

TRIBUNE



ANNOUNCEMENT

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Letter From The Editor

ON THE COVER this week we have a picture of an idyllic scene in the Negombo lagoon. The shot has all the requisite flavour of a view which the sophisticated would call "picture-postcardish". But, realities of life cannot be contained within the superior rules which the sophisticated insist upon at different times as the hallmark of civilisation. Leaving aside the intellectualised sophistication and inverted romanticism of the Sri Lankan cosmopolitan, the reason why *Tribune* has turned the spotlight on this fishing village scene is because fish and its by-products (like dried fish, salted fish, smoked fish and pickled fish) have become a near-luxury to all except the very rich (and they are just a handful in this country). Fish is one of the few protein rich food available in this country. Traditionally, fish has constituted an important part of the diet of the people of this country, whether in the form of fresh fish in the coastal belt around the island or as dried fish in the inland areas. River fish and tank fish have also been available to those who lived away from the sea. Until just a few years ago, fish was not expensive by the economic standards of the middle classes, workers and peasants, too, were able to afford fish and fish products. Today the story is different. Fish has become one of the most expensive of the protein foods in the country. One reason why fish and fish products, had been "cheap" in Ceylon in the immediate past was that, ever since one could remember, fish products like canned fish, dried fish, cured fish (like maldive fish) and even small quantities of smoked fish, had been imported from abroad. In the period after the Second World War, which coincided with the period of political independence, the import of fish products had gone up to well over a hundred million rupees a year. With improving standards of living, with welfare money pumped into the economy, more and more people had wanted to eat more and more fish—and local production was not enough to cope with the demand. This was because our fishing industry had not kept pace with the times. As long as our population was within the limits of pre-world-war-one numbers, of a few millions, our traditional fishing industry was adequate enough to provide fish at a cheap price. But when the population doubled and trebled, the fish we produced was not enough. And, in the era of colonial plantation economy (in our case with three export plantation crops, tea, rubber and coconut), our rulers did not hesitate to import fish products (just as we imported rice) to satisfy local needs with the foreign exchange we earned. This cannot be done anymore. Furthermore, it was realised that fish (like rice) could be produced here in plenty. We are surrounded with seas and oceans which abound in fish. We have rich fishing banks and fishermen come from far countries like Japan to catch tuna, mackerel, sardines and other fish—and which they processed, canned and sold to us at ridiculously low prices (or so we thought). This piracy of the waters around us continues to this day, but developing and poor countries like Sri Lanka have now woken up to the realities of the situation. New laws about fishing rights have been established which ensure rights for the littoral states. It is one thing to declare that our fishing rights extend to 200 miles or even 400 miles from our coasts, but it is another matter to catch the fish and process them so that we could market them at reasonable prices to the local population. Every Government from 1947 has proclaimed that it had ready-made plans not only to make the country self-sufficient in fish but also be in a position to export fish products. In this euphoria of paper plans, we have cut down on imports—only cut down—but this has created scarcities and blackmarkets. Fresh fish, frozen fish and the like have become so very expensive that it is no longer a source of protein food to the ordinary householder in Sri Lanka. Dried fish is more in the blackmarket than in the co-ops. Fish is today nothing more than a flavouring savoury to push down rice and wheat preparations to satisfy hunger. Successive governments have spent millions upon millions in valuable foreign exchange (and also in local currency) to modernise our fishing industry to upgrade it to the point where this country would be self-sufficient. Export-mad bureaucrats, however, in the current craze for earning foreign exchange (unmindful of the local population) stampeded the Government into exporting our prawns and lobsters. This was done before local production was increased in any substantial way either in regard to prawns or lobsters. The result is that the ordinary householder can no longer buy prawns, shrimps or lobsters. They cost far too much. What our bureaucrats and export-enthusiasts forget is that exports are based on surplus not on the dire necessities of the local consumer. The result of the muddle in the prawn business is that less and less protein is available to the local population, and not all the foreign exchange which a few CRA tycoons earn can compensate for the ensuing malnutrition. We have plans in plenty—for sea fish, ocean fish and inland water fish but plans are not enough. What next?

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EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

* Budget

* Engine Driver

THE SECOND READING of the Budget was concluded in the NSA on Friday, November 22. It was passed by 103 votes to 40. The United Front (SLFP and the CP) voted for it together with two Independents (Jaffna and Galle), whilst the UNP, LSSP, FP and the SLVP (and one Independent) voted against the Budget.

On the government side, the voting was hot as enthusiastic as one might have expected it to be. There were a few SLFP and CP backbenchers who indicated that they were unhappy that the Budget did not have the customary touch of LSSP adventurist *cum* romanticist flavouring of extreme radicalism to make the Budget appear as a lever to introduce socialism through the NSA. Some of the topnotchers on the Government side did not open their mouths, notably Mr. Maithripala Senanayake and Mr. Pieter Keuneman. What their silence signified is hard to say, but it is likely that personality clashes coupled with the belief that real socialism could be achieved through British-model parliamentarianism may have persuaded them to remain silent. But, it also well could be that the time available for debate was not enough to for all to make speeches.

On the Opposition side, the LSSP voted against the Budget on the conviction that a mixed economy budget could not take the country forward. The LSSP sought to point out that the term "mixed economy" was not used in the text of the UF's Common Programme. This was just a quibble because if one read the Common Programme and the solicitude it showed for the private sector as being an integral part of the economy there could have been no misunderstanding about the context in which the term "socialism" was used. That this was so is confirmed by the fact that in the first Budget of 1970, Dr. N. M. Perera paid lipservice to the value and virtues of a mixed economy. But in the years after 1970, as the Prime Minister had very correctly pointed out in her speech during the

debate, the LSSP switched to other (short-circuit) tactics to bring about "socialism" which ran counter to the concept of a mixed economy. The LSSP still seems to be convinced that full-blooded socialism could be brought to Sri Lanka through piecemeal parliamentary processes they had sought to utilise in the last five years. The LSSP opposition to the Budget was real and was based on the ideological premise that the LSSP, and the LSSP alone, held the magic formula for the transformation of our economy.

Every LSSP speaker, including Dr. N. M. Perera, harked back to what it might have been if the LSSP were still in charge of the Budget (and in the Government). They pointed out everything Satan FRDB had cast aside. They complained about the concessions extended to all capitalists in a limited private sector forgetting the concessions the LSSP had allowed to selected capitalists in specially LSSP-protected and highly remunerative private sector fields like gems, travel and non-traditional exports. The LSSP grumbled that FRDB had threatened to exterminate the new breed of politicalised liquor bar license-holders who had begun to prey upon the public in a manner that no group has done since early British days—these liquor bar bosses and toughs were political contact men, distributors of patronage and *de facto* election agents (some SLFP stalwarts continue to utilise their services even now). The impressive rhetoric of Dr. Colvin R. de Silva was as splendid as ever, but rhetoric in the wilderness of the Opposition is not what rhetoric means whilst dispensing governmental power.

To indicate the extent of the doctrinaire bewilderment which still assails the LSSP there is nothing better than to refer to the fact that they bemoaned the lifting of the ban on the transport and sale of paddy and rice. It is now apparent that the LSSP had hoped that the ban on the sale and transport of paddy would lay the foundation for the collectivisation of the agriculture in Sri Lanka; and, also the liquidation of (what LSSP theoreticians had regarded as) the *kulaks* of our countryside. This is romanticism at its highest or worse. Collectivisation (or

even socialisation) of our agriculture (if one thought such a remedy a solution to our problems) cannot be achieved through piecemeal tinkering starting with a monopoly granted to an inherently corrupt GPS refurbished as the PMB totally incapable of handling the entire paddy and rice business of the country. The inefficient, corrupt and bureaucratic PMB cannot even hope to introduce indirect piecemeal collectivisation with the unimaginative ban on the transport and sale of paddy and rice by all except the PMB.

Furthermore, the *mudalali* in our countryside is not the counterpart of the *kulak*; the *mudalali* still performs a necessary and useful social function; and the parasitic and utterly corrupt co-operatives the Government have set up have not been able to offer a challenge to the *mudalalis* who were and are able to offer better service to the people on a lesser profit margin than the co-operatives. What is unfortunate is that the LSSP thesis betrays a total ignorance of the realities of our countryside where food is produced—and not the plantation or semi-plantation areas. Our countryside is neither ripe nor ready for collectivisation, and as in India a special kind of mixed economy (including gentlemen farmers) is necessary to achieve higher production targets and a better utilisation of land. The attempts at disguised collectivisation, (the SLFP also indulges in such miasmatic experiments in pseudo-collectivised youth farms, co-operative farms, co-operative farms and the like), will all fail on a national scale because the conditions have not arisen or have not been created for such experimentation.

With all the part time and piecemeal tinkering at land utilisation since 1970 (without being bothered about Land Reform ceilings), our countryside is in a mess and the farming community in the throes of a disastrous muddle—and matters are not likely to be set right in a hurry because of the doctrinaire delusions still prevailing at so many levels of the power structure in the country.

WHILE THE LSSP OPPOSITION to the Budget was principled (on the basis of ideological propositions however misguided)—apart from sniping on a personal level at the PM and FRDB to settle old scores—the UNP attack on the budget betrayed unprincipled opportunism of the highest order. Whilst FRDB had his sights fixed on the 1977 elections, even when he was pre-occupied with his efforts to bring some relief to the economy with a view to generating production, the UNP criticised the Budget because the party spokesmen seemed to be obsessed with the old belief that the duty of an Opposition Party was to oppose. In this light, it is clear that the UNP had supported the nationalisation of all public company estates, not on any basis of principles, but for sheer demagogic opportunism.

Leader JRJ, with his forceful rhetoric sniggered *we-knew-that-it-will-come-to-this*, but it was not clear whether he wanted a budget from a mixed economy angle, or a UNP "socialism" angle (nobody knows what the new JR-UNP socialism really is), or from a straightforward capitalist angle. Keeping the viewpoint about the angle of approach a dark secret, JRJ had tried to pick holes in the Budget, but it was clear that it was opposition in order to win a mass backing for the UNP. He did not indicate the kind of budget the UNP would seek to introduce if it ever came to power.

Mr. R. Premadasa made an impressive speech in the best traditions of parochial party politics. He pinpointed all the sins of commissions and omission of the Government (and they are legion) in so far as they are related to the Budget, but he gave no inkling of the kind of Budget Mr. Premadasa would introduce if he was the Minister of Finance. Mr. Gamini Dissanayake gave a scholarly discourse on the evils of the multi-nationals and tried to relate it to FRDB's invitation to foreign investors. There are hundreds of books and pamphlets on multi-nationals (and there have been many seminars about multi-nationals), and what he said was not new, but he seemed to feel a new sense of elation that a UNP could talk of the evils of capitalism. Mr. Wimalasena of the UNP spoke with his feet firmly on earth and he dealt with realities in a logical

manner, but with the UNP not having any policy on budget-making he was not able to go far.

FP spokesmen, after giving support to the budget from a mixed economy angle, voted against the Budget because the Tamil minority problems had not been solved. This was again a question of permanent opposition to the Government until the minority question was solved. The FP therefore continues to be as sterile as it always has been and it obviously voted against the Budget because its politics would be misunderstood by other Opposition parties and its supporters in the electorates, if it voted with the Government.

TO SUM UP, the Budget debate was disappointing. There was no attempt by any speaker to analyse the budget in terms of the total national economy: there was no attempt to evaluate it on the basis of a mixed economy (after defining a mixed economy according to one's own light); and there was no attempt to evaluate the Budget in terms of what a marxist party would do (because all our marxist parties still want to be in coalition with centrist parties which are committed to a nebulous fabian kind of socialism or an evanescent mixed economy).

We are therefore left with FRDB's philosophising on budgetary matters. The Budget would have had much greater stature if FRDB did not indulge in his rather petty and personal pinprick attacks and even barrage-like onslaughts on the Finance Minister from whom he took over. And it was surprising why he did not criticise Dr. N. M. Perera on many matters on which he could have been criticised. One of them was distantly referred to by the PM when she said that, after 1970, the LSSP Finance Minister had abandoned the mixed economy and gone over to some other economy.

