being tapped at all in a year.** The highest utilization is found in the densely populated Jaffna (8.9%) and Karaichi-Kilinochi (6.8%) Thunnukai (4.1%) and Valigamam (North 4.0%; East, 2.3% and West, 1.1%) regions, while the lowest rates were found in Poonakari (0.14%), Vadamarachy S.W. (0.75%) and Pachilaipalli (0.85%) divisions. When the above ratios are contrasted with the estimated number of palms in each division, it is apparent that the most amounts of untapped palms occur in Valigamam-West (about 2.2 million palms), Islands (about 1.4 million palms) Valigamam-North (about 0.8 million palms) and Vadamarachy-South West (about 0.7 million palms) divisions. Altogether, about 7.5 million out of the estimated 7.7 million palms in Jaffna region are not tapped in a year.

SEVERAL REASONS could be adduced to explain this phenomenon. There are the young and old palms which are untappable in any case. Where there are too heavy concentrations of palms, it will be uneconomical to tap all or a large number of palms. This is borne out by the fact that higher rates of utilization are evident where the concentration is low, except

in areas which are sparsely populated. Utilization also depends on the availability of tappers in the area. In certain areas, they have an alternative occupation of tapping coconut palms. Also, it will depend on the fact that the manufacture of toddy—which is the main product of the palm—closely follows the demand pattern for the beverage, which will be high in more densely populated areas around the big towns, Jaffna, Kankasanturai and Point Pedro.

Under the existing "Tree Tax System", the sale of toddy is limited to the vicinity of the tapped palm groves. Thus any surplus that could be generated in one area cannot be transported to another (deficit) area.

This system of taxing trees on differential scales was started in 1927 when prohibitionist agitation led to the closure of 39 toddy-selling taverns in Jaffna District. Ostensibly, the purpose was to licence tapping trees, probably to limit the licence issues gradually and it was incumbent on the tapper to sell his toddy in the vicinity of the source. Probably, it was administratively convenient to prevent illicit tapping; or it was meant to ensure the sale of less alcoholic toddy.

*Matching the ambivalence of the Jaffna prohibitionist, was the zeal of the traditionally down-trodden toddy tapper, who quickly realized that this system freed him from the clutches of the landlord and the tavern-renter, under whom he was until then, a poorly paid hired labourer. It offered the tapper the prospect of a higher level of income, that very soon, he became the most ardent advocate to the system. Thus, the tax system got emotionally associated with some form of economic emancipation of the toddy tapper. To the government, it was a poor source of revenue, often the high cost of enforcement being just recuperable from revenue.*

The rates of taxes have remained unchanged from 1930 levels of 50 cent per male palm and Rs. 1.50 per female palm in Delft and Eluvaitivu islands, Rs. 1.50 and Rs. 5.00 respectively in Nainativu islands and Pooneryn, and Rs. 2.50 and Rs. 10.00 respectively in the rest of Jaffna region. Several committees and Commissions of enquiry were appointed from time to time to review the whole system

and they have systematically recommended the discontinuance of the system on various grounds, but it has not been accepted until November 1971 when the Hon. Finance Minister proposed in his budget speech that it be replaced by a system of co-operative taverns.

*It is possible that the new system will commence in mid 1972. The pernicious effect of the tree tax system was that it limited the wider utilization of a valuable resource in the region. Production of toddy depended on the demand for it in or around the palm-grove and any surplus could not be transported elsewhere without a permit, which was not easy to obtain.*

It is also possible that the gradual thinning out of the tapping population too was responsible for this, as in the case of coconut tapping. The tapping is generally associated with people deemed to be of a lower social status (according to the caste system prevalent) and in spite of the so-called "emancipation" of the tappers by the tax-system, there has been an exodus from the ranks of tappers to other avenues of relatively more socially acceptable employment. This could be due to the fact that although the tax-system gave a higher income to the tapper, it was either not sufficiently high as to promote him to a high income generating level (the savings might have been minimal) or the social disabilities thrust upon him prevented him from engaging in other pursuits.

It is also possible that very soon, the tapper became conscious of the effects of supply and demand on price where he observed that the contract of supply could assure him of a stable income in a restricted market. It is also possible that with the passage of time, the enforcement of the tax system got riddled with some corruption. It was alleged before us that one of the reasons for the high cost of toddy was the need to make "payments" to the controlling authorities in order to cover up illicit tapping of palms. It appears that illicit tapping of palms was not uncommon.

