

TRIBUNE



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TRIBUNE

43, DAWSON STREET, COLOMBO-2

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Letter From The Editor

LIKE LAST YEAR, and like every year before that, *Tribune* will skip an issue in between Christmas and New Year. It is not a period with a long stretch of official holidays, such as that which befalls this country every year around the Sinhalese and Tamil New Year in mid-April (and in 1976 it is going to be a bonanza of interlocked holidays). Further the so-called festive season at the end of December has been downgraded in Sri Lanka because Christians are only a minority of around ten percent of the population and the universal Gregorian calendar is regarded as a symbol of western imperialism—although we use it for all official, political, commercial and international purposes. The “national” New Year in April is only ritualistic and symbolic (and astrological). In the current phase of jingoistic nationalist revivalism, the holiday time in between Christmas and New Year has been eliminated, and New Year’s Day—January 1—is a working day. If the Government were really serious about making the first day of the Gregorian calendar a working day, then the Government should place a ban on all dancing at the clubs, hotels and even homes during the December season and especially on December 31. As it is, everybody in town goes on the spree on New Year’s Eve as a climax of the festivities which had begun from third weekend of December, that is about the time when the pay packets and bonuses are handed out. Whether the Government likes it or not, or whether the jingo nationalists are shocked or not, work—serious work—is abandoned during this period. Not that much work is done at other times in lotus-eating Sri Lanka, but at this time everybody is on holiday. And, *Tribune*, recognising this fact, takes a holiday too. There will be no issue of the *Tribune* next week, that is December 27, 1975. Our next issue will be on January 3, 1976, and if the paper is a wee bit late that week, our readers will know that we had ourselves succumbed to the mood and spirit of the times. ON THE COVER we have a picture of Christmas festivity of long ago (really not very long ago). We have a damsel in a sort of native costume—far removed from the minis, maxis, jeans, elephant pants and what not of foreign vintage in the current era—surrounded with balloons on a Christmas tree. In her hand she has a copy of the *Lankadipa*. At that time the editors of that paper did not hesitate to recognise openly the public attitude to festive spirit which is abroad during X’mas. Today, it will be thought blasphemy of the highest order for a Sinhala paper to pay any attention to the Christmas. Even Christians, the Catholics leading the way, have gone in so heavily for “indigenisation” and “nativisation” that they want to be more buddhist than the buddhists, more hindu than the hindus and more Sri Lankan than anybody else that they have forgotten that they are christians. The christians have been so battered by the winds of change that have swept over the country and have been so overwhelmed by jingoistic upsurge of nationalist emotionalism (harking back to the “glorious past”) that many of them have fallen over each other in wanting to make christianity look buddhistic or hindu. Some of the theological pundits among them seem to think that the spirit of Christ can penetrate into the common people of Sri Lanka only if they are approached in buddhist or hindu garb. Sri Lanka is today evolving a new kind of christianity which is at pains to wipe out every trace of the western socio-cultural costumery in which christianity was brought to this island. Christianity had taken root because of the political patronage attached to christian power for over 450 years in Ceylon. During that time the island has developed a state christian community. It had even brought into being a christian metaphysics of a peculiar Ceylonese vintage. This body of christians and christian thinking is a part and parcel of the way of life in this country, just as the buddhists, hindus and the muslims (and now the atheists, agnostics and rationalists) constitute the other component parts of the heterogeneous society that is Sri Lanka, formerly Ceylon. This heterogeneity cannot be changed. It should not be changed. If the christians are to be nativised, that is sinhala-ised or tamilised, then it will not be long before the attempt to make one nation, with one language, and with one religion will get under way. We have chauvinists who want all minorities assimilated by the dominant group, sinhala buddhism. Such an attempt cannot succeed, but any serious attempt to effect such total assimilation (a way of totalitarian domination) will generate tensions and conflicts that will undermine stable living in this island. We must recognise that we are a multi-racial, multi-religious, multi-linguistic and a multi-cultural country and we will continue to be so. To attempt to change this will mean disaster. We can only hope, in wishing our readers a happy New Year, that the spirit of tolerance and understanding will grow so that we can build a united nation in the fullness heterogenous multiplicity.

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EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

Prime Minister Bhutto

PRIME MINISTER BHUTTO'S VISIT to Sri Lanka marks an important occasion. It focusses attention on the growing ties of friendship, political and economic between the two countries. He has been warmly welcomed with all the traditional hospitality of the Ceylonese people. It is yet too early to assess the significance of Mr. Bhutto's visit in the context of the geopolitics of the subcontinent, the Indian Ocean and Asia.

But the speech he delivered in the National State Assembly is a clear indication of the new mood in Pakistan. It is a language of Third World leaders who see a future in some kind of "socialism" where the power of the rich and mighty—capitalists and landlords—are curbed. At this stage we cannot do better than cite excerpts from his speech at the NSA to show the new Pakistan that seems to be emerging.

"I value this occasion as it provides me with the opportunity to share with this august House some thoughts about the problems that we have had to face in Pakistan and about the resultant satisfaction we have felt in overcoming them. My Government was called upon to assume office in December, 1971. The country had just been through a period, that, without question, will remain the darkest in its history. It had experienced a fratricidal civil war in what is now Bangladesh. It had been dismembered through outside aggression. Scores of thousands of its citizens—soldiers and civilians—were prisoners of war in India. Large tracts of our country's territory had been overrun. Wedged between the reality of a tragic past and dismal forebodings of an uncertain future, its people lay shattered. Some observers of South Asia did not hesitate to prophesy that Pakistan would be subjected to further dismemberment. The misunderstood and maligned Pakistan of 1971 stood alone in the international community.

"It is my proud privilege to say to you today that Pakistan has left the memory of those horrible

days far behind. The question before Pakistan and its people today is not how to survive but what meaning to impart to their existence. The doubts and misgivings of 1971 have given way to a spirit of self reliance and to renewed faith in the nation's destiny. The primary task before my administration was to liquidate the consequences of the 1971 conflict in all their political social and economic ramifications. The negotiations with India for the retrieval of our lost territory were long and arduous. Even more protected were those relating to the return of our prisoners of war. My government had, upon cessation of hostilities, unilaterally returned all Indian prisoners of war in full conformity with the Geneva Conventions. For a long time, it appeared that the Pakistani prisoners of war would not be repatriated except at the price of principle and the national interest. It was the indomitable spirit of my people that saved us from the shame of capitulation. It was the courageous refusal by the families of Pakistani prisoners of war to sacrifice principle for expediency that enabled my government to negotiate in due course, an honourable settlement for their release from captivity and return to their home.

"The war had depleted our economic resources. Its aftermath had to be faced. The task was made infinitely more difficult on account of the ravages wrought by the floods of 1973 and 1975 and the earthquake of 1974. It seemed as if Nature itself was persuaded to test the mettle of the people of Pakistan. That, despite global inflation, we are holding the price line and the economy has shown resilience and buoyance is a demonstration of our peoples ability to meet the test.

"Each successive travail had pointed to only one direction for our survival—the creation of a new Pakistan free from the arbitrariness and caprice of dictatorial rule, a Pakistan in which government would be based on popular consent, the rule of law and the supremacy of civil power, a Pakistan committed to a just and egalitarian economic and social order, without discriminations of any kind. To that end the major task faced by my government was to give the country a Constitution based

on a national consensus. The 1973 Constitution was framed with the consent of all the political parties represented in the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan and with the assent of all the provinces of the Federation. This instrument pays equal attention to individual and collective rights. Whereas it defines the rights and obligations between one citizen and another, it also settles finally, the vexed question of the distribution of powers between the federal centre and its constituent units. We believe we have found a harmonious balance between the imperatives of a viable federal government and the demands for genuine provincial autonomy.

"Democratic institutions are best sustained and nurtured in conditions of social stability. The transformation of the economic and social milieu of the people of Pakistan is, therefore, an essential concomitant of their advancement on the path of democracy. This transformation is an integral part of the programme which my government has pledged to fulfil. Certain definitive measures have been taken to cast out the centuries old scourge of poverty, disease and illiteracy.