It is a fact which no SLFP leader has publicly referred to so far is that the LSSP Finance Minister had every year sprung a surprise with his "radical" proposals without getting prior Cabinet sanction, and it is for this reason that so many of his proposals turned out to be dead duck even before the Budget debate was started. So many of Dr. Perera's proposals

never received Cabinet sanction after he had made them in his Budget speech. The final anti-climax came last year when the whole of the Budget proposals never received Cabinet sanction and there was no Revenue Bill in respect of last year's Budget (as *Tribune* had pointed out so often). Any self-respecting Minister of Finance would have tendered his resignation if the Cabinet refused to support proposals he had made in the open House. On the other hand, any Government would have no use for a Finance Minister who kept bringing proposals year after year which were rejected by the Cabinet and the Government Parliamentary Party. This aspect of UF Budget-making was not referred to by any of those who sought criticise the LSSP, but historians who will write the political record of this period will devote a great deal of attention to this aspect of the working of the United Front.

The Committee stage of the Budget will go on until December 17 by which time the Minister of Finance has promised that he will have the Finance Bill (or the Revenue Bill) ready for discussion in the NSA. This is at least something concrete as compared to the abortive budgetary proposals this country had been saddled with during the last five years. Some of these proposals had to be withdrawn and some others changed drastically before they were accepted by the Parliament.

THE DAILY MIRROR of Monday, November 24, 1975 had a lead story with the headline ENGINE DRIVER HAD NO FITNESS CERTIFICATE. We reproduce the report in full.

On Composition

Anatory Bukoba,
c/o Tribune,
Dear Anatory Bukoba,

By "bad composition" in my letter to the Editor, I meant bad spacing of words, (two words are sometimes joined together), by the compositor. His handiwork is, also called composition.

D. V. Wijagoonewardena
295, Baseline Road,
Colombo 9.

Mr. G. K. P. M. Perera, the engine driver who died as a result of the train collision at Batuwatte last Tuesday did not possess a certificate of competence. This was revealed at the preliminary investigation held into the accident by Mr. T. Cecil F. Perera, District Traffic Inspector of the Railway. It was stated that the Railway had promoted 130 as drivers during the past few years. Of them, 70 had been absorbed into the permanent cadre while the other sixty continued to work as trainees. It was also stated, that the driver did not have even the track competence certificate. The "Daily Mirror" learns that the General Manager of Railways had at no stage appointed Mr. Perera as competent to drive a train.

The District Traffic Inspector has also informed the General Manager that the dead driver and the other seventy who had been absorbed into the permanent cadre did not possess a driving licence from the CGR. It is understood that to obtain certificates of competence drivers should be conversant with various sections of the railway track in the Colombo division viz: Colombo to Alutgama, Colombo to Chilaw and Colombo to Polgahawela. Earlier, a person had to work as a special apprentice steam-driver for at least five years. But with the introduction of the power sets, no proper scheme of selecting drivers had been enforced. It is learnt that this had resulted, in employees from the lower grades in the Running Shed being promoted as engine drivers "overnight". The inquiring officer also reported that the train involved in the collision travelled at over 50 mph, had been running over the down-gradient gaining speed and that the driver had ignored the signals.

In an official communique, the CGR has sought to deny the correctness of this CDM report by stressing that it was (a) based on a "report" of an official who was not competent to talk about such matters, and (b) that the CGR did not issue "driving licences" to persons who had undergone training as engine drivers and passed the examinations. But, the CGR communique did not answer the question: did the driver ignore signals? Instead of quibbling about "driving licences", the CGR should tell the public why this accident occurred.

* *

COMMUNIST VIEWPOINT

On 'Varsity Admissions

The report of the Cabinet Sectoral Committee on university admission has had a mixed reception in the local press. Few could have hoped for unanimous approval of such a report on such a controversial issue. Almost all who have commented on it have looked at it from their own biased positions. However, to any unbiased observer, it is quite clear that the Sectoral Committee itself has dealt with this matter quite objectively. Indeed, it is very rarely that committees appointed by the Government deal with their tasks in the manner in which this Sectoral Committee has done.

They have gone deeply into the question of discontent with regard to the manner in which students are admitted into the university, and have made recommendation which are comprehensive. They have not allowed various controversies of a political nature to influence their judgement, but have looked into every aspect of the problem strictly on its merits and made their own suggestions for resolving them. Too many people have regarded this matter as being a controversy between those who were for standardisation and those who were against it, between those who were for district quotas and those who were against it. The Sectoral Committee did not make this mistake for it knows that there are so many other contributory factors.

The district quota system came into operation only last year. It created far more problems than those which it attempted to solve. The district quota system was evolved supposedly for the sake of helping students from backward areas to enter the university. It did not actually do this. Instead, it only prevented children of poorer parents in urban areas who did not have the advantage of getting private tuition and so on from entering the university. This was pretty obvious to all except the obstinate bureaucrats in the Examinations Branch of the Education De-

partment who were responsible for introducing this absurd scheme.

In place of this scheme, the Sectoral Committee has recommended a much more practical solution. It allows for a certain quota of admissions to be earmarked for certain areas which are regarded as backward. This is the only possible way of helping these areas. Standardisation of marks is another matter which is charged with a lot of sentiment. Many people oppose standardisation without understanding all its implications.

When students are selected on the basis of the aggregate marks obtained in four subjects, standardisation becomes necessary, for otherwise students offering mathematics as one of the subjects will have a tremendous advantage over those who do not offer this as a subject. That was why standardisation was introduced. But later, certain interested persons, mainly from the Examinations Branch, introduced what has now come to be known as media-wise standardisation. This meant that students appearing for the same examination in different language media had their raw marks standardised separately. This definitely was a discriminatory practice, and the Sectoral Committee has quite rightly recommended its abolition.

However, certain interested persons have started an agitation against this and indeed their purpose seems to be not only to oppose this recommendation of the Sectoral Committee but to condemn all the other proposals as well. It would be necessary for those interested in the future of this country and its education to fight these elements who really have little popular backing and exist only by exploiting the lack of adequate knowledge of some people

Rs. 285 m. IMF Loan

The government was making an immediate application for assistance from the International Monetary Fund of a loan amounting to Rs. 285 million in foreign exchange to finance immediate needs. There was nothing secret about this said the Finance Minister and he tabled copies of two letters despatched to the IMF yesterday on the subject of the loan.

about this matter. Standardisation and district quotas are not the only matters which the Sectoral Committee has dealt with. They have dealt with the whole problem of entrance to the university comprehensively. They have understood quite rightly that the available facilities for university education are still not adequate.

Still, large numbers of students who qualify are not given the opportunities for higher education. The main thing to do under the circumstances is to try and expand the existing facilities, and the

Sectoral Committee has made its recommendation to meet this situation too. They have suggested that until expanded facilities become available, there should be provision for granting external degrees. This is the accepted practice in many parts of the world and there is no reason why it should not be adopted here too. Those interested in the future of higher education in this country must exert themselves to see that all the recommendations of the Sectoral Committee are implemented by the Government.

Already certain reactionary elements have started a vigorous campaign against these proposals and a section of the press is using this for the purpose of creating confusion and undermining the Government. All progressive organisations like the University Teachers' Association and other teachers' and students' organisations must take up this issue and carry on a vigorous campaign themselves against the intrigues of the reactionaries. Failure to do so at this juncture would prove fatal.

—Forward, November 8, 1975

CHRONICLE

Nov. 8. — Nov. 20

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.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 8: The Government yesterday issued orders to all Agency Houses that they should with immediate effect transact all business relating to tea auctions in London, sales and remittances from realisation of sales in foreign exchange only through the state-owned Bank of Ceylon; this order was issued in keeping with the Budget proposal of the Minister of Finance: before the order was issued the Agency Houses assured the Government that all proceeds due on tea sales at the London auctions will be remitted to Sri Lanka—CDN. Speaking at the October Revolution Commemorative meeting Mr. Pieter Keuneman, Minister of Housing and Construction, said that the country does not require a socialism which only speaks about Leninism but which actually promotes capitalism—VK. According to the *Daily Mirror* the Postal Department is likely to increase the postage rates and other charges within the next few weeks. The General Manager of Railways has claimed Rs. 2 million from a Japanese firm which supplied the Department of Railways with three Kelani Valley locomotives: the firm which supplied the locomotives failed to fulfil its guarantee in respect of the three engines—CDM. According to the Commissioner of Inland Revenue, as a result of the Budget proposal to assess the income of wife and husband separately, nearly 20,000 tax payers will go off the tax—CDM. According to the *Daily Mirror* the Government Parliamentary Group will grant an amnesty to persons who possess unlicensed guns. Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwa, Minister of Lands and Agriculture, will leave for Rome today to participate in the Food and Agricultural Organisation's conference—DM. In keeping with a Budget proposal the duties on all pharmaceutical products, veterinary, medicaments and two wheeled tractors have been removed—CDN. The Indian Supreme Court yesterday unanimously upheld the election of Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, to

Parliament in 1971, revising a High Court verdict that disqualified her from elective office: as the judgments were read thousands of people began to gather in the capital for celebrations organised by the ruling Congress Party. Four leaders including Mr. Tajudeen Ahmed and Syed Nazrul Islam, who steered Bangladesh to freedom through freedom fights, were assassinated on Monday within three months of the brutal killing of Sheik Mujibur Rahman: Radio Bangladesh announced the killings but did not give the names of the killers. The United States yesterday gave formal notice of its intention to withdraw from the International Labour Organization.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 9: Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Finance, said that there will not be any deviation or need for changes in the Budget proposals announced by him on November 5: the relief given to the consumer through various measures will be untouched: in a point-by-point reply to Dr. N. M. Perera's criticism of the Budget in which Dr. Perera said that the Budget reversed the policies taken during the past five years, Mr. Bandaranaike said that the Budget is no longer an instrument to add burdens on people: the recent Budget was in contrast to what the previous five budgets did—CO. Yugoslavia will equip the BMICH with a closed circuit television system in time for the Non-aligned conference to be held in August next year: after the conference this closed circuit television system will be a permanent feature in the BMICH—CO. The UNP will give evidence before the Delimitation Commission tomorrow—CO. According to the *Sunday Times* Sri Lanka will host the tea export nations conference in Colombo next year. The JCTUO in a memorandum to the Prime Minister explained the importance to scrap the Security Board Bill which the Council claimed will delegate more powers to security staff of the Corporation than that of Police personnel: the Council further said that the formations of the Security Board will create unrest among the working class and lead to frustration—VK. According to the *Janadina*, official discussions for establishing a branch of the New York First National City Bank, a leading Bank in the US, has been completed: a branch of this Bank will be soon established in Colombo. According to the *Sri Lankadipa* 14 highways in and around Colombo are being repaired at a cost of Rs. 5 million in view of the Non-Aligned conference to be held in Colombo next year. The debate on the Second Reading of the Budget will commence in the NSA tomorrow—SM. Nearly 50,000 peace marchers entered into the Western Sahara in Spain:

another 100,000 Moroccans are expected to march into the Western Sahara today.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 10: Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Finance, has summoned all manufacturers of synthetic sarrees and shirts for a conference tomorrow aimed at bringing down prices as quickly as possible—CDN. Following the assurance by the Paddy Marketing Board to supply the Food Department with 325,000 tons of rice next year the Department is expected to import only 300,000 tons of rice for the year 1976: this amount is 100,000 tons less than this year's import and will result in a saving of \$ 20 million (US)—CDM. Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, leader of the UNP, will open the Budget debate in the NSA today—CDM. The Working Committee of the UNP reported last Saturday that it has still not completed the inquiry into charges against the UNP MP for Dedigama, Mr. Rukman Senanayake—CDM. Mr. Ratnasiri Wickremenayake, Minister of Plantation Industry, has appointed a two-man committee to probe the British Ceylon Corporation to evaluate the firm's performance before and after the Government took over this establishment under the Business Acquisition Bill—CDN. Mr. T. B. Ilangaratne, Minister of Trade, Public Administration and Home Affairs, speaking at a teachers trade union meeting said that banks will be nationalised step by step and this cannot be done according to slogans: he further said the steps to nationalise the banks are now complete—DM. According to the *Janadina*, certain proposals in the latest Budget of the Government which are aimed to benefit the capitalist class in the country and to halt the nation's march forward towards socialism were included in spite of the protest by several leading politicians in the Government: the paper, editorially commenting on Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike's statement to some papers to the effect that the masses underwent undue hardship owing to Dr. N. M. Perera's socialism, said, such statements were earlier issued by a different political party, but of late Mr. Dias Bandaranaike too has started to utter such things: the editorial further said that this clearly shows the Finance Minister too is now in the camp of that political party. The Chairman of the Government-owned Salusala said that by 1976 textiles could be exported from Sri Lanka: the Chairman expects the country to produce nearly 16 million yards of textiles, for export alone, in 1976—ATH. Marking the 58th anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution China yesterday called on the Soviet Union to agree to practical steps towards the resumption of friendship and good-neighbourly relations between the two countries. General Francisco Franco of Spain remained in a grave condition last night after his second major stomach operation, in four days. Bangladesh's new Government yesterday freed five politicians imprisoned by the former leader Mujibur Rahman who was assassinated a few months ago. A Spanish task force of 16 ships including missile-launchers and landing craft assembled in the Canary Islands on a mission of support for Spanish troops defending the Western Sahara: UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim said that the King of Morocco has informed the UN that his country's peace-march into the Spanish Sahara was symbolic and might be restricted to the border area between the territory and Morocco.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 11: Opening the budget speech in the NSA yesterday Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, President of the UNP, asked as to why the Government