Whatever the circumstances, the pernicious effect of the tax system was to limit the maximum utilization of palmyrah in the Jaffna district. Automatically it limited the income of the tapper thereby,



and inspite of the strong advocacy by the tappers for the retention of the system, it appears to have acted against their greater interest. This emotional attachment to the system could be due to the traditional fear of exploitation by the tavern owner, but a system of co-operative production and sales could have easily been devised a long time ago by the people, who are no strangers to the principles of the "Co-operative Movement."

(To be Continued)

\* \* \*

## BUILDING A VILLAGE HOUSE-56

### Three Images Of Justice

By Herbert Keuneman

Not long ago I was talking with *Tribune's* Editor, bemoaning (as one who has taken it upon himself—and possibly impertinently—to 'represent the villager's real interest') the extent by which the recent reforms in the Law fell short in practice of what they aimed by intention to set right, maintaining that most of the reforms could be, and were, still largely stultified by the self-seeking and even venality of the Law's practitioners. There were still, I maintained, uneliminated the law's inordinate delays, still technicalities that obscured and not achieved absolute justice, still, when the Editor brought me up short with the startling observation that the Law and pure Justice were very different and might even be contradictory things.

Absolute justice, he pointed out, was hardly likely to spring from a code of legality that was at any given period nothing more exalted than a systemization of prevailing moral custom; as for delay, nothing was more likely to bring about a mitigation of the first rages of animosity and umbrage between contestants and the growth of a spirit of well-weighed compromise between them that were the most likely environment in which reconciliation could be naturalized; and the lawyer that concerned himself with more than obtaining for his client the best that pre-

vailing legal conventions and prevalent intercommunity allowed, or the judge who was himself as an Olympian oracle instead of a pragmatic arbitrator, were equally headed for a paranoiac breakdown.

Impressed, I was not wholly convinced; and I am not sure that I am convinced even now; if lawyers and judges are servants of a merely current formulary, should it not be somebody's business—indeed many bodies' business—to be concerned with more transcendental visions lest we come to the inertial heresy that what is all that can be.

Be these things, however, as they may for metaphysicians and philosophers, I have been looking for illustrations of the traditional village view of practical justice; and I offer as such the Folk Tales that follow. Sophistication may have altered the village view, but not all that much: the tales below are still told (though now much more seldom than even when I first came to Ehetuwewa; for time for telling tales is vanishing, even in the village, under the streets of up-to-date living) and when they are told they are told with a relish that testifies to their still relevancy.

(All the tales below appear in Parker's exemplary collection—though the provenance he ascribes to some has apparently broadened since his time—and I make no claim to have in any sense researched them: I have only ventured to re-tell them in more Anglicized and colloquial idiom than his admirably literal translations, and sometimes in more modernized detail).

**THE LOUSE AND THE BED-BUG.** *Justice is a willow-the-wisp; the invulnerability of innocence, the liability of guilt are far-from-foregone conditions.*

There once lived amongst the snow-soft sheets and silken coverlets of a King's bed a beautiful golden Louse of high breeding and—naturally—cultivated taste. She fed on nothing but royal blood and knew when and where that blood ran sweetest. The King was reconciled to her and, in fact, hardly noticed her gentle bite.

But one day there turned up within her luxurious preserves a burly black Bed Bug of coarse appearance and even coarser habits

who had been looking for better quarters and entertainment than either his circumstances or his deserts forced him to accept.

'Why, my goodness!' exclaimed the Louse. 'Whatever brought you here? Leave this place at once! or someone will discover you, conspicuous as you are, and that will be the undoing of both of us.'

'Emba, Lady Louse,' replied the Bed Bug contumaciously, 'it is not proper to address any stranger thus. I may be only a Bed Bug—but I am not ashamed of it—yet I, too, expect to be politely addressed. All my life', he continued, playing upon his hard lot as the proletariat has been taught, 'I have been contumaciously treated. All my life'—and he warmed to his theme—'I have had to subsist on the blood of poor men. Some was sour, some was bitter, some of a disgusting acrid flavour, none was sweet. I have never—and he broke his voice at the most effective point—'I have never had sweet blood before. I am pained and surprised that you who have constantly fed so royally should take it upon yourself to deny me this little treat. I am surprised and pained; and what is more, whatever, you say I am just not going!'