"It was but natural that in a primarily agrarian society our main effort should have been timed at improving the conditions of the peasantry. The tiller of the land in the Pakistan of today is no longer condemned to any kind of servitude to the landlord. He no longer toils only to increase the wealth and power of the overlord. His right to the product of his labour is more secure than ever before. Ceilings have been fixed on the ownership of land. Holdings in excess have been resumed and distributed among the landless peasants. Every possible assistance is being given to the farmer to better his socio-economic livelihood and status. The most recent step was taken only last month to remove an iniquity which had persisted in our agricultural system for centuries. The owners of small holdings, who constitute the bulk of the farming population, had suffered a crushing burden of taxation which was grossly disparate as compared to the land revenue paid by the larger land holders. The justice of the demand by the small-holders for tax relief had long been recognised

but had been rejected by post governments on administrative and financial grounds. Desirous of creating a society based on equality and justice, my government decided to abolish certain levies and rates on the small-holders of land. The shortfall in revenue is expected to be met by increased taxation on the larger holdings and through government funding.

"The big landlord is not the only obstacle that an egalitarian order has to contend with. His counterpart, the big industrialist, equally impedes a more equitable distribution of wealth. Owing to the unjust and shortsighted policies of the past, a handful of industrialists had managed to concentrate undue wealth in their hands and had come to wield enormous power in the life of the nation to the detriment of the interest of the masses. It had thus become imperative not only to break their hold not only for reasons of social justice but to create conditions for an accelerated rate of economic development. The nationalization of basic industries was therefore an inescapable step towards the realisation of these objectives. It is now being increasingly recognised that higher production and a higher rate of growth are not by themselves true indicators of economic and social progress unless they are accompanied simultaneously by an equitable distribution of the fruits of development.

"The full economic potential of a nation cannot be realised without optimum use being made of its human resources. It was, therefore, axiomatic for us to regard the right to acquisition of knowledge and skills as not the prerogative of the few but the birthright of all the citizens of Pakistan. As a first step towards the realisation of this goal we have made basic education free. We have taken this revolutionary step because we recognise that unless the benefits of education are thrown open to all segments of our society, we cannot escape from the state of backwardness and stagnation which has been the legacy of imperialism and colonial rule.

"The gains we have made, and expect to make, in removing the imbalances from within our society can be protected against erosion only in circumstances of internal stability and external peace. In

today's world of inter-dependence no country can hope to insulate itself from the policies and actions of its neighbours. Our desire, therefore, to live in amity with other states of our region stems as much from considerations of our own vital national interests as from those of peace and stability of the Indian Ocean region. One of the major efforts of my government has been to normalize its relations with neighbouring India and of course with Bangladesh. In so doing we have assiduously eschewed the disruptive features of our past relationship. Our policy accepts existing realities, recognises the rights of others and is based on the principles of a peaceful world order based on justice.

"We seek a negotiated solution to our problems with our neighbours. We have no wish to impose our viewpoint on anyone of them nor will we acquiesce in such an attempt on their part. Our desire for peaceful co-existence in the region is based on the principle of sovereign equality. We reject hegemony or dominance. It is on this basis alone that stability can be brought to our region and disputes resolved according to the principles of justice and equity.

"It was in that spirit that I journeyed to Simla in 1972 and signed an agreement with Prime Minister Indira Gandhi to settle India-Pakistan disputes and differences, one by one, peacefully. My government has consistently sought the removal of all impediments standing in the way of a better relationship between Pakistan and India. That a great measure of success has been achieved in resolving some of the outstanding problems and reaching agreement on a number of bilateral matters does credit to the people of both countries. Since 1972, in our attitude towards India, we have made a genuine effort to be guided by the spirit of the Simla Agreement. Given the long history of confrontation and conflict and the complicated nature of some of the existing problems, it is to be expected that progress towards normalization would be a gradual process. We are saddened when the setbacks are caused by far from inevitable actions. But we remain

undeterred. We shall continue to seek solutions of the remaining differences through pacific methods of settlement. We are sustained in this effort by the thought that even a small meeting of the minds is a victory for peace and stability in the region.

"In our search for viable relationships in the region we made sincere attempts with Bangladesh to heal the wounds of the tragic events of 1971. That we continue to have feelings of friendship towards the people of Bangladesh with whom we waged a joint battle against colonialism, and with whom we shared a common nationhood for 25 years should surprise none, nor cause any anxiety in any quarter. If the present events in Bangladesh vindicate the stand we adopted, it is a source of satisfaction to us only to the extent that it gives a lie to the allegations that were so viciously made against us in the emotionally charged atmosphere of 1971. We intend to restore our friendly links with Bangladesh. At the same time we believe the greatest service that can be rendered to the people of Bangladesh is to keep out of the internal affairs of their country. This would not only be a contribution to the peace and stability of the region but also a recognition of the ability of Bangladesh to find its own centre of gravity by its own endeavours.

"If I have spoken today of India and Bangladesh it was not meant to imply any lack of importance to Pakistan of its relations with other countries of the region. Our attention is often commanded and consumed by affairs that need to be regulated. Happily Sri Lanka attracts our attention in the most pleasant manner. With her, we have only to explore areas where we could further strengthen our existing ties and devise ever more effective ways of bringing our two peoples even closer.

"The ties that bind us together are not only rooted in history and tradition but also find sustenance in contemporary life. During my present visit I have been much strengthened in my conviction that our two peoples will increasingly strive together to augment each others' prosperity and well-being. We have a common stake in ensuring that our countries are protected against internal strife and external conflict. I wish to re-

iterate the assurance that the people of Pakistan would like nothing better than to work hand in hand with their friends and brothers in Sri Lanka for the achievement of these objectives and for the preservation of peace and stability of this region.

"Mr. Speaker, you will no doubt recall that at the very outset I had pronounced myself at home in your great country. This feeling stems from the happy existence of warm friendship between the peoples and the leaders of Sri Lanka and Pakistan. We have long admired the dedication, zeal and dynamism of Mrs. Bandaranaike, and before her of her illustrious husband, in guiding the destiny of Sri Lanka. If your great country is regarded as more than equal amongst its peers, it is no doubt due to the principled stand which the leaders of Sri Lanka have taken on international issues. We in Pakistan are indeed fortunate to count the peoples and the leaders of Sri Lanka amongst our tried and trusted friends."

* *

CHANGING WORLD

BY KAUTILIYA

* The Pacific Doctrine

* NATO

A NEW WIND seems to be sweeping over the Pacific Region.

It is complex, complicated and contrary. In Vietnam and Laos, communist rule tilting heavily on Moscow has begun to entrench itself and neither China nor the USA are able to derive much comfort from developments in that area. But Cambodia continues to have strong links with China. But in South Pacific, the defeat of Labour by strong and aggressive rightwing leaders like Muldoon in New Zealand and Frazer in Australia will bring a new force into being. Labour had opened a big window on the Third World and increased friendly ties with China whilst cooling off in the traditionally close relations with the USA and the western powers. The new rightwing governments in New Zealand and Australia will no doubt shift the tilt to the USA and the western powers,

but what they are likely to do in regard to their relations with China is yet to be seen. The Labour Governments in these two countries had also developed friendly relations with the Soviet Union and the socialist bloc of countries. What the new shift in their relations will be is difficult to say. Indonesia's action in Timor, which has evoked a positive protest from the UN General Assembly already poses problems not only for Australia but also many Asian countries.

The detente between the Soviet Union and the USA has run into heavy weather with the latest developments in Angola. Russia has been accused of supplying arms on a massive scale to the MPLA, whilst the USA and other western countries, and China, have extended their support to the UNITA and the FNLA factions in Angola. Mr. Kissinger has even hinted in a speech at Brussels that he might even cancel his proposed visit to Moscow if Russia does not review its politics and actions in respect of Angola.

It is in this context that the new Pacific Doctrine of President Ford must be viewed. Already, the USSR in several articles in the *Pravda* has made it clear that this doctrine was not acceptable to Russia: that it was contrary to the spirit of detente and that it was directed against peace on the continent, meaning that this doctrine would accentuate tensions and conflicts which are now dormant. But there is no doubt that the Pacific Doctrine is USA's latest attempt to re-establish some of the prestige and power it had enjoyed in Asia and which it had lost after the events in Vietnam. President Ford has also indicated that the USA was prepared to lean heavily on Japan as its strongest ally in Asia. This will mean that the Japan may launch a new programme of re-arming itself as a measure of "self-defence". But in this Japan (and the USA) have to tread warily because China does not become alarmed that Japan would once again become a military threat to China.

But, President Ford in his Pacific Doctrine had also made it clear that he was prepared to depend on close and growing relations with China. It will be recalled that after the first blast against the USA-USSR detente from the topmost Chinese leaders when the US

President arrived in Peking, the speeches made at the time of Mr. Ford's departure indicated that they were parting on much better terms. And the Pacific Doctrine, formulated by President Ford in the Hawaii, seemed to satisfy Peking in no uncertain way. It is yet too early to say what all this means, but it is clear that the USA has decided to extend to China all the support it can muster to help China to woo and win over as many Third World countries as possible away from Moscow and the socialist bloc which co-operated with the USSR.