had made a "right about turn" in its policies after following Dr. N. M. Perera for the last five years—CDN. Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike referring to certain printing errors in the budget proposals told the NSA yesterday that "Satan is not good in addition and subtraction but only in division". The University of Ceylon Teachers' Association has protested against the proposed amendments to the University Act: according to the Association if the amendments are accepted it will both in theory and practice make the varsity a typical public corporation—CDM. The Charges d' Affaires of the People's Republic of China and the Chinese Economic Counsellor will ceremonially hand over the final report on the Gin Ganga Flood Protection Scheme, embodying the detailed proposals, plans and cost estimates, to the Minister of Irrigation, Power and Highways, Mr. Maithripala Senanayake, today—CDM. Dr. Badiuddin Mahmud, Minister of Education, will shortly introduce a bill in the NSA to provide for the reorganisation of privena education: the Bill also seeks to provide for the establishment, maintenance and administration of privenas and privena training institutions: the Minister will soon appoint a Privena Education Advisory Board consisting of the Director General of Education and ten other members, under the law, to guide the course of studies—CDN. According to the *Janadina* failure to make the elementary changes in the estates nationalised has posed a big threat to the future of these estates in the hands of the administrators. The *Janadina* editorially criticised the Government for the introduction of the Security Board Bill: the editorial said this bill is an indication that the reactionary group in the Government was pushing out the working class of the country which helped this Government to attain power. According to the *Lankadipa* the textiles at the new reduced price are still not available for purchase. Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, President of the UNP, giving evidence before the Delimitation Commission yesterday, said that the UNP is opposed to the election of members to the Parliament on a nationality basis—VK. King Hassan of Morocco ordered the peace marchers to Western Sahara to return: his order was broadcast from Agadir as the marchers faced the Spanish troops and as Spanish warships gathered off the North African Coast: meanwhile the Spanish army too prepared to evacuate the region. President Ford said that the planned visit of Soviet leader Brezhnev has become unlikely because of serious problems in strategic arms negotiations between the US and the USSR. President Ford said that there would not be any future role in the public sector for former President Nixon in the present administration. He also said that it would be unwise for former President Nixon to return to public life.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 12: Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Finance, decided to pass to the general public the full benefits of his Budget proposals even before the National State Assembly votes on the Appropriation Bill: this has never been done before: for this purpose the Minister will present to the NSA the necessary legislation—CDN. Textile traders' request that the CRA imported textiles should be exempted from the new prices mentioned in the Budget was turned down by the Minister of Finance—CDN. The MP for Yatiyantota and the President of the LSSP, Dr. N. M. Perera, referring to a statement by the MP for Avissawela in the NSA, said that if the Finance Minister wanted to make any allegations against him

he could do so directly instead of getting someone else to make the allegations—CDN. Dr. Badiudin Mahmud, Minister of Education, who led a delegation of Muslims, giving evidence before the Delimitation Commission said that Muslims were one million of Sri Lanka's population and that on a provincial basis they were entitled to 14 electoral seats—CDN. The Government Medical Officers' Association in a Press release stated that restoration of pension rights will save a reciprocal effect of a drop in resignations from younger doctors—CDM. The Committee appointed by the President of the University recommended that a committee, with the necessary power delegated to it, should be appointed to look into the discipline and residential requirements of the students of the Peradeniya Campus of the University—LD. The *Janadina* in an editorial said the reactionary group of the Government, which has taken steps to pawn the country to American Imperialists, has now launched a war against the LSSP which party has always waged a bitter struggle against the white imperialists. 15,000 acres of land in the dry zone will be distributed among 7,000 farming families under the Mahaweli Scheme in 1976: already 6,000 acres have been distributed among 3,000 farmers—JD. Mr. M. G. Mendis, MP for Rattgama, issuing a statement on behalf of the Ceylon Federation of Trade Unions said that it was a good move to have brought so many reliefs to the masses through the Budget but to allow foreign capitalists to open business in the country was dangerous—ATH. The Government decided to commence the work on the Gin Ganga Scheme during the first quarter of next year—DM. Sri Lanka yesterday signed an agreement with Canada by which the Canadian Government will supply the country with goods worth Rs.80 million on credit without interest—DM. Sir John Kerr, Governor General of Australia, sacked the Australian Prime Minister Gough Whitlam: an hour after the dismissal the deposed Premier successfully moved a motion of "no confidence" in the new caretaker government of Liberal leader Malcom Fraser: the motion called on the Speaker to ask the Governor General to request Mr. Whitlam himself to form a new Government: the Governor General took this decision to sack the Prime Minister following a constitutional crisis precipitated by the Liberal Party's blockade of budget bills through its Senate Majority. Portugal proclaimed Angola independent from midnight yesterday and said it was leaving the war-torn territory without any sense of guilt. According to the *Time* magazine Defence Secretary James Schlesinger refused to resign voluntarily when he met President Ford a week ago. President Idi Amin of Uganda asked for the immediate withdrawal of Soviet Ambassador in Kampala."

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 13: According to the *Daily Mirror*, the private sector yesterday responded to the call by the Minister of Finance to sell synthetic materials at reduced prices: several leading textile shops in Colombo released a large quantity of such textiles to the thousands of people who formed queues outside the shops: according to the *Daily Mirror* a large number of tailoring establishments have cornered the synthetic materials purchasing practically the bulk of them and converted same into ready-made garments for which no-price control exists. Replying to a question by the MP for Kandy, the Minister of Finance during the course of the Budget debate in the NSA, disclosed that a scheme was under contemplation to pay pen-

sions to members of Parliament—CDM. Mr. K. P. Ratnam, MP for Kayts, yesterday requested the Government to implement the Bandaranaike-Chelvanayakam Pact: speaking at the Budget debate the MP said that under the Decentralised Budget Scheme the Northern Province had been neglected—VK. Government instructed the Ministry of Public Administration and the Ministry of Education to solve the problem of the trained teachers who demanded equal salaries for all categories of teachers: these teachers demand a commencing salary of Rs. 355 for all categories of trained teachers and also have given notice of a token strike on December 4—DM. Nearly 53,000 new entrant government servants will become entitled for pension rights under the new proposal in the budget to make Government service pensionable: this applies to all those Government servants who joined the service after 1972—LD. According to the *Janadina* a reactionary group in the Government has insisted that the compensation to estates taken over from foreign companies should be paid in sterling: meanwhile the Minister of Agriculture and Lands had insisted in paying this compensation in rupees. Mr. Batty Weerakoon, General Secretary of the Ceylon Trade Union Federation, speaking at a meeting in Colombo said that the entire membership of the JCTUO should go on strike in protest to the Prime Minister's Security Board's Bill already presented in the NSA: Mr. Weerakoon said that the JCTUO has already taken steps to organise this strike—JD. The *Atththa* editorially praised the Finance Minister's Budget proposal to remove all liquor shops half a mile away from schools and other places of worship: the editorial requested the Minister to expedite the formation of necessary legislation to implement this proposal. Following the dismissal of the Australian Labour Government by the Governor General violence exploded in two Australian cities as a protest. USSR severed diplomatic ties with Uganda and announced it had recognised the leftist administration in Luanda (MPLA) as the Government of Angola. Several clashed all over the country and big power politics marked Angola's first day as an independent state, with none of the country's three nationalist movements in overall control. A bill passed by the British Upper House with a series of amendments to give journalists legal redress against exclusion from their Union has been refused by the Labour Government: the House of Lords insisted that the amendments should stay: the Peers say the Bill could pose a threat to Press freedom, creating a journalistic closed shop.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 14: The Government yesterday decided to take stern action against unscrupulous traders and blackmarketeers attempting to subvert the beneficial proposals announced in the Budget: action against such people would be taken under the Business Acquisition Act, the Licensing of Traders Act and the Exchange Control Act: the CRA of such people too would be frozen: if the public found any instances of profiteering above the control price they were invited to bring the matter to the notice of the Bribery Commissioner—CDN. Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, will make her first official visit to the Eastern Province today: the special plane carrying the Prime Minister, the Minister of Fisheries and Health, Mr. George Rajapakse, and Mr. Laksman Jayakody, Deputy Minister of Defence and foreign Affairs, will land at the Batticaloa airport commencing the first

leg of the Prime Minister's four-day visit to the Eastern Province—CDN. According to the *Daily Mirror* the Government and the members of the Food Purchasing Board are inquiring into circumstances under which the Sri Lanka delegation purchased an extra 50,000 tons of flour from Australia when Government had not given instructions for the extra purchase—CDM. The Director General of Education has instructed the heads of all schools in the island not to conduct classes in dilapidated school buildings: the Department of Education decided on this following a spate of complaints received to the effect that walls and roofs of class rooms have collapsed while the classes were on—LD. According to the *Dinamina* nearly 5,000 delegates from 85 countries will attend the Non-aligned Conference to be held in Colombo in August next year. The National Prices Commission will be established before the end of this year and Mr. M. Shanmuganathan, Additional Secretary to the Ministry of Trade, is likely to be the head of the Commission—DM. The price reduction in synthetic textiles through the Budget and the exorbitant prices of cotton thread and handlooms has virtually brought to a halt the working of small industries that manufacture handloom textiles—ATH. Following a proposal in the Budget the Sri Lanka Tractor Corporation has reduced the price of all makes of two-wheeled tractors by Rs. 1,100—ATH. It has been brought to the notice of the Deputy Minister of Defence and Foreign Affairs that nearly 200,000 people of Indian origin have avoided detection under the repatriation scheme currently in force: this has been brought to the notice of the Deputy Minister by the Government Clerical Service Union's branch at the Department of Emigration and Immigration—JD. A blind beggar won the first prize of Rs. 100,000 in the recently conducted 50 cents National Lotteries Sweep draw—CDN. Soviet authorities refused dissident physicist Andrei Sakharov permission to go to Oslo next month to collect his Nobel peace prize because they said he had information of importance to the country's security. The Comoro Islands was admitted to the United Nations yesterday bringing the world body's membership to 143 states. US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger said that the US was considering retaliation against the countries that voted on Monday for UN resolution equating Zionism and racism: UN nameplates were removed from streets and squares throughout Israel in a wave of demonstrations against the General Assembly's anti-Zionist resolution.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 15: The Prime Minister addressing a vast gathering at Batticaloa on the first day of her tour to the Eastern Province assured the people that the United Front Government will not discriminate against people on grounds of religion and language—CDN. Bribery Commissioner, Mr. Ian Wickremanyake, was yesterday appointed Competent Authority to undertake the distribution of synthetic material imported under the CRA: after the completion of a scheme to distribute these material it will be made available at Rs. 18.50 per yard—CDN. The Government issued orders under the Public Security Ordinance delegating power to the Government Agents and the Chairman of the Land Reform Commission to oust anyone residing on an estate contrary to wish of the management: according to the powers delegated such dwellers could be ousted as those who "are a threat to peace"—this law came into force with the nationalisation of estates on October 15: those who

are ousted under this law cannot seek redress in a court of Law; several estate trade unions including the CWC have made a strong protest against this law—YK. The SLFP controlled Sri Lanka Independent Trade Union Federation appealed to the Government to scrap the State Corporations Security Board Bill which the union claimed would be detrimental to peace in work places—CDM. The Ministry of Education decided to send the University Act, now before the NSA, to the Sectoral Committee on Mass Media, Education etc., headed by Mr. Pieter Keuneman, Minister of Housing and Construction, for revision and recommendations: this Act has been criticised heavily by the University dons and other leading educationists in the country as one which would make a mockery of the country's higher education—ATH. The Bank of Ceylon will soon appoint Agricultural Advisory Committees all over the island—JD. The Soviet Union said that the suspension of DPL ties with Uganda was temporary consequent to conditions that prevailed in Uganda prohibiting the normal functions of the USSR embassy there: USSR expressed hope that once the conditions in Uganda become normal the embassy will be re-established in keeping with international practice. Britain warned Greek and Turkish Cypriots against declaring the Independence of any part of the troubled Mediterranean island. Israel denounced the UN General Assembly's anti Zionism resolution as "terrible, cynical and hypocritical."