The Louse was not really selfish at heart, and the Bed Bug's gourmet hankering woke, indeed, a certain sympathy within her; maybe he was a creature less crude than he looked. Besides, she could not deny that there was blood enough in the well-fleshed King for both of them. 'Well,' she warned, 'see that you are discreet. Don't overdo it. If you bite too deeply you will annoy the King, and then heaven only can tell what will happen.'

The Bed Bug, his purpose achieved, was all conciliation. 'Meritorious Madam,' he promised, 'I will be the soul of self-control. I will not feed until you have fed, and I will bite with the greatest and most politic delicacy.'

'Very well, then', agreed the Louse. But, for the sake of both of us, for garcious' sake see that you do.' She showed the Bed Bug to a covert and comfortable fold in the King's quilt, and herself slipped off to her favourite place (where the King laid his right, royal temple).

Promises, however, are one thing: self-control is another. When the King came to bed and the Bed Bug breathed the appetizing



kingly savour he quite forgot himself and bit like a crocodile!

'A-a-ah!' roared the King, 'there are beasts in my bed'. And leaping up, he summoned the Keepers of his Bedchamber and bade them forthwith shake the bedding out.

But the courtiers (being, after all, only what servants are) sear'ched but carelessly, until they found the first thing that could account for the King's fuss. And that was the beautiful, aristocratic, gently-nibbling golden Louse; whom they incontinently destroyed. The Bed Bug, on the other hand, clung safely in his hiding place until the excitement died down, and was simply more careful how he bit in future.

**THE IRREPLACEABLE ELEPHANT.** *Even when it is procurable, the type of Justice may be a very different concept from the barren logicalities of, say Roman-Dutch law: the Solomonic rather than the legalistic might well be preferred!*

There was once a man that borrowed from his friend a trained elephant to accomplish a certain labour; but, alas! in the execution of it the elephant took ill and died. In great embarrassment the man went to the elephant-owner—the ex-elephant owner—and said: 'Friend, your elephant is dead: shall I pay you its value or replace it: with a comparable elephant?'

'Comparable elephant?' barked the bereaved one furiously: 'I don't want any 'comparable' elephant; I don't want its value; I want my elephant!'

'Friend,' argued the first man reasonably, 'I can't give you your elephant, it's dead. Quite dead', he emphasized, so there should be no possible argument about that.

'Then, I will kill you,' shouted the other; and off in a tearing rage he went to fetch his flintlock.

'What'll I do, what'll I do?' the borrower was moaning, when his wife said: 'Leave it to me; leave it all to me. Just set the door a little ajar, fill my large kala-pot with water, and balance it between the door and the lintel.'

This her temporarily demoralized husband had just done when the late elephant owner came storming up. 'I'll get you,' he yelled, 'I'll teach you...' and charged through the doorway. Down came the water-pot, smashing to pieces on

his head and (providentially) soaking the powder in his flintlock's pan.

'Now look what you've done, you clumsy brute!' scolded the goodman's wife, 'you've smashed my water-pot! My incomparable water-pot! Give me back my water-pot, you uninvited, gate-crashing, lumbering buffalo you! Where's my water-pot? I want my water-pot.'

'Woman,' expostulated the elephant-mourner, 'I can't give you back your water-pot, it's broken. To smithereens', he amplified, in case all might not be clear.

'And who broke it?' the woman screamed as she set about him with a broomstick: 'you, you big black bullocking bandit! Give me my water-pot! Give \* me \* my \* water-pot!'

'Madam,' her abject victim besought her, 'I'll give you its value. I'll do more; I'll give you a brand new water-pot twice as big. Ah! Decorated, too. Ow!'

'I don't \* want \* your \* money,' shrieked the woman, working herself up into a terrible passion, her broomstick whirling like a Catherine wheel. 'I don't \* want \* any \* new \* water-pot. Give me my water-pot, my nice \* old \* accustomed \* water-pot!'

'Lady,' pleaded the man, cowering from her blows and now thoroughly educated, 'Let me go, please—ow!— please let me go, and let your husband write off your water-pot against my elephant!'

**A LEG TO STAND ON.** *The crux of the following story is just such a legalistic quibble as lawyers delight in. Whether today's interpretations of torts and misfeasances yield more Justice is only another matter of hermeneutics.*

Four brothers owned a cotton field; and in a shed they built together they stored the cotton from it which they had picked and dried. To guard the shed and its contents they together bought a dog.