For a long time China has done everything to demonstrate to developing Third World countries that it was the Chinese way that would help them to self-sufficiency and prosperity. The main theme that China has stressed is that *self-reliance* was the cardinal principle on which developing countries could pull themselves up by their shoestrings into positive economic independence. Towards this end, China has extended aid and trade to a large number of countries in the Third and Nonaligned world. This has enabled China to establish close and intimate relations with a large number of countries. It will be recalled that China has sustained a rice and rubber pact with Sri Lanka from 1953 in a way that Sri Lanka each year seeks a new protocol on the basis of recurrent five-year agreements.

The second limb of Chinese policy towards the Third World countries is to warn them about the super-powers and about the rich and affluent countries. At one time, in the fifties and sixties, the emphasis was against the imperialism of the USA and the western powers, but today China wages an unrelenting propaganda and ideological war against the USSR and all countries aligned to it or is friendly to it. Washington and Kissinger seem to think—and correctly—that China has secured a strong position in many Third World countries and Ford's Pacific Doctrine is no doubt a concession to the Chinese capacity to wield influence in the Third World. Towards this end the USA will also woo the Third World with concessional economic co-operation and food aid. But there is not the slightest doubt that the USA will depend heavily in China in its efforts to woo and

win over (or even neutralise) Third World countries. China speaks language which is specially designed to evoke sympathetic responses in such developing nations, whilst the USA is still burdened with the idiom, jargon and policies which cause resentment in the Third World.

In the meantime, the USA has its hands full with the problems of NATO. A despatch from London dated December 11 in the *Hindu* of December 12 from the paper's correspondent, Batuk Gathani, under the heading **SQUABBLES BEDEVIL NATO** states:

The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, whose Foreign Ministers began a meeting in Brussels to-day, after the two-day meeting of its Defence Ministers, has never been an easy alliance to consolidate and internal quarrels have raised doubts about its viability. The quarrels have even prompted some to conclude that the days of the NATO alliance are numbered. But this would be an extremely pessimistic view to take—nothing of the sort is ever likely to happen because, NATO members are bound together in a military alliance for a common military and defence purpose, which is to contain the challenge of the East European communist powers. Above all, there is that determination to closely guard and secure the existing borders of Europe.

But internal quarrels amongst NATO members certainly bedevil its routine proceedings. Right now, Britain is quarreling with Iceland over fishing rights and Greece and Turkey still find themselves at logger-

heads. NATO's Secretary-General Dr. Luns confessed last night. "To add to our difficulties we have had strains in relations between individual allies, affecting our solidarity which will take time and patience to overcome." But despite all this, the NATO Defence Ministers were able to identify some positive features in the alliance. The plus points include the strengthening of United States forces in Europe by the formation of two new brigades. The Canadian Government will abide by its decision to modernise and re-equip its defence forces and there will be some increase in Canada's contribution to NATO defence funds. Besides there is now more collaboration on arms production and procurement with France than before. There was also general satisfaction about progress towards standardisation of the weapons system. Above all the Defence Ministers expressed the hope that NATO may soon strike an acceptable bargain with the Warsaw Pact countries at the Vienna talks on mutual, balanced troop reduction.

The NATO Ministerial Council meeting, however, did not take too tough a stand against the Soviet Union, although it expressed some concern about developments in Angola. A Reuter and AFP report from Brussels dated December 12 read:

The NATO Ministerial Council to-day approved the terms of a deal they are to offer the Soviet Union on the reduction of forces in Europe, informed sources said. The deal consists of the withdrawal of 1,000 US nuclear warheads and 29,000 troops from Europe, in return for the

withdrawal of 1,700 Soviet tanks and 69,000 soldiers, the sources said. The offer is to be put by the Soviet Union at the Vienna talks on mutual and balanced force reductions. A communique, issued at the end of NATO's two-day annual meeting, said the Foreign Ministers viewed with concern the continued rapid growth of the power of the land, air and naval forces of the Warsaw Pact, "which exceeds its apparent defensive needs."

The Foreign Ministers—including those of the US, Britain, France and Federal Republic of Germany—re-affirmed their determination to persevere in their efforts to place relations with the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Pact countries on a more stable basis. In an apparent reference to Soviet involvement in strife-torn Angola, the communique added that the Foreign Ministers considered that "attempts to take advantage of tension in any part of the world could have a negative impact on detente". Turning to the results of Helsinki European Security Summit Conference, the communique said the NATO allies attached high priority to the full implementation of confidence—building measures, closer economic co-operation and in lowering barriers between the people of East and West Europe.

On the Indian subcontinent, Bangladesh leaders on a visit to New Delhi have said that they are strongly committed to non-alignment and friendship with India.

CHRONICLE

Dec. 5 — Dec. 13

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

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

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 5: According to the *Daily News* the Minister of Finance in keeping with one of the guidelines for next year's liquor licensing arrangements announced in the recent Budget, will not examine the liquor licenses of tourist hotels and liquor shops where there is no consumption of liquor on the premises or in the vicinity as to constitute a nuisance; the Ministry will instruct Government agents all over the island

not to re-issue liquor licenses to premises which were originally objected by Department of Excise when licenses were issued. Police took into custody and are on the trail of few others who were alleged to be turning out US dollars bills of ten dollar denomination—CDN. Several commercial circles in the city of Colombo are perturbed over the procedure in the processing of tenders for the setting up of the multi-million rupee Urea factory to be set in the island; according to these circles, authorities are having closed door negotiations with the third lowest tenderer, which was from Britain; the first and second were from Italy and Japan respectively—CDN. According to the *Daily Mirror* in spite of the Government's warning the Ceylon Teachers' Union refused to accept the decision of seven other unions and went on strike yesterday; according to the *Virakesari* several school children especially in the outstations did not attend school yesterday in anticipation of a teachers strike. Government accepted the recommendation of the sectoral committee on social overheads mass media, education etc headed by Housing

Minister Mr. Pieter Keuneman which wanted the admission to the University on a 70 per cent merit basis and the balance on media wisestandardisation—ATH. Mr. Maithripala Senanayake, Minister of Irrigation, Power and Highways, announced that nearly 3000 casual employees in the Territorial Engineering Service will be absorbed into the permanent cadre—CDN. The Minister of Health has made arrangements to remove the FECCs from ayurvedic drugs imported in to the country: this is being done in order to reduce the price of these drugs—DM. The *Janadina* criticised the permission given to foreign banks operating in the country to open more and more branches in the outstations: the paper referred to the permission given to the National and Grindlays Bank to open a branch at Nittambuwa in the Prime Minister's own electorate: according to the paper such permissions will paralyse the smooth functioning of local national banks. Eighteen Non-Aligned states in the United Nations proposed a resolution by which the General Assembly would condemn "Israel's continued occupation of Arab territories". White House spokesman Ron Nessen announced there would be no communique at the end of President Ford's visit to China but denied that Sino-US talks had gone badly. Israel decided to boycott any Middle East Peace conference or United Nations debate of which the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) was invited.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 6: According to the *Daily News*, prices of teas sold at the Colombo auctions after the nationalisation of company owned estates showed an upward trend against those for corresponding periods in earlier years. The State Pharmaceuticals Corporation yesterday announced price reduction of nearly 1,300 drugs in its range of 1,500 imported items—CDN. A prisoner giving evidence before Mr. Mahinda Ellepola, Public Trustee and Special Inquirer appointed by the Minister of Justice to ascertain the circumstances under which the sentence of death on Siripala alias Maru Sira, a condemned prisoner, was carried out said that in the prisons of the country a prisoner, if he has the money, can get arrack, ganja and anything except a woman—CDN. The Government Medical Officers' Association will decide at an emergency meeting on December 14 as to what action should be taken if the Government fails to accept the resignation of doctors after the compulsory service period of 5 years: the Association has cited instances where doctors have been refused the privilege to resign even after putting in eight years of service—CDM. Mr. T. B. Subasinghe, Minister of Industries and Scientific Affairs, answering certain questions by the First MP for Colombo Central, Mr. R. Premadasa, told the NSA though there was no oil found in the first test well at Pesalai there were definite signs of oil in the subsequent drillings carried out by Soviet experts—CDM. The Senanayake group in the UNP is perturbed over the long delay to complete the inquiry into charges preferred against Mr. Rukman Senanayake, MP for Dedigama, and this group has decided to request the committee inquiring to finalise the inquiries before the 20th of December on which date the Party's annual conference is scheduled—CDM. The 40th anniversary celebrations of the LSSP will start tomorrow with a mass meeting in Galle—VK. Mr. Vasudeva Nanayakkara, LSSP MP for Kiriella speaking at a meeting of railway employees said that Mr. J. R. Jayewardena's refusal to be a signatory to the No-confidence motion against the Prime