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 16: The Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, on the first leg of her tour to the Eastern Province addressed a mass gathering at Batticaloa yesterday: the entire city was gaily decorated and nearly 50 pandals erected at various points—CO. According to the *Sunday Times* the Ministry of Finance is formulating a scheme, which it is learnt, will exempt long-standing liquor shops and taverns situated within half a mile of temples, churches, mosques or schools from complying with the rule announced in the Budget that liquor shops and taverns will not be permitted within half a mile radius of temples, churches, mosques and schools. According to the *Sunday Times*, although the number of students to be admitted to the six campuses of the University of Sri Lanka for the next academic year will be the highest ever, University dons expect an improvement in the quality of students. According to the Data Processing Section of the Department of Education paddy cultivation is the most popular subject among students sitting the first-ever National Certificate of General Education (NCGE) to be held from December 27 to January 5—CO. Mr. R. S. Perera, Minister of Broadcasting and Information, ordered the Government press to print 10,000 copies of the report of the Kularatne Commission on ragging at the Vidyalankara Campus without the appendices containing the evidence regarding actual acts of ragging: soon after the printing the copies will be available for sale to the public—CO. Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Finance, addressing a meeting at Mirigama said there cannot be any hope to develop the country without foreign aid: he further said that Dr. N. M. Perera, former Minister of Finance, who criticised him for seeking assistance from capitalist countries himself sought assistance from the USA and the world Bank when he was Minister of Finance—CO. Mr. V. Dharmalingam, MP for Uduvil, in a statement to the *Virakesari* said unless the Prime Minister solved the problems of the

Tamils in a satisfying manner there could be troubles in the country: he said that the Prime Minister should not be deceived by false advice by some who thought that use of force and threat on Tamil youth will solve the problems of the Tamils. According to the *Janasathiya* the Inland Revenue Department has been ordered by top Government men to stop conducting raids on businessmen who evade the payment of taxes. US President Ford told a group of black students that he would consider Black Republican Senator Edward Brooke as his running mate in next year's Presidential race.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 17: According to the *Daily News* the Bank of Ceylon is faced with the problem of recovering Rs. 52 million given out as loans to a number of people during the past ten or fifteen years: some of the defaulters are temporarily resident abroad. The Prime Minister addressing a vast gathering at Kalmunai on the second day of her tour to the Eastern province urged the youths to take up cultivation: she said "go to the land, the land will not come to you"—CDN. A special Police squad will raid textile shops and other places of textile manufacture to smoke out hoarders of textiles and other consumer items: Mr. Ian Wickremanayake, the Competent Authority for the distribution of CRA synthetic textiles in a statement to the *Daily Mirror* said that stern action will be taken against public officers, especially law enforcement officers, who abused their positions to obtain synthetic textiles imported under the Convertible Rupee Account. The Communist Party sponsored Lanka Jathika Sishya Sangamaya retained power at the Arts Faculty Students Union of the Peradeniya Campus at the elections on Friday—CDM. A high ranking committee of the World Bank will visit Sri Lanka shortly to study the proposal of the Minister of Finance inviting foreign capitalists to invest in Sri Lanka for businesses: the team which is expected to be in the island this week will hold discussions with the Minister of Finance—VK. The Government will import two generators at a cost of Rs. 10 million to be used in the Katunayake Airport during the Non-Aligned Summit to be held in August next year: out of this only one will arrive in the island before the summit commences and the other machine will be available only after the conference—ATH. According to the *Janadina* the proposal by the Minister of Finance to bring back the pension rights of new entrant government servants will be a complete going back on the Prime Minister's Five Year Plan: according to the paper the former Minister of Finance had proposed Provident Fund benefits instead of pension rights to new Government servant in keeping with the Prime Minister's 1972-1976 Five Year Plan. A brother of an up-country Member of Parliament was taken into custody by officials of the Bribery Commissioners Department for allegedly taking a bribe of Rs. 5,000 from a Superintendent of an estate—LD. Sacked Australian Prime Minister Gough Whitlam said he expected the man who dismissed him, Governor General Sir John Kerr, to resign if the Labour Party was returned to power in the December 13, Australian election. A Spanish envoy arrived in Sahara to explain Spain's plan to hand over the Spanish Saharato a provisional Moroccan-Mauritanian administration early next year. Spain's President, General Franco, nearly 24 hours after his third major stomach operation in 11 days, was still critically ill yesterday.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 18: The Bribery Commissioner has forwarded the connected papers to the Attorney General's Department to file plaint in respect of 230 cases of bribery detected recently—CDM. Dr. S. A. Wickremasinghe, MP for Akuressa, and the President of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka, speaking in the Budget debate told the NSA though his party regrets the exit of the LSSP from the Government the Communist Party will continue to remain in the United Front Government as the Government was still committed to pursuing the socialist objectives—CDM. To overcome the difficulty in the operation of the Declaration of Assets Law the Government has appointed several heads of the country's foreign missions abroad as Commissioners of Oaths—CDM. A delegation headed by the country's Foreign Secretary, Mr. W. T. Jayasinghe, is in New Delhi for official level talks with India for the demarcation of the maritime boundary between the two countries which commenced yesterday—CDN. Price control was re-introduced on a number of consumer items including margarine and toothpaste—CDN. A delegation from Trincomalee giving evidence before the Delimitation Commission requested Trincomalee be made a Multi-member constituency to enable the growing Sinhalese population in the electorate to elect their own member—CDN. The Ceylon National Association of Tamil Affairs giving evidence before the Delimitation Commission requested the Commission to keep Trincomalee as a single member constituency but to make Muttur which is now a two-member constituency into a three-member constituency—VK. Mr. A. Azeez, Appointed MP, speaking on the Budget debate in the NSA yesterday said that he believed that the LSSP could be brought back into the UF—VK. 49 Compost Manure Schemes started by the District Development Councils with the aim of supplying manure for farmers at reduced prices are now idling: these schemes were started at a cost of Rs. 250,000—ATH. The *Aththa* editorially requested the Government not to postpone further the elections to 27 local bodies including the Colombo Municipal Council. Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Finance and Justice, speaking at a SLFP rally at the Mirigama Town Council grounds said that the policy of the SLFP was not to plunder the wealth of the rich but to make the rich richer and to pave the way for the able to become rich—JD. The *Janadina* editorially criticising the statement of the Minister of Finance said it would be better for the Minister to practise what he uttered, first in the Dompeel ectorate before practising same elsewhere in the country. The Board of Directors of the Wellawatte Spinning and Weaving Mills decided to close down the firm from next month: on representations made by the 3,000 odd employees of the firm to the Minister of Labour the matter has been referred to the Cabinet—JD. On a complaint made to the Speaker of the NSA, Mr. Stanley Tillekeratne, by the MP for Yatiyantota, Dr. N. M. Perera, on certain statements made by the MP for Avissawella, Mr. Tillekeratne said that every member should understand the code of conduct in the NSA and no Member will be allowed personal attacks on another Member—LD. The Indian Government released from custody Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan, leader of the Indian Sarvodaya movement, who was taken into custody under the emergency regulations. A report from Washington said that the Indian Army in the Bangladesh Border made attacks at three places. Finance Ministers from major oil exporting countries met in

Vienna to discuss plans for a multi-million dollar fund to aid developing countries: Iran suggested to set aside 10 US cents from the sale of each barrel of oil for development assistance.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 19: The Land Reform Commission has ruled that fixed deposits and dividend accounts were excess profits made by a number of estates prior to the nationalisation: the money has been vested in the bank accounts of the Land Reform Commission: the amount totalled up to Rs. 50 million—*CDN*. A delegation led by Mr. T. B. Ilangaratne, Minister of Trade and Public Administration, will leave for China on Sunday to conclude the negotiations under the Rubber-Rice pact for the year 1976—*CDN*. The Government will tonight gazette legislation under the Emergency Regulations providing for the imposition of heavy penalties including jail sentences on those who fail to declare their stocks of synthetic materials or attempt to sell them above the controlled price—*CDM*. The Department of Education will make available Rs. 20 million for the expansion of buildings in the six campuses of the University with the view of admitting more number of students—*DM*. Mr. Dinesh Gunawardene, President of the Mahajana Eksath Peramuna, giving evidence before the Delimitation Commission said that there should be a separate electorate for undergraduates to elect their representative to the Parliament and this constituency could be established in the Western province where undergraduates should be made eligible to vote: the Vimukthi Balavegaya giving evidence before the Commission said that multi member constituencies are meant for election on a communal basis and as such these constituencies should be scrapped—*VK*. The *Janadina* editorially requested Government to nationalise the Wellawatte Spinning and Weaving Mills whose management has threatened to close down the firm from next month throwing nearly 3,000 odd employees out of employment: The *Aththa* editorially criticised the attitude of the MP for Avissawella, Mr. Bonnie Jayasuriya, who in the NSA made several allegations against the MP for Yatiyantota, Dr. N. M. Perera: the editorial further said if the MP concerned wanted to make any allegations he could have done so following the normal parliamentary procedure without resorting to cheap tactics. The British General Medical Council said that over 70 per cent of overseas doctors failed the English and professional knowledge tests. Ugandan President Idi Amin has accepted an invitation from Chairman Mao Tse Tung to visit China. Australian Caretaker Prime Minister, Malcom Fraser, accused the ousted Labour Government of having concealed economic facts from Parliament and people. The Amnesty International charged the Soviet Union of having at least 10,000 political prisoners.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 20: The Minister of Finance, Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, yesterday addressed the representatives of the Trade Chamber: in the course of his speech he said that he wanted the private sector to collaborate with the Government making use of the opportunities given to the traders in the recent Budget and make things easy for the people of the country: the Minister said that by doing so he did not intend to make the rich richer and the prosperous more prosperous—*CDN & CDM*. A power-set ploughed into a stationary train at Batuwatte early yesterday

morning causing extensive damage to railway carriages: the driver of the power-set died on the spot: the Minister of Transport visited the scene of the accident and ordered the General Manager of Railways to investigate and submit him a report—*CDN & CDM*. The Competent Authority appointed by the Minister of Finance for the sale of synthetic materials has drawn up a series of regulations for its distribution and these regulations are expected to be promulgated within the next 24 hours—*CDN*. The *Janadina* warned the general public that the branch of the First City National Bank of America is to be shortly established in Sri Lanka: the paper said that this bank is an active representative of the American C.I.A. and it was a record the world over as a representative of the C.I.A. responsible for the downfall of several independent states. The *Janadina* editorially referring to a recent statement by Mrs. Siva Obeysekera, MP for Mirigama and Deputy Minister of Health, in which she said that some day Mr. Anura Bandaranaike would be the Prime Minister of the country, commented that this statement amounted to throat-cutting of the senior SLFP parliamentarians: the paper further said that the era of family rule is a past affair before the present-day common masses of this country. The JCTUO requested the Prime Minister to nationalise the Wellawatte Spinning and Weaving Mills—*ATH*. At an election campaign meeting in Canberra, Australia caretaker Prime Minister, Malcom Fraser, was pelted with eggs and meat by Labour supporters. Representatives of oil exporting nation met in Vienna and established a special aid project intended to make 5000 million dollars available for Third World development needs in the next five years.

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RAILWAY ACCIDENTS

CGR's bureaucracy seems to be slipping back into its old arrogance. The public had hoped for a change and we had seen some silver linings on the dark horizon of the CGR. But the communique, issued by the CGR on Wednesday to refute the *Daily Mirror* about "incompetent" railway drivers, (vide p. 3 & 4), quibbled about "driving licences", but did not answer the question whether signals had been observed. Or, the CGR should tell the public whether the signals had failed if the driver in question had, in fact, observed signal (but the CGR has not asserted that he did). How did the accident take place? Everybody in the know knows. Why hide it? The communique also made a gallant attempt to whitewash the training and experience of a large number (whether it is 70 or 100 it is immaterial) of men now at the controls of the engines on the CGR. This communique will not restore public confidence in the CGR. A Policy of letting sleeping dogs lie will only bring more disaster. And truth cannot be hidden, for long, under a smokescreen of quibbles.