The dog grew to be a very large one; and so (being strict businessmen) in the interests of efficient management (and equitable dividends) each of the four partner undertook the administration of one quarter of the animal.

One day, the poor dog broke its left front leg and the manager of the quarter to which that leg

belonged solicitously bandaged it with a rag wellsoaked in medicated oil. Unfortunately, lying by the fire (for no doubt it felt, not unreasonably, out of sorts) it set it bandage alight; and when it limped across and rolled in the cotton to put the blaze out it accomplished no more than set the cotton alight as well. The cotton was quite consumed. Probably the luckless dog, also; but on that point the records are neither explicit nor pertinent.

What is certainly recorded is that the managers of the dog's unmedicated quarters sued the fourth partner for the value of the cotton lost. 'If you'd only let the wretched animal alone', they argued, 'everything would have been perfectly alright.'

'Not at all!' claimed the respondent. 'If I'd left it alone it would have limped all its life; and what manner of good is a limping watchdog? I was only carrying out necessary maintenance of plant; or, in the alternative, seeing to the welfare of personnel.'

The Judge went straight (as only a Trained Mind can do) to the heart of the problem. 'Was', he enquired, 'the broken leg badly broken?'

'Ooh, your Honour!' agreed both parties, 'it was very badly broken: the dog couldn't get its foot on the ground at all.'

'Well then!' said the Judge (as only Judges can) judiciously. 'It was on your three legs—and he addressed the complainants—'that the dog went to the fire and thence to the pile of cotton. You will pay to the defendant, at once, the value of his lost share of stock. And don't he admonished, 'bring frivolous cases like this before me another time!'

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KAZI—28

## Around Kandy

By Anatory Bukoba

June 26,

A lad said an acre of paddy, where he is, yields a hundred and forty bushels a year in the two crops of eighty and sixty respectively. He digs his field with a mamoty. Alone, the first digging would take him over twelve days, and the second digging over eight days. Eight men could do the first digging



of the acre in a day; ploughing by buffaloes would take a whole day; a tractor would do the acre in half a day, the paddy fields has to be gone over three times in all before sowing.

He said a bushel of paddy would last a man seventeen days. I am getting confused here. Anyway, I remember working it out that an acre would do a family of five comfortably for a year, and leave them enough paddy to sell to get money to make other purchases, too, and this was what he also said. I have just been working it out again. If I am right about the figure of seventeen, then a man would eat the equivalent in rice of twenty bushels of paddy in a year, leaving a family of five more than forty bushels to sell, for I presume a woman and a child would eat less than a man. The seed paddy for an acre would be two bushels, making four for two crops what land did not come under water would yield highland crops like vegetables, but most vegetables would have to be purchased. I think the lad worked out his consumption of rice on the basis of two rice meals a day certainly, maybe three.

Something he said about politics reminded me of what I was told once, that a letter from a member of the National State Assembly is a must if you want entry into the Services. I was told that this was to enhance the part that politics played, to upgrade it, as it were; hence the political authority. He thought that this was the first country to adopt this system, but I wonder if he included communist and other one-party states. I said, at the time that I wondered if the idea of the political authority had not been cribbed from another idea that did away with the parliamentary form of democracy, which seemed a force in the exercise of democracy, in favour of a system that would make democracy far more positive by electing a constituency or provincial level, or something between the two, a local governor who would rule directly for two years with the aid of a permanent civil service, with an independent judiciary to act as arbiter between the bureaucracy and the political ruler and law-giver, in the event of a dispute. As far as I can see, the political authority, as we have it, does not have this safeguard, and seven years, anyway, is a long

time to go without the corrective of public opinion as it is expressed in a poll.

Checked I just now on the figures I gave for the number of people an acre of paddy land would keep, and I have been told they are correct. A measure of rice is enough for a man a day, or for two meals. One measure of rice is equal to two measures of paddy. There are, I think, thirty-two measures of paddy in a bushel. So when I said a bushel of paddy would last a man seventeen days, that was about right, it would last him a month.