Minister was a clear indication of a merger of the right wing forces of the SLFP and the UNP in the near future—JD. Mr. C. Kumarasuriar, Minister of Posts and Telecommunications, has formulated a scheme to absorb the 3,500 odd sub-postmasters serving all over the island into government service—LD. The entire force of telegram messengers of the Colombo Central Telegraphic Office came out on strike yesterday in protest against officers in the CTO who failed to send a van to pick up the messenger and his bicycle which broke down when he was on official duty at a point five miles away from Colombo—ATH. President Ford concluded his visit to China yesterday: the President described his visit as a very significant one which would benefit the peoples of the world. The Government of the self proclaimed Republic of East Timor appealed to China to take up its cause against alleged Indonesian intervention: President Xavier Do Amaral of East Timor said that a cable had been sent to President Ford who arrived in Indonesia to "prevent a war which could be long, bloody and destructive".

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 7: The Minister of Agriculture and Lands along with his high officials is drawing up a plan to set up a Compensation Board to expedite payment of compensation to owners of properties that have been vested in the Land Reform Commission: the new measures are expected to bring out ways that would be advantageous to both Government and the owner—CO. According to the *Times*, the C.G.R. has had 20 accidents this year beating its 1973 record of 19 accidents: the authorities in the Railway attribute the reason for the increase to sabotage, defective wagons and negligence but not to drunkenness. The new Vice Chancellor of the University, Professor, P. P. G. L. Siriwardena, said that selection of students for admission to the six campuses of the University will be finalised before the end of this month—ST. At the elections to the Colombo Campus of the University, Communist Party won all 13 offices while the SLFP came a very close second: LSSP was third—ST. Professor Hiran Dias, Dean of the Faculty of Arts, was appointed Acting President of the Colombo Campus—ST. The Department of National Housing has to collect a sum of Rs. 27.7 million as arrears from those who obtained housing loans—SM. The Co-operative Wholesale Establishment will soon open up several depots all over the island to purchase rubber from small time producers—SM. The *Janasathiya* editorially criticised the failure by the *Times* and Lake House Group of newspapers for not giving due publicity about the no-confidence motion against the Prime Minister: the *Janasathiya* said that these very papers gave much publicity to U.S. President Nixon's Watergate incident and during the charges against Japanese Prime Minister, Tanaka, but when some charges are levelled against the own country's Prime Minister these papers adopt the attitude of a turtle which shrinks its head and believes that it had hidden itself: the paper further said that the intelligent masses of the country cannot be taken for a ride in this manner. The SLFP has decided to popularise the party in the city of Colombo and as a first step towards this scheme the party will indulge in a house to house campaign in Colombo—VK. President Ford who arrived in Jakarta from Peking said that China will not try to wreck US-backed security in South-East Asia. At an election rally Australian Prime Minister, Malcolm Fraser, was hit with plums and a half eaten chicken by a chanting crowd.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 8: The Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, told a deputation of the Sri Lanka Independent Petroleum Employees Union that she was considering the appointment of a committee of inquiry to probe the working and administration of the Ceylon Petroleum Corporation; this meeting was summoned by the Prime Minister following a series of allegations made by the Union against the affairs of the Corporation—CDM. Mr. Rukman Senanayake, MP for Dedigama, will not be able to participate in the party's annual conference that would be held on the 20th of December; this is because the committee which inquired into charges against Mr. Senanayake has submitted its report to the Working Committee of the Party which will meet again only on January 7, next year, to decide on this matter—CDM. The outgoing Vice Chancellor of the University, Mr. L.H. Sumanadasa, said that it was important to study the sociological, economic and psychological factors relating to the students: commenting on the V. W. Kularatne Commission Report Mr. Sumanadasa said that this probe had been a great contribution to the restoration of discipline in the University—CDN. Mr. R. Premadasa, First MP for Colombo Central, speaking at a meeting in Colombo said the reason why UNP did not sign the No-confidence motion against the Prime Minister was because no one approached them with it—VK. According to the *Janadina* Ministry of Shipping and Tourism has agreed to purchase the Times of Ceylon building at a cost of Rs. 10 million: the paper said the Government Valuer has valued this building at Rs. 5 million but later the Ministry of Shipping and Tourism got the Chief Engineer, Port Commission, who valued the building at Rs. 8.2 million: the paper further said the Ministry of Finance gave its approval to the Ministry of Shipping and Tourism to purchase the building at a cost of Rs. 10 million. The Ministerial Committee of the Export Development Board has decided to grant awards to establishments that export best quality products to earn valuable foreign exchange—DM. Nearly 10,000 women marched in Rome yesterday demanding that abortion be legalised. More than 60 people were shot dead in Beirut yesterday in the clash between the Left and Right wing forces in Lebanon.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 9: Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Finance, replying to certain criticisms levelled against him by the former Minister of Finance, told the NSA that he had not victimised anyone in his Ministry since he took over and did not propose to do so—CDN. Mr. T. B. Illangaratne, Minister of Trade, who returned from China yesterday told the *Daily News* that Sri Lanka will purchase 200,000 tons of rice from China next year under the Rubber Rice Pact for 1976 and in exchange will send 67,000 tons of rubber. The Sri Lanka State Trading (General) Corporation yesterday announced price reductions for goods imported by the Corporation—CDM. The Department of Education yesterday interdicted five heads of schools for alleged misappropriation of examination fees paid by students sitting the NCGE and GCE examinations—LD. Dr. N. M. Perera, MP for Yatiyantota, told the NSA yesterday that the Additional Secretary to the Ministry of Finance, Mr. Gamini Wickremnayake, was a gem trader and is a cousin of the Minister of Finance: the MP further said that Mrs. Bandaranaike, wife of the Finance Minister, who was also the Private Secretary to the Minister of Finance,

was a partner to this gem trade—ATH. The strike of the telegraph messengers of the Central Telegraphic Office was settled amicably yesterday—ATH. The Agricultural Insurance Board has so far paid Rs. 1 million as damages for farmers whose crops failed last Yala season—DM. Seventy five people were injured and twenty seriously when two CTB buses collided head on in the heart of Colombo city last night: this accident occurred opposite the Accident Service of the Colombo General Hospital—VK. A team of Chinese experts are expected to arrive in the island today to finalise the designs in construction with the Gin Ganga Flood Protection Project—CDN. Messrs. S. Selliah, and C. L. T. Mooramale, District Judges of Jaffna and Anuradhapura, respectively have been appointed High Court Judges by the President—VK. High-level talks between India and Bangladesh ended in New Delhi with both sides expressing concern over the recent rift in relations between the two countries. Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev arrived in Warsaw yesterday to attend the Polish Communist Party Congress. Pro-Indonesian troops backed by Indonesian forces captured the East Timor capital of Dili and was soon expected to overrun other towns in the area according to the Indonesian Foreign Minister. Israel said that it would boycott a forthcoming UN Security Council debate on the Middle-East which the Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO) was expected to attend.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 10: The Asian Development Bank has agreed to modernise the rubber and tea factories in the island which have been neglected during the past few years: according to the Ministry of Plantation Industry modernization of machineries in these two industries are important for greater production and employment—CDN. The Ceylon Petroleum Corporation announced yesterday that the third oil well will be sunk in January in Pesalai closer to the first test well: the place has been chosen on the advice of Soviet experts—CDN. According to the *Daily Mirror* the LSSP hierarchy will not be caught napping and has finalised plans to contest even a snap election if there is one: the party has picked seventy candidates so far, to contest seats. At a press conference the Commissioner for the Registration of Persons told that stern action will be taken against those who have failed to obtain their identity cards: he also told that stamp duty on nearly 25,000 applications for identity cards have been misappropriated by certain Grama Sevakas and a few authorised officers assigned for the purpose—CDN. A West German Organisation known as the K.F.W. yesterday signed an agreement with the Government to grant Rs. 170 million as loan for the proposed Urea factory to be established in the island—VK. The Ministry of Irrigation, Power and Highways has finalised plans to divert the Mahaweli waters to the North Central province from the Polgolla dam on January 8, the 76 the birth day of the late Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike—DM. The work on the production of two-wheeled tractors under the District Development Scheme is at standstill: only the first tractor was assembled under the scheme and all the machinery imported for the purpose and the spare parts are idling in the stores—ATH. The United States last night vetoed a resolution in the U.N. Secretary Council which would have condemned the Israel Government for its premeditated air attacks against Lebanon last Tuesday. The U.N. General Assembly condemned military attacks by Israel on Palestine