FROM THE MARXIST GOSPEL

Lenin And The Mixed Economy

By PHYLIRA

Lenin seems to be a favourite with our Finance Ministers! In the course of his recent Budget speech, Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike quoted him, not once, but twice.

The first quotation was from his *Collected Works* (Volume 32). Here Lenin asked in 1921: "Is it right for the Soviet Government to invite foreign capitalists after expelling the Russian landowners and capitalists?" Lenin proceeded to answer: "Yes, it is, because, seeing that the workers' revolution in other countries is delayed, we have to make some sacrifices in order to achieve a rapid and even immediate improvement in the condition of the workers and peasants. The sacrifice is that over a number of years we shall be giving away to the capitalists tens of millions of poods of valuable products. The improvement in the condition of the workers and peasants is that we shall immediately obtain additional quantities of petroleum, paraffin oil, salt, coal, farming implements and so forth. We have no right to forgo the opportunity of immediately improving the condition of the workers and peasants, for our impoverishment makes it essential, and our sacrifices will not be fatal."

Then, asking two more questions, he proceeded to answer them too: "But is it not dangerous to invite the capitalists? Does it not imply a development of capitalism? Yes, it does imply a development of capitalism, but this is not dangerous, because power will still be in the hands of the workers and peasants, and the landowners and capitalists will not be getting back their property."

Mr. Bandaranaike's second quotation was from a speech by Lenin to the Fourth Congress of the Communist International in 1922 expounding the famous New Economic Policy. Here Lenin said: "As regards trade, I want to re-emphasize that we are trying to found mixed companies, that we are already forming them, i.e. companies in which part of the

capital belongs to private capitalist—and foreign capitalists at that—and the other part belongs to the State. Firstly, in this way we are learning how to trade, and that is what we need. Secondly, we are always in a position to dissolve these companies if we deem it necessary, and do not therefore run any risks, so to speak. We are learning from the private capitalist and looking round to see how we can progress, and what mistakes we make. It seems to me that I need say no more."

Mr. Bandaranaike's aim, in citing these two quotations from Lenin, was to defend his contention that while "the commanding heights of the economy must come under the control and supervision of the state", "our policies must ensure adequate incentives to work, investment and risk-taking in that part of the economy which is not directly state-controlled."

MR. BANDARANAIKE was not the first Finance Minister in recent times to cite Lenin. Dr. N. M. Perera presenting the first Budget of the United Front Government in 1970 too did so. He did not directly quote Lenin, but, like his successor took his cue from the very New Economic Policy initiated by the leader of the October Revolution. Said Dr. Perera: "We must learn the lessons of history. When Lenin ordered the retreat to the New Economic Policy in the 1920's in the Soviet Union, there was a profound thought behind this move. Lenin recognised that even in the setting of a revolutionary upheaval the prejudices inherent in the backward society of old Russia could not be changed overnight. If in a vast country like Soviet Russia after mass upheaval such as we witnessed in 1917-1919, ups and downs in the process of transforming of society occur, then how much more careful have we to be in Ceylon where such an upheaval has not taken place? It is in this background that we must understand the problems we are faced with and find solutions for them."

Dr. Perera's aim was to prove, to quote his own words, that "the transformation from private ownership to public ownership has to be carried out with judiciousness, with circumspection and careful consideration as to the efficient functioning of these institutions.

The overwhelming desire expressed by the people that the commanding heights of the economy should be in the hands of the state must be recognised by the capitalist class. Those who try to thwart the declared will of the people will be sternly dealt with by the Government. In carrying out the wishes of the people, however, it is incumbent on the Government to see that the transformation takes place with the minimum dislocation of the economy of the country. It will be disastrous to go too slow. It will be equally disastrous to run too fast. It is a paramount duty of the Government to raise the level of consciousness of our people to have a full realisation of the obligations that devolve upon all people in the difficult task of building socialism."

Even the devil, it is said, quotes Scripture for his own purposes. In fact, as Mr. Bandaranaike was finishing his first quotation from Lenin, Mr. J. R. Jayawardene interjected the remark "Satan citing Scripture". But it will be noticed that both the present Finance Minister and his predecessor in office agree that "the commanding heights of the economy" must be in the hands of the state, or at least under its direct control and supervision. Since both also cite the New Economic Policy, it is worthwhile examining what Lenin had in mind when he introduced this policy in Russia in 1921.

The *Short History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union* (1970 Edition) says: "The problems facing the Communist Party and its leader, Lenin, were how to lead Soviet Russia out of economic ruin and poverty as quickly as possible and how to build socialism. Under conditions of peace the relations between workers and peasants must rest on an economic foundation. Industry and agriculture must exchange goods through trade, a form of exchange that had existed for centuries and become second nature to the peasants. But to promote trade it was necessary first to restore and then further develop the economy. Moreover it had to be developed in such a way as to give priority to heavy industry, which was the key to the building of other branches of the economy and to raising labour productivity.

"The introduction of free trade, Lenin said, in some measure harboured the threat of a revival of capitalism. There would be private traders and small private enterprises. A bourgeois would emerge. But that was not dangerous to the socialist state for it held such commanding heights as the banks, a monopoly over foreign trade, and the nationalised industrial enterprises, railways, water transport and the land. With these levers it was possible to restrict the growth of private capital, which would ultimately be ousted "by state industry and trade...."

"The ways and means of building socialism as charted by Lenin and tested in practice in the Soviet Union are an extremely valuable contribution to Marxist theory. Inasmuch as there are peasants, handicraftsmen and artisans, these ways and means will inevitably be applied in one form or another, according to local conditions, in every country building socialism."

THE SUBJECT is also dealt with at some length in a Novosti Press Agency publication entitled *The New Economic Policy—its Origin and Goal* by Enrike Andres, a Master of Sciences (Economics). There it is stated: "The transformation of the national economy, marked by its mixed nature, into a purely socialist economy was to proceed by utilising market relations in accordance with the demands of economic laws. It was a scientifically based policy deriving from the specific conditions of a given phase of socialist construction."

"The basic principles of the New Economic Policy comprise: nationalisation of only the principal means of production; permission for small commodity production and an all-round strengthening of the alliance between the working class and the peasantry on the basis of an economic tie-up which requires the development of commodity circulation, i.e. commodity-money relations; permission for private capitalist enterprise and its utilisation for the building up of the economy, with the basic industrial sectors (commanding heights) being controlled by the proletarian state; a policy of gradually restricting and ultimately ousting the capitalist elements; fast restoration and further development of the productive forces, with wide utilisation of the principle of material and moral incentives to

labour; the building up of the technical-material foundations of socialism through socialist industrialisation and co-operation of small producers."

Regarding the "mixed economy" that is so much the subject of discussion in Sri Lanka nowadays, the booklet says: "The New Economic Policy was formulated with due consideration for the mixed economic set-up in the transition period. In his works *Economics and Politics in the Era of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat*, *The Tax in Kind* etc., Lenin gave a comprehensive discussion of the economy in the transition period, which he described as follows: "Theoretically, there can be no doubt that between capitalism and communism there lies a definite transition period which must combine the features and properties of both these forms of social economy. This transition period has to be a period of struggle between dying capitalism and nascent communism or, in other words, between capitalism which has been defeated, but not destroyed and communism which has been born but is still very feeble?"

IT IS ALSO STATED: "The specific feature of NEP as a form of class struggle consisted in that it shifted the centre of gravity to the economic sphere. During the Revolution, the Civil War and the imperialist intervention, Soviet power defeated the bourgeoisie on the battleground; under the new conditions the proletariat has to overpower the bourgeoisie on the economic front. For this purpose it was necessary to master production at the nationalised enterprises, to organise socialist distribution. In this struggle the proletariat was to demonstrate that it was capable of creating a mode of production superior to that of capitalism. As is known, capitalism defeated feudalism by ensuring higher labour productivity. Socialism will finally win when it achieves higher labour productivity than capitalism."

Regarding the role of state capitalism during the transition period, it says: "In his work *The Tax in Kind* Lenin gave a thorough explanation of the need for permitting state capitalism in the transition period. According to Lenin, the legislation of state capitalism is particularly desirable in those countries in which small-commodity pro-

duction holds an important place. It is desirable, firstly, because through state capitalism the proletariat can employ the most experienced portion of the bourgeoisie for organising production; secondly, because state capitalism, by controlling (through accounting) small commodity producers objectively facilitates the establishment of state control over small-commodity production; lastly, because state capitalism, by organising major enterprises and promoting accounting and control over the production of small producers and the distribution of their products, lays a material basis for socialism." At the same time, Lenin pointed out the need for establishing strict control over state capitalism in order to ensure the transformation of capitalist-owned enterprises into socialist enterprises.

"Concession or the leasing of industrial enterprises to capitalists on conditions profitable for the proletarian state represented the most common form of state capitalism in this country."

"Another form of state capitalism was leasing according to which private capital rented farmlands, woodlands and waters for prospecting for mineral wealth or other similar undertakings. This form of state capitalism was particularly profitable, since it was relatively easy for the state to control these undertakings, whereas the methods and ways of transforming them into socialist concerns were clearcut. On the expiration of the term specified in the contract or in the event of cancellation of the contract by either party, these capitalist undertakings were automatically expropriated by the proletarian state."

* * *

Before 1977 polls

The Finance Minister said that he proposed in his budget not to follow doctrinaire theory but to achieve practical results before the general elections in 1977, so far as that is possible in the eighteen months available.

He said he hoped in doing so to act in keeping with the hopes and aspirations of our people and in keeping with the economic philosophy which his party was committed to.

STATEMENT OF THE UNIVERSITY
OF CEYLON TEACHERS ASSOCIATION
(PERADENIYA)

The Amending Bill To The University of Ceylon Act. No. 1 of 1972

WE PUBLISH below the full text of the Statement of the University of Ceylon Teachers Association (Peradeniya) on the Amending Bill to the University of Ceylon Act, No. 1 of 1972. This Amending Bill was due for its Second Reading in the NSA on November 4, but it was not taken up. It has now been referred to the Sectoral Committee of the Cabinet's National Planning Council, headed by Mr. Pieter Keuneman, for report. What the University teachers have to say is very relevant in the context of university education in Sri Lanka. Competent and knowledgeable persons consider the Amending Bill a horrendous piece of legislation to control universities—and if adopted will have the effect of transforming the universities into totalitarian enclaves and the Minister into an Oriental despot (20th century edition).

—Ed.

The academic community views with deepening alarm the provisions of the Amending Bill gazetted on 30th September 1975. This set of amendments was at no time discussed or presented to the University bodies before they were published in the Gazette. If these are accepted by the Government, and incorporated in the Act of 1972, the entire development of university learning and administration will be seriously jeopardised through an undue and unprecedented degree of external control and bureaucratic interference in the proper functioning of a national institution, which the present Board of Governors had recommended should be defined as "a Statutory Body with autonomous status, as different from a Corporation."

Both in theory and practice these new amendments will have the inevitable effect of converting the University into a body even worse than a typical Public Corporation, and liquidating all

remaining elements of academic freedom, and subjecting it to an excessive and unwarranted dictation from external authority, thereby damaging seriously, and even permanently, the academic enterprise of higher education in Sri Lanka. In view of the extreme urgency and gravity of the matter at stake we have taken the liberty of setting out our views frankly and sincerely. Before the principal objectionable features of the amending legislation are detailed, we wish to introduce the following observations which are extremely relevant to the issue.

(1) The academic community hailed the present Government on account of the enlightened attitude of the United Front to higher education as expressed in both the Manifesto and Throne Speech of July 1970. It pledged repeal of the Higher Education Act of 1966 and the appointment of a properly constituted full-time University Grants Commission. Full academic freedom and the proper degree of University autonomy were to be ensured. A new deal was promised for students, whereby they could participate effectively in the decision-making process of University administration, and were to be relieved of financial distress. The general level of the existing universities was to be raised, and three new universities established in areas of the island which needed them. We cannot believe that these policy statements have been abandoned by a Government which in the course of the last five years had drawn repeated strength and comfort in its functioning from the principles and policies set out in its own statements in 1970.