A bushel of paddy costs from Rs. 32/- to Rs. 35/-, a minimum of forty bushels for sale a year is an income of Rs. 40/- a week, or over Rs. 5/- a day including weekends which is not bad. The cost of manure is phenomenal. I gathered that an acre of paddy should get about Rs. 120/- worth of manure, I presume at each sowing. This is about seventy-five cents a day of one's income. If I got it correctly, the government is said to put it down as Rs. 45/- of manure an acre. The cost of a tractor for ploughing is great. Buffaloes, I understood were cheapest. Hiring men to dig is more practical than doing it all oneself. The final and third digging is not much more than smoothing out the mud, but a mammoth must be used. In England, horses are said to do a tidier job ploughing than tractors.

July 8,

A father left his family years ago, all four children and the mother, I think a friend said they ate one square meal a day, but I cannot vouch for that, for they looked well fed, and go they certainly had. The elder boy, had a skin rash round his hands which may or may not have been caused by his diet. When he learnt of a job, he went round to a hospital, he said, and he had four injections which cleared it up.

Where he went for work, jobs, that had not been done for a long time, were started all in the first week. Sand was taken from a river and carted to where it formed the floor of a bull pen and a yard. Muck was led from the cattle sheds out into the fields. Some young bulls were hitched to the cart. A stockade of bamboo, using bamboo only and no rope or vine, was put round plantain. Cattle

were nosed; they had their nose punched and a rope drawn through and tied behind their horns. Some low-hanging branches were lopped off a cander tree to give people a better view of what lay behind. In this way, five or six new jobs were begun, which ought to have been done months or years before, but had been neglected. The lad fell off the cander tree and started what became a suppurating wound. It was small but such as to try a man's patience about dressing it, if it would not heal quick. The lad was in and seemed nervous about meeting his employer, for he had just gone home without a word. All his family, his mother and sister, were keen that he should go back to work. His employer said he should heal his leg first, and he gave him a few days to do it in.

One reads of quite famous people who left home just like that like this lad did. The famous explorer, Stanley, who wrote some first class books on Africa, left home to cross the sea and never went back; so did the equally famous General Carton de Wiart of World War II fame, the one-eyed, one-armed general. He went back after he was wounded in South Africa and his age discovered. Both left without a word to their families. Stanley even became a British member of Parliament. A very famous case of French leave, known to all Christians, and commemorated in the rosary, was Christ's staying in the temple at the age of twelve, while Mary and Joseph started their return to Nazareth, then had gone a day's journey ere they found he was missing, and it took them three days to find him. He, who came to set us an example, disdained to apologize for the inconvenience caused. Yet it is recorded that he was obedient after that till he started his own public life at the age of thirty, by which time his foster-father was dead.

There were many youths sitting around doing nothing. They were well-fed, but they had no jobs. Ceylon-style, they probably had some occupation, nonetheless, even though, just then, it did not keep them occupied at it. They were possibly doing something far better, indulging in what their conferees do at Oxford, and that is, chat. It is this chatting which makes an Oxford man. The Sherry



the lectures and the tewts, (or is that just an army word?), were the accompaniments.

## LOOKING BACK

### Jungles Of Rajarata

by J. L. M. Obeysekere

JUNGLES during the day appear to be quiet, peaceful and entirely devoid of living beings. During the night they present an endless ocean of impenetrable gloom which never fails to instil terror into one's heart and is apt to paralyse one with a series of hallucinations. On a moonlit night a wanderer in the deep jungle will witness many scenes of vivid grandeur.

With a downpour after a long and severe drought forest glades wake up to activity. The inanimate beings like trees and creepers adorn themselves with tender leaves, new shoots, buds and flowers. A porcupine, with quills spread out in full canopy, flitting across glade is an unforgettable sight. After rain the animals come out from the thickets to rejoice in the torrential rain. One can then see them wander about, make love, mate and fight.

However, the main purpose for their coming out into the semi-open is to look for food. Their vital need is thus, as that of man's, is food, really prey. The elephant begins its search for tender leaves. The tiger and the jackal are on the lookout for victims. The bear, a vegetarian, is willing to attack and kill anything in sight and which it feels it can tackle. The wild boar, though reputed to be a vegetarian is not, is always on the rampage. Thus the night in a jungle is as busy as any city or trade centre.

The hunter—really a poacher—is the known devil to all animals. They shun man, and if suddenly confronted with a hunter, animals, which can, attack him with all the cunning and force they can muster. I was (and am) no enemy of animals. I never hunt with a gun. I just like to wander in the jungles. I had (and have) the desire to observe animals in their natural habitat. To see animals in a Zoo affords me no pleasure.