refugees camps and called on the Jewish states to stop these: US, Israel and Nicaragua voted against the resolution.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 11: In a report submitted to the General Manager of Railways by a committee that inquired into the Batuwatte train accident it was said that the accident was caused by the engine driver's failure to observe signals, his own carelessness in not having kept a sharp look out on the track and his driving at excessive speed contrary to instructions—CDN. The Government yesterday decided Sinhala will continue to be the language for recording purposes in courts in Vavuniya, Trincomalee, Muttur and Amparai while in the Jaffna and Batticaloa areas from January next year Tamil will be used for the purpose of maintaining records—CDN. According to the *Daily Mirror*, the evening English daily printed at the Lake House yesterday contained some highly derogatory references to the late Prime Minister, Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike and thousands of copies of the paper were destroyed before the paper was out on the streets. The Inspector General of Police has recommended to the Minister of Justice that Police officers of all grades should be asked to declare their assets and liabilities in view of the large number of complaints received from the public against Police officers—CDM. The Regional Director of Education, Colombo, has asked for explanation from all teachers who were absent for work on December 4, the day of teachers token strike: in a circular issued to the heads of all schools the Director has requested the absent teachers to explain as to why they were absent in spite of the Government declaring the planned token strike illegal—ATH. Teachers trade unions have requested the Prime Minister to instruct the Ministry of Education not to punish teachers who struck work on December 4—DM. The Government of Japan agreed to gift the Sri Lanka Government with Rs. 7.5 million worth of Thailand rice and to undertake the cost of transport of same to Sri Lanka—LD. The Students Council of the Vidyodaya Campus of the University in a memorandum to the Prime Minister and the Members of the NSA protested to the amendments to the University Bill—LD. According to the *Janadina* the Government on the guise of use for the purpose of the Non-Aligned conference has imported several powerful electronic instruments that could be utilised to tap telephonic conversations. Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev, speaking at the Polish Communist Party Congress, retorted bitterly to critics of Kremlin-style detente and charged the West with deliberately poisoning the international atmosphere. Pakistan accused the neighbouring Afghanistan for inviting the Opposition against the government.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 12: Dr. N. M. Perera, former Minister of Finance and the MP for Yatiyantota, told the NSA yesterday that the present Minister of Finance was reducing the prices of goods according to his own wishes without even consulting the Ministries of Trade and Industries and this could bring disastrous results—VK. Mr. Ratnasiri Wickremanyake, Minister of Plantation Industries, has proposed to the Government a joint public and private sector participation project to produce the country's entire needs of spirits for the production of alcoholic beverages from sugar cane: at present the Government imports nearly 1.3 million gallons of such spirits at a cost of Rs. 50 million in foreign exchange annually—CDN. Mr. J. C. T. Kotalawala;

Chairman of the CTB, told that he was perturbed at the growing rate of accidents and has decided on instant dismissal for drivers found driving negligently: a special unit was established at the Central Workshop Werahera to receive complaints from the public against reckless drivers—CDN. Five leading Buddhist organisations have petitioned the Constitutional Court against several clauses in the proposed Pirivena Education Bill claiming that these clauses are inconsistent with the Constitution of Sri Lanka—CDN. The one-man committee appointed by the Minister of Trade, Mr. T. B. Ilangaratne, to probe the wastage at the Sri Lanka State Trading (General) Corporation has reported the loss of Rs. 700,000 as a result of importing items which could not be used locally—ATH. The Speaker of the NSA, Mr. Stanley Tillickeratte, yesterday ordered the Sergeant at Arms to bodily carry the MP for Weligama, Mr. Paul Ilangakoon, out of the House when he returned to leave and interrupted the speech of the MP for Nuwara Eliya, Mr. Gamini Dissanayake: he had also refused to obey the orders of the Speaker: the Assembly was suspended for 10 minutes owing to this disturbance—LD. Dr. M. H. G. K. Siriwardena, Surgeon, General Hospital Colombo, and H. Cornelis, Attendant, who were sentenced to jail in addition to fines imposed on them by the Bribery Court, were yesterday acquitted by an Appeal Court presided over by the Chief Justice—CDN. South African Prime Minister, John Vorster, yesterday accused the Soviet Union of seeking to divide the African continent by creating a string of Marxist states from Angola to Tanzania.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 13: The Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, addressing the Development Assistant Officers' Union at the BMICH yesterday said that the District Development Councils (DDCs) were a great success: she said that these councils will be given legal status next year and their present allocations trebled: Mrs. Bandaranaike also said that out of the 1200 schemes started majority of them have functioned well and has provided employment for 20,000 people—CDN. Pakistan Prime Minister, Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, will arrive in the island next Tuesday and the talks between him and Prime Minister Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike is expected to strengthen the trade, economic and cultural ties between the two countries—CDN. Several Tamil and Muslim leaders in the country will be present for a meeting convened by the leaders of the Federal Party, Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayakam, in Colombo on December 18 to decide on a protest to the Government's decision to maintain records of law courts in Amparai, Vavuniya, Muttur and Trincomalee in Sinhala—VK. Mr. X. M. Sellathambu, Federal Party MP for Vavuniya, told the NSA yesterday that his party was in favour of and would extend all assistance to the Government's food program—VK. Police investigating the forged U.N. dollar bill case told the *Dinamina* that this racket has gone undetected for the last three years and there was a possibility that these notes may have even been sent to the United States—DM. The Ceylon Petroleum Corporation has been informed of a system carried out by a group of men by which oil was pilfered from railway wagons and was collected in barrels: according to the *Lankadipa* during the last few years the Corporation lost in the region of several lakhs of rupees by this theft—LD. Spanish Prime Minister, Carlos Arias Navarro sacked all but three of his Cabinet Ministers in a major reshuffle announced yesterday.

LSSP's Mixed Politico—Economy

By Phyleira

In the booklet *The New Economic Policy—Its Origin and Goal* from which we quoted in a previous article, it is said: "Marxism-Leninism assumes the primacy of economics and the subordinate nature of politics. This means that the causes for any policy should be ultimately sought for in the economic conditions, that the economic laws determine the direction and principles of the policies pursued by any state. This does not mean, however, that politics are merely a reflection of economics. Politics inevitably reflect the interests of the ruling class and the totality of relations between the classes of a given society. And finally, politics are determined by the external and domestic conditions of a country's development. At the same time, the primacy of economics and the subordinate nature of politics do not exclude but presuppose a reverse process, i.e. politics affect economics. Political power held by the working class is a potent weapon for remoulding economy and accelerating its development, an instrument for socialist construction."

This section concludes as follows: "The New Economic Policy was scientifically founded: it conformed to the laws governing the economy in the transition period; it took account of the country's internal and external conditions; it served to accelerate economic development." It was on such a scientific basis that Russia scored a great success under the New Economic Policy achieved rapid economic progress and laid the foundation for the successful construction of socialism.

In Sri Lanka, on the contrary, what we have witnessed in recent years is not the primacy of economics and the subordinate nature of politics, but the primacy of politics and the subordinate nature of economics—a fundamental departure from Marxism-Leninism. The causes for various policies here are not to be ultimately sought for in the economic condition prevailing in our country, but in

partisan political considerations. Not economic laws, but petty party politics have determined the directions and policies pursued by the Government during the past five years, and also earlier.

In our last article we saw how the Lanka Sama Samaja Party from its very inception, through its many manifestoes and proclamations issued at different times, admitted the necessity for giving the private sector a place in our economy, at least for a limited time, during the transition period before the establishment of full-blooded socialism.

In his first Budget speeches as Minister of Finance in the United Front Government, Dr. N. M. Perera had tried to follow a policy in keeping with his party's repeated assertions. Thus, in the course of his 1970 Budget speech he said that the United Front's programme 'recognises at this juncture that private enterprise has a part to play in building up and exploiting the resources of the country', and further that 'that sector of industry, which for reasons of scale, technology and policy does not make state ownership vital in the national interest will be left for private enterprise but will be subject to regulation by the state.'