(2) In 1971 a "Bill to provide for the establishment of a University Grants Commission, for the establishment, maintenance and administration of Universities, and for matters connected therewith or incidental thereto" was presented by the Minister of Education to the House of Representatives on 4 April 1971. This Bill embodied in substance, and to the satisfaction of the university community, those promises held out in the preceding paragraph. But it was suddenly withdrawn by the Minister after the First Reading, and a new Committee appointed to submit fresh views. The restoration of

this Bill as the true reflection, qualitatively and quantitatively, of the demands of the academic community (both students and staff) has in the last four years been a principal demand in all memoranda submitted to the authorities, and we re-iterate once again our hope that the contents of this Bill will be given serious consideration as the most suitable formulation of thinking on university governance and administration.

(3) The Report of the Jayaratne Committee on the re-structuring of university education and rationalisation of course of study led to the University of Ceylon Act No. 1 of 1972. The Report of the 1971 Committee and the Act following in January 1972 were subjected to very considered and critical appraisal by all sections of the university community concerned, and despite the wholesale criticism of important features in them, the Act was passed into law. The main provisions of this Act have remained unimplemented up to now, and an initial transitional period of two years extended for a fourth year has been utilised to re-structure and re-organise university education. The suspension of even the enlightened and progressive features of the Act, e.g. the important elective principle and elected officers, and the manner in which a Vice-Chancellor with an Advisory Board of Governors has used the transitional provisions have provoked increasing dismay and distrust among all sections of the academic community. These transitional provisions are completely undemocratic and not in keeping with the principles on which the Act is based. The rapidly escalating degree of autocratic governance from an over-centralised and expanding bureaucratic structure at the Senate House of the single University of Sri Lanka has had baneful effects on both the letter and spirit of the academic enterprise. In the last four years the university community has made clear their anxieties and views on the present situation on a number of occasions, both in written and oral form.

(4) The mounting criticism from all sides led the Minister of Education to send a decisively worded letter No. HEP/1/20/13 of 17th February 1975 to the Vice-Chancellor, containing clear and unambiguous directives for reform, and urging on him "to take early

action." This conversion of the present monolithic Senate House apparatus into a University Grants Commission type of functioning, and the restoration to each Campus of its independent status regarding all academic and administrative matters were the principal procedures laid down by the Minister in his letter. The reforms envisaged by the Minister went a long way towards meeting the most immediate criticism of the transitional period, but these eminently reasonable and logical directives have remained unimplemented by the Vice-Chancellor and the Board of Governors. To all inquiries from the academic community vague non-committal responses of varying degrees of accuracy have been provided ever since the contents of this dramatic letter were officially revealed to university bodies.

(5) In the absence of any desire by Senate House and the Board of Governors to follow the Minister's categorical instructions to ensure the more efficient functioning of all the Campuses, the university community expected the promised amending legislation to contain, at least, the Amending Proposals decided on by the Board of Governors at the Special Meeting held for the purpose on 30th and 31st August 1974. These proposals and amendments had been publicised through all Campus bodies in the two years preceding their adoption, and had been discussed fully, even though they did not meet with the majority approval of Campus Senates and University Teachers Associations, which have strenuously, though sadly unavailingly, maintained that the Act of 1972 in its present form is unworkable, and any amendments to it merely a futile exercise.

It is important to emphasise, at this point, that the gazetted amendments are substantially different to those proposed and finalised by the Board of Governors. Fundamental features, clearly laid down in the Act of 1972 as well as the Board of Governors' Amending Proposals have not been incorporated, and, in their place completely variant clauses have been introduced, without even the courtesy of reference to the Board of Governors. It mystifies us as to why the Amending Proposals of the Board of Governors, arrived at after careful deliberation for three years, and adopted as decisions at the

Special Meeting in August 1974 have been ignored.

(6) It is highly apposite in this context also to draw attention to the Report of the Royal Commission Appointed to Inquire into the University of Ceylon, Peradeniya, issued in 1974. In Ch. XXX "Proposed Organisation for Higher Education in Sri Lanka", pp. 274-279, the recommendations were a result of a searching examination of the administration of the University in the twelve years under review from 1960. The Ordinance of 1942, the Act of 1966, and the Act of 1972 were taken into consideration before the formulae contained in this chapter were set out. Though the analysis and remedial measures were proposed in the perspective of a single university structure, the formulae suggested were workable in a multi-university system as well. Principal features of the recommendations were a Board of High Education on the lines of a University Grants Commission, and decentralisation of administrative and academic powers and responsibilities on each Campus. *We fail to understand why the report of a Royal Commission containing recommendations, which are also in consonance with the recent views of the Minister of Education as outlined in his letter of 17 February 1975 to the Vice Chancellor have, not been accorded the deserved degree of recognition as meeting some of the main demands of the academic community.*

(7) We are constrained to point out that in the immediate aftermath of the Report of the Vidyalankara Campus "Ragging" Commission of Inquiry of July 1975, speculation was rife that the amending legislation would also reflect the views in that Report. It is important to remember that this Commission was appointed to inquire into how and why incidents of "ragging" of certain teachers joining a New Mathematics course on the Vidyalankara Campus on February 3, 1975 had occurred. The matters pertaining to this isolated happening formed the terms of reference of the Commission, and they were blown up out of all proportion by the press and interested parties. In Ch. XII "Remedial Measures", pp. 84-90, the main recommendations arose out of the investigation of those unfortunate events February 3, 1975, which by no stretch of the

imagination could be categorised as falling within the proper purview of the academic or administrative functioning or experience of a university. They were (a) the amendment of the Act to define the areas of power of the President of a Campus; (b) the amendment of section 20 (2) to provide for a Residence and Discipline Committee on each Campus; and (c) provision in the Act to set up another authority called the Board of Discipline headed by the Vice Chancellor to consider and decide appeals made from orders of the Campus Committees of Residence and Discipline. It is strange that, if the Amending Bill is also a result of the Kularatne Commission Report of July 1975, no provision has been made for the establishment of the necessary bodies for the maintenance of welfare, residence and discipline of students as recommended in that Report.

8. Before we pinpoint the objectionable provisions in the Amending Bill, we wish finally to make the following observation. The present Government is pledged to follow the Middle Path democratic policies of the late Prime Minister, Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, in his lifetime an embodiment of the liberal and democratic ways of thought. These concepts of democratic election, freedom of thought and expression, intellectual independence and freedom from autocratic control do not find a place in the Amending Bill before the National State Assembly. Indeed, the provisions of both the Act of 1972, the Amending Bill of September 1975 do considerable dishonour to the ideas and functioning of a true University as contained in the speeches and writings of the late Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike. Already, an overwhelming majority of permanent members of the academic staff in Peradeniya have signified their deep concern over the provisions of the Amending Bill.

We now proceed to highlight briefly the main provisions in the Amending Bill, which we consider retrograde and basic departures from the provisions of the Act of 1972 as well as the Amending Proposals of the Board of Govern-

Offending Provisions

nors decided on at its Special Meeting on 30th and 31st August 1974. The references given are to the sections in the Act of 1972 as amended by the Board of Governors.

(i) The Vice-Chancellor, President, Registrars, Additional Registrars and Deans are all appointed and dismissed by the Minister and become his creatures in office. The manner in which these key appointments are made crucial to the democratic functioning of any university, and the method proposed eliminates every conventional safeguard. Besides abolishing the essential feature of the elective principle which would have ensured the appointment of the appropriate officers, it leaves the way open for non-university personnel to be appointed to these offices. We are in favour of Section 7 (3) of the Board of Governor's Amending Proposals.

(ii) The Vice Chancellor is appointed by the Minister at his sole will and discretion. The Act of 1972 prevents his re-appointment at all, while the Board of Governors Amendments prevented re-appointment for a third term. The Bill imposes no restrictions of re-appointment or age whatsoever. We are in favour of Section 7 (9) of the Board of Governors Amending Proposals. We are, also, in favour of the restitution of the age limit of 65 years set out in the Act of 1972.

(iii) The Presidents of Campuses are to be appointed by the Minister. The electoral body of Deans and Heads of Departments suggested by the Board of Governors has been done away with. As in case of the V.C., no restrictions are placed on the re-appointment or age of Presidents. We are in favour of

Section 8 (1) (a) of the Board of Governors Amending Proposals, including the change of designation.


(iv) The Minister appoints Deans of Faculties on the recommendation of the V.C. The Board of Governors Amendments recommended appointed by V.C. on being elected from amongst Professors and Head of Departments of the Faculty. In the Bill (page 4, lines 11 & 12) "He may relinquish his post as Head of Dept..." In other words he need not relinquish his post as Head of Dept. if he so desires. But the next sentence (lines 13-17) offers the meaning that a Dean may continue as Head of Dept. (a) if he so desires, or (b) if the V.C. deems it necessary. As the clause stands a Dean may continue as Head of Dept. even if the V.C. does not deem it necessary. Both Act of 1972 and the Board of Governors Amendments were quite clear on this point. To avoid any confusion we are in favour of Section 8 (2) of the Board of Governors Amending Proposals, with the following important addition that the electoral body should be enlarged to include grades of staff from permanent Lecturer upwards.

(v) The Minister has the power to remove any of the officers appointed by him. This includes the V.C., Campus Presidents, Deans of Faculties, Registrars and Additional Registrars. This is so even when, as in the case of a Dean, the appointment is made on the recommendation of the V.C. The V.C.'s recommendation or advice is not required for dismissing a Dean, even though it is required for appointing him! The decisions of the Minister cannot be questioned in any court of law in

any fashion. This use of his absolute power will not arise when the relevant Sections of the Board of Governors Amending Proposals are adopted instead.

(vi) The Dean is under a duty to give effect to decisions of the Board of Governors; the Senate, the Campus Board, the Campus Senate and the Faculty Council. If the decisions are contradictory, whose decision is he to follow in such cases. This confusion needs to be resolved and a suitable amendment brought forward.

(vii) The Board of Governors is empowered to "dismiss a teacher or officer on the grounds of incapacity or conduct which, in the opinion of the majority of the members of the Board renders him unfit to be a teacher or officer of the University" (page 7, lines 26-32). This act of dismissal is only subject to an appeal to The Minister, and no procedures are prescribed for any inquiry by a tribunal or other Board. In the Public Service, strict regulations and procedures govern such cases. In both Act of 1972 and Board of Governors Amendments a "not less than two-thirds of the members of the Board of Governors" majority was required for dismissal, and it was subject to an appeal to a special Committee ("Planning and Grants Committee" in the Act, and an "Appeals Committee" in the Board of Governor's Amendments). The mere "majority of members" in the Amending Bill is both dangerous and vague—it could include members not present at any meeting. Likewise the elimination of any appeal to a properly constituted body. We insist that in such a fundamental matter of dismissal, at least two-thirds of



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526 GALLE ROAD
COLOMBO 3
TEL: 28544

The illustration shows a child sitting on the floor, playing with alphabet blocks (A, B, C, R, W, X) and a toy sheep. A small figure of a person is visible in the top right corner of the advertisement box.

the full membership of the Board of Governors is a primary requirement, subject to an appeal to a properly constituted Appeals Committee. This is perhaps, one of the most illiberal and undemocratic provisions in the Amending Bill, and does offence to basic principles of natural justice.

(viii) The Board of Governors is also empowered to suspend or otherwise punish teachers and officers *without the right of any appeal even to the Minister!* Both Act of 1972 and Board of Governors Amendments contained due appeal safeguards as in cases of dismissal. Our stand under (7) is also what we support here.

(ix) The Board of Governors is accorded the power to retire academic staff, on the ground of redundancy etc., thus converting what was purely a transitional provision under the Act of 1972 into a permanent one. We see no reason in a developing University system, with many Campuses, to justify the retention of this clause as a permanent feature in the Act. No properly qualified member of the academic staff of a University can be considered redundant, as both teaching and research are equally essential functions of a University, and a teacher, if not engaged fully in the one, can always contribute significantly in the other. This power of retirement by the employing authority is not available in the comparable areas of the Public Service.

In the Public Service, when terms and conditions of service are changed, the option to retire with compensation has normally been the accepted procedure. The same option to retire in terms of the Amended Act should be made available to members of the University Staff.

(x) Academic Committees have been abolished as Section 16 of the Act of 1972 is repealed (p. 15, lines 1-2). An Academic Committee under the Act was the widest democratic assembly of a Faculty, for which a Faculty Council, enlarged by just two members, is no substitute. We support the Board of Governors Amending Proposals which contain provision of a "Faculty" in Section 23 (Section 22 of the

Act) instead of either an Academic Committee or a Faculty Council.