My friend, tracker Marshal Aiya was always with me in many wanderings through the jungles. He used a gun and occasionally made

a kill in order to replenish his larder. Our starting point at that time was the village of Nochchiyagama. It was then hardly a small village, (today it is a growing and substantial townlet). I was transferred to the school in its neighbourhood and that gave me a good opportunity to know more about the jungles of Rajarata. In the years I was there I satisfied myself to the full seeing animals in their natural environment.

The whole area was a paradise of wild animals. By day jungle fowls and peacocks abounded in their thousands around Nochchiyagama. The village itself was full scenic beauty with its tank, chenas wooded hills, scrub and what may be term open parklands set in the midst of heavy jungle. Village children and young men went into these open glades to gather woodapple and mellum. They also went into the nearby jungles to gather firewood.

In those years I was there hunters often came to the area for sport. Game was then in plenty and a hunter (or poacher) rarely went back empty-handed. Once, on the last day of a term, (the school was closing for the August vacation), a European hunter, big and sturdy, came to our school. He was of full stature and amidst the small-made, and often emaciated villagers, he stood like a Gulliver among the Lilliputians. Our headmaster who loved hunting agreed to go with the European (an Englishman) on an expedition into the jungle. That evening I went along because our Headmaster was not familiar with the mother tongue of the English hunter and I acted as the interpreter. We started from a point close to the bazaar at Nochchiyagama around 6 p.m. A little before we started out, there was a shower of rain and the sky was heavily overcast with indications that a bigger shower was looming on the horizon.

A walk of about two hours had brought us into the deepest part of the jungle where game was in plenty. On reaching a vast *villuwewa* we sat down on tree trunks to rest and relax. It was a watering place where animals roamed on rainy nights. We had hopes that we could see a few animals at close range. But we did not bargain for what we saw. Before we had really settled down, we heard a distant rumble. Fear and curiosity

gripped us. We took cover. Marshal Aiya told us that it *Ali Ganda*. Then there was trumpeting. It was like thunder. We took shelter in a thickly grown *demata* grove. We watched. There was a procession of elephants single file. There were nine or ten in number with a huge tusker in the lead. Yes, Marshal Aiya, whispered to me, they were on their way to Kala Oya. They did not get our scent and they quickly moved out of sight.

We then turned in another direction. The forest was still dense. There was no scrub and the trees and thick foliage completely prevented us from seeing anything even a few yards ahead. At times we had to creep and crawl through the underbrush.

It was getting to be very late and thunder and lightning indicated that heavy rain was likely to come down at any time. We decided to rest once again and then start on our way back. But before we could find a suitable place to sit down there was blood-curdling grunt and a noise like a roar in an open stretch beyond a thicket. Marshal held our hands and this indicated that we should maintain complete silence. We walked round to a point of vantage near the thicket and witnessed one of the strangest sights I have ever seen (or will ever see). A huge wild boar and a leopard were engaged in a tooth and claw fight. The wild bear was turning and twisting in order to be able to use its sharp tusks. The leopard tried very hard to get on the back of the wild boar. We watched this combat between these two forest gladiators in silence for a short time—until one of the party sneezed or coughed (I cannot remember which now) This disturbed the fighters and they both vanished into the night and the forest.

It began to rain. Steadily, without any interruption. There could be no shooting. Our European hunter was not lucky that day. We reached Nochchiyagama around 2 am. It was a slow and dreary walk back.

This was only one of many expeditions I had joined. Though several years have passed since, I still remember the jungles of Rajarata in their pristine glory. They had fascinated me then. I remember them with fondness.