In his 1971 Budget speech he stressed the need to 'bring about the radical transformation of the economy with circumspection and with due consideration of the level of development in the country', and warned that 'we cannot run too fast without risking a major collapse of the economy which can only lead to the restoration of full-blooded capitalist reaction.'

In 1972 together with his Budget speech he tabled in the National State Assembly "A Review of Government Activities, 1972" wherein was stated: "Foreign capital and technical collaboration would be welcome for either joint ventures with the state sector or for participation with the private sector specially where the technology applied is complex or new or where the cost of equipment and machinery is high. Foreign capital would be therefore useful in the context of a shortage of foreign exchange and where the products manufactured are wholly or mainly for export and partnership with a foreign firm would facilitate such exports."

The Five Year Plan of the Government in which the LSSP was represented had the following to say about the role of the private sector in the plan:

"The private sector is expected to play an important role in the programmes of industrial development and conform to the production targets of the Plan. The main effort of the private sector will be concentrated on the full use of existing capacities for producing, on the one hand, essential consumer goods for the domestic market, and, on the other, a wide range of goods for export. The initiative and the skills of the private sector are necessary for achieving the export targets of the Plan."

All that was sound theory—the primacy of economics over politics. What took place in practice was the reverse—the primacy of politics over economics, leading to the present state in which the LSSP finds itself.

In fairness to the LSSP, it must be said that it lived up to all assurances given to the private sector, at least regarding those sections of the private sector which the LSSP favoured for political reasons. With the setting up of the Gem Corporation, the LSSP built up an entire new section of gem capitalists (or should we call them crapitalists?) with all the privileges of tax amnesties, tax exemptions, exemptions from the business turnover tax, benefits accruing from FEECs and Convertible Rupee Accounts (CRA), and what have you. In the field of trade, it created a new class of retail trade mudalalis by opening up liquor shops far and wide through out the country. Both instances were examples of the creation of a new class of capitalists, not the use of an existing class to subserve public ends as was done by Lenin under the NEP in Russia.

On the contrary, local industries already existing for the production of various kinds of consumer goods were ridiculed as 'seenibola' industries and were crippled through the imposition of numerous taxes and levies, cut backs in raw material allocations and other administrative regulations. The climax was reached with Dr. Perera's

Budget last year which was intended a death blow to wipe out those sections of the capitalist class which support the SLFP, while in no way whittling down the privileges and concessions to its own LSSP capitalists—and crapitalists.

The ultimate result was only to be expected. The SLFP, as the major partner in the United Front, could not be expected to stand idly by while its own supporters were being mown down and the economy was steadily going downhill due to partisan politics gaining primacy over commonsense economics.

The expulsion of the LSSP Ministers from the Government, whatever the immediate causes that led to it, can be explained only against this background. The proposals in the latest Budget presented after 12 years by a Finance Minister belonging to the SLFP further underline this conclusion.

Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike has openly reversed many of the Budget proposals of last year saying that "I have not regarded myself as being bound by them merely because these proposals were formulated in 1974."

The attempt to subordinate economics to politics has met its inevitable end.

UNIVERSITY ADMISSIONS

**Weightage:
Standardisation And
District Quotas**

By Dr. C. R. de SILVA
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We are publishing in instalments the Ceylon Studies Seminar Paper, 1975, Series No. 2, Serial No. 54, by Dr. C. R. de Silva on the subject **WEIGHTAGE IN UNIVERSITY ADMISSIONS: STANDARDISATION AND DISTRICT QUOTAS IN SRI LANKA (CEYLON)**. This paper together, with others, were discussed at a Seminar held in the Senate Room of the University of Sri Lanka, Peradeniya Campus, on Wednesday March 19, 1975. The annexures (which we are not publishing) consist-

ted of a large number of statistical tables in support of the contentions and conclusions set out in the paper which we are publishing in full. Although the Cabinet has rejected the recommendations of the Sectoral Committee under the pressures of a Sinhala chauvinistic lobby, there are signs that there are many influential sections in the political world which have begun to develop second thoughts on the question of standardisation and district quotas openly, blatantly and deliberately intended to discriminate against the Tamils in favour of the Sinhalese. Dr. Silva's paper provides a great deal of background information on this question which will help interested people to develop a rational and realistic approach to the question of university admission in the interests of a united nation and country—Ed.

AT THE ATTAINMENT of independence from British colonial rule in 1948, Sri Lanka had a fairly developed system of primary education which provided instruction for well over a million students a sizeable advance from the 1930 figure of half-a-million. Secondary education on the other hand was relatively backward with enrolment in Grade IX to XII barely exceeding fifty thousand while the total undergraduate population at the University of Ceylon (est. 1942) amounted to only 1554. ('D. L. Jayasuriya, "Developments in University Education: the growth of the University of Ceylon 1942-1965" *University of Ceylon Review* UCR Vol. XXIII Nos. 1 & 2 April and October 1965, p. 149) Thus, although external examinations of the University of London continued to be held in the island a University degree holder was a relatively rare commodity and even secondary education was at a premium. Indeed persons possessing educational qualifications of at least the secondary level were largely in demand due both to a policy of "Ceylonization" pursued by national leaders in the second quarter of the twentieth century and the expansion of the bureaucracy with the introduction of social welfare and development policies at about the same period.

The small number of persons receiving secondary and higher education was combined with grave imbalance in the distribution of

opportunities for education. The wealth, religion, location, of residence and the Socio-cultural background of parents seemed to have considerable bearing on a student's access to secondary and higher education. It was unlikely that such a position would long remain unchallenged in a plural society with a parliamentary democratic structure of government.

Many of these imbalances had come into being due to historical reasons. For example intensive educational activity by Christian missionaries in the mid-nineteenth century had gained them an early lead in this sphere. As early as 1868, sixty five per cent of all children attending schools were Christian and only twenty seven percent Buddhist, British policy, which since 1844, left the development of secondary education largely to private schools enabled the Christians to maintain their lead in education. The growth in the number of missionary schools was checked after about 1920 by Buddhist and Hindu agitation and the Christian lead ended by the growth of state schools which catered largely to the other religious groups. Yet the proportion of Christian students receiving secondary and higher education remained quite high even after this date. Thus for instance of the 1554 students at the University of Ceylon in 1948, 31% were Christians as against 43.2% Buddhists, 20.7% Hindus and 2.8% Muslims.

Regional imbalances were probably significant. Secondary schools had tended to be concentrated in the South-west coastlands and in the Jaffna peninsula. It was not surprising therefore that 75% of the students at the University in 1948 indicated that they came from the Western and the Northern provinces. (*Ibid.*, p. 149. Jayasuriya has correctly cautioned against complete reliance on 'Home residence' statistics collected by the University "... residence is itself an ambiguous term; it may mean one of many things, for example, place where one's parents reside, the traditional family home or the residence from where you last went to school..." p. 97 However the figures may be used as rough indices). Further analysis would no doubt reveal that a large majority of this proportion did enter the University from schools concentrated in a few small areas within these provinces.

Imbalances

Table I: Population according to religion and ethnic group

| | 1953 | | 1971 | |
|-----------------------|------------------|---------------|-------------------|---------------|
| Low country Sinhalese | 3,469,572 | 42.8% | 5,445,706 | 42.8% |
| Kandyan Sinhalese | 2,147,193 | 26.5% | 3,700,973 | 29.1% |
| Ceylon Tamils | 884,703 | 11.0% | 1,415,567 | 11.1% |
| Indian Tamils | 974,098 | 12.0% | 1,195,368 | 9.4% |
| Ceylon Moors | 463,963 | 5.7% | 824,291 | 6.5% |
| Indian Moors | 47,462 | 0.6% | 29,416 | 0.2% |
| Burghers | 45,950 | 0.6% | 44,250 | 0.3% |
| Malays | 25,464 | 0.3% | 41,615 | 0.3% |
| Others | 39,550 | 0.5% | 13,957 | 0.1% |
| Total | 8,097,895 | 100.0% | 12,711,143 | 100.0% |
| Buddhists | 5,209,439 | 64.3% | 8,567,570 | 67.4% |
| Hindus | 1,610,561 | 19.8% | 2,239,310 | 17.6% |
| Muslims | 541,506 | 6.7% | 909,941 | 7.1% |
| Christians | 724,461 | 8.9% | 986,687 | 7.7% |
| Others | 11,928 | 1.4% | 7,635 | 0.1% |
| Total | 8,097,895 | 100.0% | 12,711,143 | 100.0% |

Sources: Census of 1953; Preliminary Release No. 1 of census of Population 1971:

Regional imbalances were made even more significant because the various ethnic groups in the island tended to concentrate in different areas. Thus while in 1948 the Low country Sinhalese, the Ceylon Tamils and the Burghers obtained a comparatively high proportion of places at the University, the Muslims, the Kandyans and most of all, the Indian Tamils, were on the whole under-privileged groups in relation to higher education. (The proportion of ethnic groups University students in 1948 was as follows: Sinhalese 61.5%, Tamil 31.0%, Burghers 4.1%, Moors/Malay 2.5%, other 0.9% UCR XXIII, p. 147).