(xi) The main University Senate will now have an equal number of representatives from each Campus, irrespective of size or number of Faculties. The proportionate representation laid down in the Act of 1972 took proper account of the disparity between Campuses. We do not favour the Board of Governors Amending Proposal which coincides with that in the Amending Bill. We are in favour of the provision in the Act on this matter.

(xii) Adequate representation of academic staff, non-academic staff, and students at appropriate levels in the decision-making bodies must be provided for, as the Amending Bill drastically removes even the meagre representation granted in the Act of 1972. Even the Board of Governors Amending Proposals contained provisions for their due participation in decision-making bodies, and we see no valid reason for this important right to be withdrawn.

We regret to have had the occasion to present these candid observations, but the Amending Bill, if adopted as presently formulated, will have the most serious and far-reaching repercussions on the efficient functioning of the University. It is a pity that haphazard and ad hoc amendments have suddenly been resorted to without due cause or announcement, when all the data for a clear cut and unambiguous policy or basis of a satisfactory university structure and administration have all along been presented to the authorities by those most concerned, i.e. the academic community. We submit that the only path of wisdom in the prevailing confusion is to revert to the basic principles spelled out in the policy-making statements of the Government in 1970.

University of Sri Lanka,
Peradeniya Campus.
31 October 1975



Night Fears And Fantasies

BY HERBERT KEUNEMAN

A DISTURBING INCIDENT took place the other night (November 16). In point of fact it took place in the early hours of the morning, after the moon had set and when the still dawnless sky was at its blackest; and this, suggesting perhaps a certain degree of planning, was amongst the circumstances that made it disturbing. Somebody attempted to force a window into my house: for the first time in my three years in it.

This in itself would hardly be describable as disturbing: it has been a frequent enough kind of happening in houses throughout the area ever since the insurgency suggested to the 'rastiyadu' element that not only could such attempts be got away with and call forth no real danger of hue-and-cry or reprisal but also that they might actually call forth sympathy from the sentimental (who are always so willing—until they themselves become victims—to see common thieves and house breakers as poor under-privileged and starving sufferers driven to desperation and crime). Apparently it does not occur to these too-soft hearted that if such be the motive it is strange that the perpetrators should be not the fathers of families, with many mouths to feed and other responsibilities to meet, but The Youth—glorious irresponsible idiot ideology—who spend such gains as they may derive not on food or other necessities but on *kasippu*, gambling nylon shirts and terylene bell-bottoms! Count the genuinely hungry families in this village... and count the fine feathers sported by their sons.....

AS I WAS SAYING, merely a frustrated attempt to break into my house would be no real cause for disquietude; even though I am very well aware that a more ingenious or determined attack could hardly fail to succeed, nor could any house be made completely thief-proof unless it were built like a concrete bunker. It is then, not the attempt that worries me; nor the fact that another attempt is now likely to follow, though

I admit to some distress that whereas I had up to now taken it for granted that I had been written off as too poor to reward burglary and too inoffensive to invite enmity I now seem to have incurred one, at least, of these 'justifications' in someone's eyes; nor am I unduly perturbed that some future attempt will probably come off (though to whose practical advantage I cannot think). After all, there is nothing to do about an earthquake but put up with it! No, it is not the fact or the act but their concatenations that have me unhappy.

This is what happened. About 4.0 a.m. Dinga—now eight months pregnant—who sleeps downstairs with two sisters-in-laws heard sounds as though someone was worrying away at one of the kitchen windows. (The kitchen, as I explained long ago in an article on the planning of the house, is one of my lockable downstairs rooms and gives through a bolted door into the dining-room—also lockable—where is where the girls choose to sleep). She woke Bis and Ukuwa, which are my names for their real much-longer ones, and all three listened. Someone outside was clearly fumbling at a window as Dinga had thought. The girls went through into the kitchen; but when they began to whisper there the sounds ceased. They were now quite sure a break-in had been attempted.

Two boys—Pema, who does part time work for me and sleeps in; and P.B., Dinga's 19-year-old brother-in-law, who keeps him company—sleep outside the lockable part of the house in what would have been an 'open' bedroom if I had ever been able to finish all I had planned to build. The girls, now fearing that Pema and P.B.'s throats had been cut or at all events strangled! unlocked the door from the hall and crept into the boys' quarters to see if by some miracle life still remained in them! And if you are surprised at three unarmed girls—one of them very *enceinte*—stepping out to face the possibility of a murderous intruder in order to check on the safety of their malekind, you just don't know the devoted dutifulness of the village woman. And if you think the boys (who proved quite unscathed and whom they now awakened and informed of the disturbance and begged to go out

and investigate) leapt gallantly to their assistance and did so, then you just don't know the *machismo*—the reluctance to bestir himself on a woman's behalf, the taking for granted that unpleasant or difficult or now even dangerous tasks should properly be left to the women—of the village man or boy. Especially the New Youth! P. B. muttered that the noise must have been made by the dog Tiger scratching himself against the door, although the noise had come from a window twenty feet away; and Pema neither said nor did anything at all. Neither offered to go out with the girls when they stepped out into the garden, by the light of a hurricane lamp, to investigate.

Upstairs, I was meanwhile fast asleep. I am generally up till all hours, miserably insomniac, and then, when I do fall asleep I sleep very heavily indeed. In addition, I had at the time a pretty bad go of the 'flu. Dinga had been therefore reluctant to wake me; which is typical almost equally of her solicitude and her sometimes surprising lack of both foresight and precaution. Not that I could have done much good; but at worst I should not have allowed the girls to fare forth unaccompanied. Bis was, indeed, not for waking any body. That too was typical: utterly charming and loveable though she is, she is very much the bold new village girl while being completely subservient to the male status in practice; and nothing could serve the male better!

Anyway, the girls found nobody and nothing.

UNTIL EARLY THIS MORNING. Then it was discovered that two persons had stood in Dinga's tomato nursery underneath one of the kitchen windows and tried to force it with a lever. (I have described my windows, also, elsewhere: they are top-hung and open outward and upward, like sun shades) and there were clear marks on the window frame where a lever had been repeatedly, but luckily fruitlessly, applied.

One of the disquieting circumstances about this otherwise minor incident was that the window chosen had been the single window, of four, where there was enough clearance between frame and shutter for a lever to be applied: whoever used it evidently knew not only how the window worked

but also which window to choose! Again, as Dinga pointed out, my 'cutlery canteen'—I hasten to say, lest any leap to the conclusion that I tempt providence by owning and displaying such luxuries as canteenfuls of gleaming table-silver, that the canteen is a secondhand one in which I house a few odd knives, forks and spoons—my cutlery canteen such as it is stands just beneath that particular window; so that the idea may well have been not to risk entering the house at all but merely to stand outside and reach in. And again: it could have been by accident, but could it have been by design? whoever the thief was had picked the time when I myself, a habitually light sleeper save during the few hours around dawn, would be asleep most soundly. The indication seemed to be that someone had been around who was familiar with the house and the sleepers in it. Against my will—and this is an example of the most disturbing circumstance of all—I found my suspicions turning toward Sitale, my friend and ex-servant, simply because (as, too, I have previously related) he had once already robbed me.

It is not nearly so much to be worth with but to be suspicious of those we love that works like madness. Given this captious and quite unsupported *idée fixe* it was easy to find support for it: I could 'clearly see' a typical shape—widely splayed from heel to toes—amongst the footprints in Dinga's tomato bed. Worse still, a woman of the village returning after midnight from attendance on her daughter who was in labour pains in the local hospital had seen Sitale and two companions, an ex-insurgent from Divullewa and another from Waratakama, abroad on the roads at that uncalled-for hour; but this I only learned later.

HAD IT BEEN ONLY SITALE I became suspicious of I should not, considering this co-incidence, merely circumstantial though it was, be quite as ashamed of myself as I am. But this kind of unreasoning expands uncontrollably. And the worst of it is that it could be simply naive to insist upon controlling it beyond a logical point although, uncontrolled, it makes facile the descent into a private Avernus! This is what I cannot forgive the usurpation of old values by the one modern 'value' that there is no value but self-in.

KAZI—31

In Colombo

—political crisis (?): beggars—

BY ANATORY BUKOBA

August 25,

THE PEOPLE IN COLOMBO are beginning to change now, just as the people in the countryside began to change the years ago. This is on the level of personal relationship. We are coming to be one people, in other words. All this was preceded by an island-wide change of another sort that included both town and country; and I think I can date it in 1963, the year it concluded, and the process only took a year. This change was at the national level, and it was the change over from a colonial mentality to that of a nation. I am speaking about the people, that amorphous mass that their self-styled betters delight in calling the masses.

The change that is occurring in Colombo, now, is the fusion of these two, the implied non-masses and the rest. It is the rest who are accepting the others. We are all becoming one people. I am speaking not so much about our way of life, as our attitude to each other, the rest, who are the people, no longer expect their betters to keep their places. This may be because we are all donning slacks, and so it is no longer incongruous for a certain other kind of person to wear a sarong. I feel he would have been laughed at, by the people themselves, if he had donned a sarong in public in the city of Colombo, or Cinnamon Gardens or Colpetty, ten years ago. So we are all becoming one people. The coconut estates kept pace with Colombo, and not with the countryside, and on these estates, the change is coming fast. One may stop to talk to a beggar now, in Colombo, to revert to this city.

There was a lad who looked like a beggar. To judge by the colour of his clothes, he might have been carrying sacks of coals. He collected paper, he spoke with a stammer, and he had arrived in Colombo two years before. The outer shelter of a publicly used building, an office, was his home. He was talking to a much

terest. Forget the pious word Enlightenment that may hypocritically be tacked onto it: self-interest is not a value but an instinct, jackals have it, and where Enlightenment supervenes self-interest assumes its relative place as something infinitely subservient.

I should have liked to report this incident to the police, not expecting much result from clues as slender as I could have offered them but if only to demonstrate that I would not allow such an attempt to pass unremarked and that neither would they. But I kept telling myself that the first persons they would have taken in—at least for questioning—would be the girls and Pema and P.B. I kept telling myself that this would be 'typical' police logic: they would argue that Bis' spurning of male reinforcements might just as well be due to anxiety lest the intruder be recognized! as to her own independence and bravery. That the girls' intrepidity in going out to look for a probably armed intruder sprang from a confidence that he was known to them and would not harm them. That the boys' conduct was not the mere sluggishness or cravenness it seemed but a ruse to let the intruders get clear away. In other words: that my precious 'family' were in on this.

AND HERE was where the gate of Avernus really began to yawn: I soon realized that I was ascribing to police logic what I actually feared on my own! It humiliates and contaminates one even to rationalize such disloyalty to children one loves; but one is only too aware, at the same time, that in this day and age even loved children may turn on those that love them and that some elements of society applaud such treachery. This, too, the insurgency and the new thinking have taught and dignified...sanctified...by ideological terminology.

Later in the day news began to come in of other depredations during that same night. In the neighbouring village of Attanapola a kitchen had been successfully burgled, so had the Weaving School there (and both for the third time!) Another kitchen had been burgled nearby, in Alutwewa. At the temple a couple of hundred yards from my house there were footprints—the ground had been softened by a futile but nightlong drizzle—by the kitchen door and window, but there too there had

been no access. And in the garden next door-but-one to ours someone had deliberately opened a gap in the sound fence and driven a herd of cattle in, so that one of the best-tended plots around the village—one that had survived the drought as the result of a largish family's unremitting labour—had had its crop trampled into the ground and totally destroyed.

(The 'kitchen' burglary is a well-established, if comparatively recent, local phenomenon. Maybe it is not only local? The loot is always of kitchen utensils and implements. This is not to say that provisions—if they happen to be there—are never taken; but it is noteworthy that they are often not taken. It is true that the kitchen is the least secure portion of the average village house and that at night it is almost invariably untenanted. Even so, what marketable value have a few bent spoons, a secondhand stringhopper-press, a battered pot or pan? Sometimes, of course, there is a lucky haul: a few nights before 'our' night the Saman Radio *vinkale* was broken into for the fourth time and a bicycle, no less, had been found there and removed; and on 'our' night the total haul included a couple of mammoties. A few village alarmists argue that the pattern of the robberies suggests that some sort of castration were being equipped. But what a preposterous, even treasonable, actually *inauspicious* thing to suggest at this juncture in history!)