# Confidentially

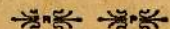
## Japanese Cold War Over A Tender

IS IT NOT A FACT that there was a concerted attempt to sidetrack the efforts now being made by Minister K. B. Ratnayake to make things better in the CGR by raising a red herring about a pending tender for ten diesel powersets? That the *Daily News* on October 27 had a frontpage splash about a Rs. 50 million tender? That it was suggested that "representations" had been made at the "top?" That the question was asked whether the chosen engines conformed to minimum specifications? That the report was a facile and fluent piece by veteran journalist Shelton Liyanage? That it was a staggering "expose"—it is not easy to know at the start that it was built up on the journalistic technique of not saying too much and by hanging on the story impressive trappings with a dash of technical mumbojumbo? That the report was so staggering (coming as it did on the frontpage on the Government's most prestigious English daily) that Minister Ratnayake (who says he saw the report whilst he was at Anuradhapura) had immediately telephoned his Secretary to look into the matter and prepare a report and if necessary order an inquiry? That no sooner this *Daily News* report had appeared, *Tribune*, (which has always kept its ears close to the ground in all matters connected with the CGR over many many years because of the fact that over half a million people now use the railway everyday), sent one of its sleuths round to find out what it was all about? That it did not take very long to find out that the *Daily News* story was only the grouse of the unsuccessful tenderer who had failed to get the contract because his price was about six million rupees more than the successful one? That the lowest tender (meeting the specifications) was around Rs. 49 million—the *Daily News* made it a round figure at Rs. 50 million? That the unsuccessful tenderer had quoted around Rs. 55 million? That both these tenderers hailed

from the land of the Rising Sun? That a (tender) cold war between two sons of Nippon had erupted on the front page of the *Daily News*? That if the *Daily News* super-star reporter had only done a little independent checking he would have found out that the story that he got was only the version of the unsuccessful tenderer? That the story was not complete without what the successful tenderer had to say? That even more than this, the *Daily News*, (its editor, or assistant editor, or whoever was responsible for passing the story) had a duty to ask the Railway authorities and the Tender Board for their views on the matter? That for the *Daily News* to have plugged this story on its frontpage was reminiscent of the sensation-loving (near yellow) papers which had tried to capture public imagination by scare stories of this kind? That this kind of journalism has not shown its head in Sri Lanka for a long time but the *Daily News* now seems anxious to make a start?

That it is interesting that on the next day, October 28th, the *Daily News* had carried an excerpt (out of context) from a Report of a Commission appointed by the last (LSSP) administration to probe the "misdeeds" in the CGR in the period before 1970? That the excerpt referred to a hoary chestnut about a controversy about railway engines which had been flogged dead in the sixties in the press and parliament? That *Tribune* is one of the papers which had participated in that controversy? That it will be interesting to read the postmortem report made by the DCR Gunawardene Committee of Inquiry? That on this occasion the publication of these excerpts in the *Daily News* was only to throw to stink bomb into the smokescreen that had been raised to cover to the tracks of the unsuccessful tender? That, as we have said, the *Daily News* had a duty to acquaint itself with the facts before it raised this stink about the Rs. 50 million tender? That it could have easily found out that the three tenderers who submitted quotations of any consequence had offered engines which could be traced back to the same West German multinational syndicate which had brought MAN, MYBACH and MERCEDES BENZ into a production unit? That these engines were marketed

by MTU? That this multinational operated under different names in different countries but everybody in the engineering world knew that the source of the engines was the same? That two of the tenderers were from Japan and the third from India? That the Indian firm's tender was the lowest (Rs. 33 million), but the tender had many infirmities which had made it necessary for the Tender Board to reject it? That of the two others, the Board had chosen the lower tender at Rs. 49 odd million? That engineers (on the Board and outside) agree that the engines of this tender were not below the required standards and that they conformed to the required specifications? That the unsuccessful tenderer really has nothing to complain about? That the reply by the Ministry (which the *Daily News* published with ungraceful comments which showed that the paper had not done any independent checking of its own) was unfortunately long-winded and apologetic? That nevertheless the Ministry's reply set out the true position without setting all the facts about the tenders which were considered most seriously and which would have shown that the *Daily News* had fallen victim to an inter-Nipponese cold war over a contract? That what the *Daily News* must realise is that what is urgent in the CGR is not to espouse the cause of unsuccessful tenderers but to spotlight defects and malpractices which make it difficult for passengers to travel in the CGR? That the *Daily News* will do well to send its super-sleuth to find out why railway carriages are not washed? That he should find out why carriage bathrooms do not have water (who was the someone who had forgotten to fill the tank)? That he should be asked to report on the smells and dirt in the passenger compartments? That he should find out where ticket inspectors disappear on the run? That he should track down errant Security Officers who enjoy a snooze somewhere along the line whilst hooligans drunks and thieves make life hell for passengers on long distance trains? That all this would be a better journalistic pastime than spreading the grievances of an unsuccessful tenderer on the frontpage of the *Daily News*?





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