There was also the crucial factor that all secondary and higher education was as yet conducted in

English, a language in which only 6.3% of the population were literate as late as 1946. This factor definitely favoured the westernized groups; the urban elites as against the rural peasants or estate workers, the Christians against the Buddhists and so on. Finally there remained the inescapable fact that education cost money in books, clothes, transport and the like apart from the loss of earnings which otherwise might have swollen the family income. Thus it was largely the middle and upper classes of each group that were able to make the fullest use of whatever educational opportunities available to them.

THESE IMBALANCES of opportunity, however, were already under

attack, both directly and obliquely, in 1948. By 1945, the legislature had approved a scheme of free education to reduce inequalities in educational opportunities due to the relative wealth and poverty of parents. This involved the abolition of tuition fees in almost all secondary schools and in the University. The immediate effect of the measure was limited due to the paucity of secondary schools. Nevertheless, when taken together with the expansion of secondary education, the provision of more secondary schools in hitherto neglected areas and the change-over in the medium of instruction it was to have a significant impact in the two decades that followed 1948.

The expansion in secondary education during this period was spectacular. Between 1950 and 1960 alone the number of students in Grades IX-XII had risen from 65,000 to 225,000 and by 1970 the number had reached 351,000. (*Adhyapana Sankhyalekana pilibandha sanyatha sangrahaya 1973*). The effort to provide secondary schools in relatively undeveloped areas had commenced in the 1940's when 54 Central schools were established in rural districts. By 1970 this effort had yielded considerable results and schools teaching up to Grade XII were established in most parts of the island though the facilities available in many schools in outlying districts could not bear comparison to those in developed areas.

Table II—School having classes up to Grade XII by district and province in 1970

| | | | | | |
|-------------|---------|-------------|-------|--------------|-------------|
| Colombo | — 250) | | | Kegalle | — 74) |
| Kalutara | — 65) | Western P. | — 315 | Ratnapura | — 88) |
| Kandy | — 108) | | | Kurunegala | — 89) |
| Matale | — 26) | Central P. | — 164 | Puttalam | — 44) |
| N'Eliya | — 30) | | | | |
| Galle | — 102) | | | Anuradhapura | — 56) |
| Matara | — 64) | Southern P. | — 191 | Polonnaruwa | — 9) |
| Hambantota | — 25) | | | Badulla | — 34) |
| Jaffna | — 2) | | | Monaragala | — 8) |
| Mannar | — 58) | Northern P. | — 66 | | |
| Vavuniya | — 6) | | | | |
| Batticaloa | — 8) | | | | |
| Trincomalee | — 9) | Eastern P. | — 34 | | |
| Amparai | — 17) | | | | |
| | | | | Total | 1132 |

Source: Statistical Abstracts of Ceylon 1970—1971.

The change-over in the medium of instruction from English to Sinhalese or Tamil was completed in schools in relation to Arts subjects by 1959 and for science subjects

a few years later. By 1963 a majority of students at University following courses in Social Sciences and Humanities were being instructed in the national languages and by

the early 1970's the change was extended to Science-oriented courses.

To these developments should perhaps be added the take over of

private schools by the state in 1961. This measure, precipitated largely by Buddhist agitation against state subsidies to Christian missionary schools gradually resulted in the loss of the privileged position in relation to school facilities which the Christians had long enjoyed. ALL THESE FACTORS taken together tended to reduce the disparities in educational opportunity that had characterised the education system of the island in 1948. For example the Buddhists who made up 43.2% of the University student population in 1948 and 50.3% in 1958 gained 74.77%* of University admissions in the years 1966-1970. The proportion of Christians had correspondingly fallen from 31% and 24% in 1948 and 1958 respectively to 7.9% in the period 1966-1970. The number of Tamils (almost entirely Ceylon Tamils) entering the University had fallen to under 16% by 1969/70, while the proportion of Sinhales had risen to over 80%. Similarly

Western Province and Northern Province which provided 60.8% and 14.2% of University undergraduates in 1948 supplied 33% and 11% respectively in 1969. (The figures for 1948 & 1958 are from UCR XXIII pp. 147-149. The rest are from Tables VII & VIII below).

On the other hand several other developments created new problems relating to educational opportunity. The expansion in secondary education in most areas in the 1950's had been in Arts subjects. This resulted in great pressure for admission to Social Science/Humanities course at University level and the state had responded by creating two entirely new Universities, Vidyodaya and Vidyalankara (1959) and by establishing a second Arts Faculty at Colombo. The number of Arts students rose from 436 or 49% of all admissions in 1958 to a peak of 5345 or 84.1% of all admissions in 1965. Such expansion promptly led to a sur-

plus of graduates of this type and backlog of unemployed Arts graduates began to build up.

In this context admission to the Science-oriented course rather than just to the University became the prize and here the educationally developed areas had a distinct advantage in the teaching staff and facilities available as well as in the number of schools. As late as 1966/67 Western Province provided 50% of the total Science intake of the University and the Northern Province as a further 30% (see Table VII). In 1969/70 Tamils, mainly from Jaffna and Colombo accounted for almost 40% of the places in science-oriented-courses and almost 50% in the Engineering and Medical Faculties. Similarly the Christians who are concentrated more in the Western and Northern provinces than in any other area had a disproportionately large share in admission to these courses.

Table III—Schools having science classes up to Grade XII by district in 1972

| | | | | | | | |
|-------------|--------|----------|---------|--------------|--------|---------------|------|
| Colombo | — 42) | | | Kegalle | — 5) | Sabaragamuwa | |
| Kalutara | — 17) | Western | P. — 59 | Ratnapura | — 15) | Province | — 20 |
| Kandy | — 15) | | | | | | |
| Matale | — 3) | Central | P. — 26 | Kurunegala | — 12) | North-Western | |
| N'Eliya | — 8) | | | Chilaw | — 7) | Province | — 19 |
| Galle | — 11) | | | Anuradhapura | — 3) | North Central | |
| Matara | — 10) | Southern | P. — 23 | | | | |
| Hambantota | — 2) | | | Polonnaruwa | — 1) | Province | — 4 |
| Jaffna | — 34) | | | Bandarawela | — 6) | | |
| Mannar | — 1) | Northern | P. — 39 | (Badulla) | —) | Uva Province | — 7 |
| yavuniya | — 4) | | | Moneragala | — 1) | | |
| Batticaloa | — 17) | Eastern | P. — 18 | | | | |
| Trincomalee | — 1) | | | | | | |
| | | | | Total | — 209 | | |

Source: *Adyapana Sankyalekana pilibanda sankyathi sangrahaya* 1973.

An answer to this problem could well have been greater provision of science teaching facilities in less developed areas. Indeed the need to do this had been recognised by education authorities by the early sixties and the number of schools teaching science up to Grade XII had increased from 50 in 1958 to 146 in 1967 and 209 in 1970. However, progress was slow as qualified science teachers proved difficult to recruit and equipment was expensive. Thus in the early '70s of the schools which prepared students up to Grade XII in any subject, over 70% did not have science classes up to that level.

By the 1970's adjustment of this imbalance was beginning to look more difficult than ever

before. The unfavourable economic situation had forced the government to try to limit expenditure on social welfare. The cost of education to the state had risen from Rs. 105.6 million in 1950 to Rs. 472.4 million in 1969/70. By the latter year education already accounted for 16.2% of the budget and 4.4% of the gross national product. (J. Hallak *Financing and educational policy in Sri Lanka (Ceylon)* Paris Unesco. International Institute for Educational Planning, 1972. p. 75) In the context of a shortfall of capital for investment there seemed no prospect of obtaining extra funds as in the 1950's and 1960's to alleviate problems of unequal opportunity.