Myself, I believe that the motive is largely sheer, idle mischief when it is not plain malice which some of the cases I have quoted undoubtedly seem to display. I hope the assault on our own kitchen was not due to malice; I would rather contribute (unwittingly) to the setting up of an insurgent camp than have done something (albeit also unwittingly) to arouse such rancorous determination to hurt.

LETTER

Rice

Sir,

Why is that we in Jaffna always get the white variety the so-called China rice for our ration? Does it have any bearing with the FP bias and political revenge?

S. Murugesu

Illavalai.
31.10.75

older man when I saw him, a man who also slept, like him, without a home, or a room.

There are the woman who have been begging money for as long as I remember. Some are restrained. Others almost fling themselves at one. Some come a good bus-ride to collect money, and they come by bus. There used to be a whole family that I begged. I once met them on the Kandy road, and so they had travelled far. I saw the elder girl, two days ago, a handsome wench, nicely turned out. Her mother told me some years ago, long after I had first known them, that the girl had been given away in marriage. On this last occasion that I saw her, she was without her family. They were a family that always stuck together, physically.

No one in the streets seemed to be aware that we are having a serious political crisis. The C.B.C., or the S.L.B.C., as it calls itself, ignores the crisis, as we all know. One group of English newspapers seems to indulge in some wishful thinking, and the other is exceedingly cautious. There does not seem any excitement or interest in any political crisis. There is no enthusiasm for it. The leader of the Opposition has whipped up some enthusiasm. Perhaps those, who are wont to drive in cars, felt differently. Some may even have imagined that the crisis extends beyond Colombo, as if the yokels are waiting to take sides. It looks to me as if the Sama Samajists are far from out of the government yet.

Someone told me today, that he had read somewhere, that a good government is one that leaves the people alone. So I suppose a government must have its palace revolutions to avoid dying of boredom. Those were the days when travels was slow, with the advent of the aeroplane, there is another way of alleviating boredom, with a titivating conference at the other end.

September 13,

Strange sight, the father of a friend of mine begging. They were both cobblers, and then the son got some work in a laundry office or shop. They found their recreation in the streets, around where they repaired shoes. They relaxed around there, and some-

times the womenfolk would join them. One day the father held out his hand to me, and I thought he was just temporarily hard up, or more hard up than usual, and I think I gave him something without more ado. When he did it again some time later, I realised with a shock that he had turned beggar. I had always been in the habit of greeting him. He seemed now to be touching me for money as if I was a stranger. After another, even shorter lapse of time, his mannerisms began to change. He was adopting all the mannerism and facial expressions of a professional beggar. From that moment on, I began to scold him. He used to be a man who would talk; you would not have guessed it now. The first thing I had said was, you a begging, and your son working. He was begging a few yards from where his son worked.

When I met the son, I asked him about it all. He said something about ganja, which I could not take in. The last time I saw his father was when he had a woman feeling in her hand-bag for a coin to give him, and I said, well well. He begged without the patter, mute, and it seemed to work.

The other type I met some days later. The man interrupted my conversation. My usual opening gambit is, where is your village? This time I said, nothing doing. A man was soaked to the skin after a heavy shower of rain. He had something snow-white, in a tiny allophane bag. He was groggy on his feet, and he said he had felt faint. Blood was on his face. He drank the water brought to wash away the blood and threw away the rest. Clothes were given him and money, and he walked down the road. I watched. He stopped under the eave of a roof, and pulled out, what looked like in the distance, an incredibly dirty handkerchief, which, used on an open wound, would have given a man lock-jaw. So I went up to him and looked, and I saw no wound on his face, and not even a scratch.

Asking a person his village can be quite rewarding. There is the person who comes by bus to beg. There is the person who comes from some other part of Ceylon; I think every village looks after its own poor, and so these are what you might describe as the displaced people, who had come to Colombo, years before, to find

a living. There are the people who are begging in that part of Colombo which was always their home; they have now no house and no relatives, and they are old. They are very old; some are quiet beggars, who talk, and I feel sorry for them. They have no part to play, for they are truly poor.

In Stanleyville, I was sitting with some sikh lorry owner-drivers, in a place where people were drinking beer, and a man in slacks and shirt came up to us, and shivering like an epileptic, he asked us for money by holding his cap before him in his shaking hand. My friends, the Sikhs, told me to give him money, which the man acknowledged by giving me a little low in the middle of his act. Then a minute or two later, he counted the money, and finding he had the right amount, he ordered his beer and sat down like the rest of us. He had earned his beer.

We have the people who lie full length on our roads, in the more busy and fashionable of them. If they were not such a danger to others and themselves, you might say they were earning a living, too but, I feel that in their case they take in the unwary, not the way. This sort, I feel, should be put in prison. Sometimes you come across the dead people, but it is a long time since I have seen one; many years, in fact.

There are little boys who beg. They adopt the mannerism of my shoemaker friend, indicating by signs and facial expressions that they are starving. I pat them on the head and tell them to be off home. There are those whom I have seen begging for years. One or two of them have adopted the pained, holier-than-thou look, and this combined with the old habit of not taking no for an answer, annoys me. My gambit with these, as with many others, is to tell them they bring disgrace on the country. There are other long standing beggars, who are not so importunate, mostly women, and with them I have an understanding that if I have not given them something for a long time, I give them a coin. There are other beggars who are confirmed tramps, town tramps, until one day they can walk no more and are confined to a pitch. In the end they ask to be taken to a hospital, where they die, their time being up.

Confidentially

DRUGS And The SPC

IS IT NOT A FACT that the State Pharmaceutical Corporation (SPC) has come in for a drubbing from the Sri Lanka Medical Association? That in the *Tribune* of 22/11/75 (Vol. 20 No. 27) we had cited a passage from the editorial of the *Ceylon Medical Journal* of June 1975 on the operations of the SPC? That we cite a further passage now which raises very important questions of policy to which Government must pay due attention?

"The numerous letters received frequently both by the IMPA and the SLMA testify to the frequent shortages of even common drugs such as ferrous sulphate, Vitamin C and paracetamol and frusemide to mention only a few. When one becomes available another is found to be out of stock. This has proved quite irksome to the doctors, who prescribe the drug and causes much hardship to the patients, who have to spend much time and money going from place to place in search of these drugs. The SPC should not wait for doctors to inform them that a drug is not available. There must be an efficient method devised to give early warning of a likely shortage.

"The speakers also drew attention to the poor quality of some of the drugs imported. Some were of doubtful potency as in the wellknown case of Polish Insulin, while in others the keeping qualities, were poor. All this had a bad effect on the patient, who in addition had to pay a high price for them. Attention of the SPC has been drawn to these poor quality drugs by individuals and by members of the Formulary Committee. It was hoped that at least now, steps will be taken to import drugs from sources which have been found to be good in the past. This is particularly true for drugs where differences in bioavailability has been shown to exist between different brands. We recommend that in view of the fact that bioavailability testing can only be done on a very limited scale at present in this country and not as routine procedure, where differences in bioavailability exists, brands known from

past usage to be reliable, should be imported. One speaker also spotlighted the fact that products, which have an expiry date are brought in bulk and sold loose to patients. This leaves room for outdated products to be sold as there is no way of checking the expiry date. It is therefore strongly recommended that all dated products should only be sold in original containers with the expiry date clearly marked by the manufacturer."

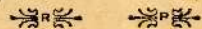
IS IT NOT TRUE that the SPC has not ventured to meet the criticisms made by the doctors at the seminar of the SLMA? That several months have gone by and the SPC is sunk in silence? That in the meantime patients suffer and pay ten times more for drugs which are not as effective as they should be? That this increased expenditure on drugs by even the commonest man deprives him of the amount available from his pay packet to buy other essentials like food and clothing? That thousands upon thousands have no money to buy school textbooks for their children? That this kind of econometrics by state corporations has brought disrepute to the very name of socialism? That some diehards who wear (or wore) red shirts have pointed out to *Tribune* that the (UNP) *Journal* had also used this editorial of the *Ceylon Medical Journal* to have a bash at the "socialist way"? That the fact the (UNP) *Journal* also used this is no reason why anyone else (who disagrees with the UNP) should not use it? That the UNP will naturally use this kind of public sector operation to expose the Government? That the UNP is entitled to point out that the enormous and unconscionable profits made by Government Corporations on consumer goods was anti-people? That in its issue of October 28, the (UNP) had pointed out as follows, apropos the State Pharmaceutical Corporation. "The public is also kept in ignorance of the arbitrary decisions made in the Pharmaceutical Corporation. From time to time Doctors have had stormy meetings pointing out the defects in the methods of importation and of storage followed by the Osu Sala. Doctors have protested that that they are unable to judge the potency of material used even in injections because some of the precious medicines are imported from so-called Communist countries where the standards of quality con-

trol do not conform to accepted international standards. Any Doctor knows how difficult it is to rely on most of the drugs that are imported by this Corporation.

The LSSP's Dr. Senaka Bibile still continues to lay down edicts. Time after time, the pharmaceutical trade and the medical profession have brought to the attention of Ministers that scant reliance can be placed on the assurances that are made from time to time by powers in charge of the Pharmaceutical Corporation. This corporation, which takes every opportunity to proclaim that the private pharmaceutical industrialists price precious drugs at several times the cost of production and of import, does not itself hesitate to multiply their own costs by hundredfold whenever it secures a monopoly to import and sell drugs to the people. Its profits on headache pills is one thousand percent."

That all this makes it necessary for the Government to examine the work of the State Pharmaceutical Corporation and to take steps to see that the people get quality drugs at cheap prices? That this is not something on which the Government should make profits? That it was not difficult to curb the profit-hungry activities of the private trade? That today the country is faced with the Frankenstein of state exploitation of the sick and the infirm by making unbelievably high profits on drugs?

That it is not merely the high prices that people complain about? That there is no guarantee today that the drugs have not passed the expiry date of potency? That press reports have indicated that the SPC has large stocks of outdated drugs? That the SPC was making arrangements to sell these drugs? That in the world of international "drug imperialism" there are firms specialising in buying stocks of outdated drugs and repacking them with new labels and new names with new dates of expiry—without doing anything about their potency? That one does not know whether the SPC has bought drugs in the past from such piratical firms because their prices were cheaper than those of reputed manufacturers? That the samples tendered are no guarantee that the bulk purchased is of the same quality? That all this and more needs scrutiny?



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The Little Red Hen

This is an old fable recently updated.

Once upon a time there was a Little Red Hen who scratched about and uncovered some grains of kurakkan. She called her farmyard neighbours and said, "If we work together and plant this kurakkan we will have some fine rotti to eat. Who will help me plant it?"

"Not I", said the Duck. "Not I", said the Goose. "Not I", said the Cow. "Not I", said the Pig. "Then I will", said the Little Red Hen.....And she did.

The kurakkan grew tall and ripened into golden grain. "Who will help me reap the kurakkan?" asked the Little Red Hen. "Not I", said the Duck. "Out of my classification", said the Pig. "I'd lose my unemployment insurance", said the Goose. "I'm on retraining", said the Pig.

"Then I will", said the Little Red Hen.....and she did. She baked five rottis of kurakkan and held them up for her neighbours to see. "I want some", said the Cow. "I want some", said the Duck. "I want some", said the Pig. "I demand my share", said the Goose.

"No", said the Little Red Hen. "I can rest for a while and eat the five rottis myself."

"Excess profit", cried the Cow. "Capitalistic Leech", screamed the Duck. "Company Fink", grunted the Pig. "Equal rights", yelled the Goose.

And they hurriedly painted picket signs and marched around and the Little Red Hen singing, "We shall overcome". And they did.

For when the farmer came to investigate the commotion he said, "You must not be greedy, Little Red Hen. Look at the oppressed Cow. Look at the disadvantaged Duck. Look at the under-privileged Pig. Look at the less fortunate Goose. You are guilty of making second-class citizens of them."

"But....but....I earned the rotti", said the Little Red Hen.

"Exactly", the farmer said. "This is the wonderful free enterprise system; anybody in the farmyard can earn as much as he wants. You should be happy to have this freedom. In other farmyards you would have to give all five rottis to the farmer. Here you give four to suffering neighbours and keep one for yourself."

And they all lived happily ever after, including the Little Red Hen, who smiled and clucked, "I am grateful." But her neighbours wondered why she never baked any more rottis.....

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