The need for economy affected University admissions in another

direction too. Total University admissions have been virtually stagnant from about 1964 (1964—3382; 1974—3533) and though science admissions rose 50% from 1966-1974 this has hardly compensated for the rise in the number of those seeking admission. With increasing competition and rising admission standards, good teachers and equipment became more important than before.

Nevertheless, the efforts of the department of education seemed to bear some fruit. An examination of the admission statistics from 1966 to 1970 shows that the admission of students to science-oriented courses from all provinces other than the Western Province and the Northern Province rose both percentage-wise and in absolute

numbers. Yet the overall change was not very great and there were those who were disturbed at the thought that even in 1970 some 70% of all science students either entered from schools in the two above mentioned provinces and/or had their residences in them.

Efforts to aid students from areas with inferior facilities continued. The science practical test at the G.C.E. (Advanced Level) Examination was abolished in 1971 and students were thenceforth graded according to performance at written 'theory' papers. The curriculum reform implemented after 1972 also had the effect of gradually ensuring that science would be taught to all students from Grade VI to IX. (Adyanayana Nava Maga Colombo, Ministry of Education, 1972. p.7) This was expected to attract more talented youths to science courses in senior secondary schools and the University and perhaps ensure a more equitable distribution of university science placements by area. However the effect of the curriculum reform was unlikely to be felt until the first group of students who followed the revised curriculum entered the University in 1978.

Meanwhile the question of marking standards in the different media began to be raised. As long as English was the medium of examinations allegations of favouritism towards a communal group were rare but once Sinhalese and Tamil became the media, the scripts in each language came to be marked by examiners belonging almost exclusively to that ethnolinguistic community. In the 1960's at least in some subjects there was an attempt to ensure a uniform standard of correction by using English medium scripts as a measuring device but soon the number of English medium candidates fell to such levels that this became impracticable. However, a detailed scheme of marking was drawn up by the controlling chief examiner for each subject and the work of each marking examiner was checked by one or more chief examiners responsible for scripts in that language. The chief examiner was expected to acquaint himself with the marking standard and scrutinize the work of marking examiners under his charge by moderating a sample of the first few scripts he had corrected and by calling for a random sample for

checking after the making examiner had finished his task. This procedure appeared to have satisfied the authorities at the Education department but in 1970 when it was rumoured that one hundred out of one hundred and sixty two students selected for to the Engineering faculty were Tamil medium candidates there was a cry of over-assessment in the Tamil medium. An investigation failed to unearth any evidence to substantiate this allegation but the government chose to bow to the agitation and to a threat of communal violence on the campus. The procedure of selecting candidates purely on the order of marks obtained at the G.C.E. (Advanced Level) was given up. The exact basis of selection of the candidates who entered the University in 1971 was never officially revealed but it is widely believed that a lower qualifying mark was set for Sinhalese medium candidates so that a 'politically acceptable' proportion of the places in science-oriented courses would be secured for them. (M. Sivasittamparam, A Rebuttal of Ministry of Education Report mandated on Standardization of Marks for University Admissions released in the National State Assembly, Colombo, 1974. p.16)

The uproar from the Ceylon Tamil leaders which followed made it clear that this procedure could not be repeated with impunity. The next few years were thus spent in evolving a more 'acceptable' or at least a 'more defensible' formula. In the next three years three different schemes were tried out. They were as follows:—

1973—Standardization of marks.

1974—Standardization of marks—district quotas with modification.

1975—Standardization of marks and district quotas.

These three schemes, like the procedure for admissions for 1971-2 represent a departure from the practice of selection on the basis of actual marks obtained at an open competitive examination which had hitherto prevailed. It also represented a change in state policy. Hitherto the reaction of all governments in the island to demonstrable inequalities of educational opportunity was to attempt to reduce them by improving facilities available to underprivileged groups or areas. The schemes of

the 1970's seemed to go beyond this and introduce weightage to the performance of different groups of candidates at public examinations. It is proposed in this paper to examine these devices and to analyse the effects of their introduction.

(To be Continued)

* * *

A LETTER

From The G.M.R.

My No. GM/P (1975).
General Manager's Office,
C. G. R., Colombo 10.
10th December, 1975.

The Editor,
"Tribune"
43, Dawson Street,
Colombo 2.

Dear Sir,

This is with reference to your comments under the heading, "Confidentially, G.M.R. and Rail Collisions—1" which appeared in your issue of 6th. December 1975.

G.M.R.—1, was so full of inaccuracies that it is hoped that you will get your facts correct before you go on to G.M.R.—11.

The inaccuracies in G.M.R.—1 are as follows:—

(1) You have made a number of references to a communique issued, over the S.L.B.C., according to you by the G.M.R. This is inaccurate because the S.L.B.C communique was issued by the Ministry of Transport. What you have quoted in your rather interesting comments was from a reply by the G.M.R. to a news item which appeared in the "Daily Mirror".

(2) You have stated that Mr. T.C.F. Perera's report on the Batuwatte accident is correct on all accounts. This is inaccurate, because, although Mr. Perera had written about Drivers being untrained, a subject on which he has no technical competence, the Engineer in charge of Drivers training has gone on record that all the passed out Drivers have been properly trained, and had passed all the relevant examinations and driving tests and had been certified as being competent to drive Power sets and "Y" class locos.

(3) You have stated that Mr. T. C. F. Perera has been interdicted for bringing the Public Service into disrepute. Actually, he was interdicted by the appropriate authorities for letting a confidential document which was in his sole custody, being made available to the press, and that too even before it was handed over to the authorities. It must be mentioned that while the Press may be entitled to their 'Scoops' Government Servants cannot be allowed to feed the Press from confidential documents with impunity.

(4) You have also referred to "Certificates of competence for Engine Drivers." It must be stressed that certificates have and are not being issued to Engine Drivers and the real certificate is the record of the Driver having passed all his examinations which is in the relevant departmental file.

(5) You have surmised that the Batuwatte report may have been lying in the G.M.R.'s tray for days and even weeks. This Inspector's report was not meant for the G.M.R. but for the Operating Superintendent at whose office it was handed over only after 9.00 a.m. on 24.11.1975, long after the public had read it in the "Daily Mirror" that morning.

Constructive criticism is welcome from whatever source it comes, but when prejudice is allowed to over-ride good sense, unforgivable in journalism, inaccuracies must necessarily be pin-pointed and corrected.

Thanking you.

Yours faithfully,

(Sgd.) V. T. Navaratne
General Manager Railways.

Copy to—Secretary,
Press Council.

DESTRUCTION OF TOPICAL FORESTS

Spare Those Trees—If You Want to Survive

BY ROBERT ALLEN

The world's tropical rain forests are on their way to being dispatched to the rich countries in the case of immediate export earnings for the poor. This short-sighted policy is threatening the very survival of our coming generations. In Sri Lanka, the only primate rain forest Sinharaja, was being denuded officially and unofficially. And this is spite of weighty protests against such exploitation. This article will show that it is never too late to save what is left of Sinharaja. The author, Robert Allen, was co-founder, and co-editor of *The Ecologist*. Books to his credit include *The Earth's Inheritors* and *Blueprint for Survival*. Mr. Allen now lives in Switzerland where he is science writer for the International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources.

MAN'S TECHNOLOGICAL ingenuity is often exaggerated, but when it is deployed against himself by the three donkey-men of the ecological apocalypse—greed, ignorance and myopia—there is indeed no more formidable weapon. Today, this weapon is being wielded with devastating effect in the rain forests of the tropics. Government departments, civil engineers and lumbermen now have at their command vast machines that in no time at all can reduce forest giants to shavings. A hectare of tropical forest—900 tonnes of living plants—can now be cleared in only two hours. In a fragment of time, we can reduce the richest, oldest plant community in the world to a sterile mockery of its former self. Anyone

who survives the next ten years will witness the snuffing out of million years of continuous evolution. To be a child of our times is to be able to say: "I will outlive the jungle."

At first glance, this seems impossible. There are said to be between seven and nine million square kilometres of tropical rain forest covering large tracts of Central America, the Amazon basin and the Guianas, West Africa and Zaire, Southeast Asia, New Guinea and the islands of Melanesia. Yet the intensity of destruction is high enough to cope even with this extent. In Central America, two-thirds of the forest have disappeared already. In Colombia, it is being cleared at a rate of a million hec-

tares a year. In Brazil, the rate is many times faster. By the end of this century, most authorities agree, all but a few carefully preserved samples of the world's tropical rain forests will have been eliminated.

Tropical rain forests are the greatest, most enduring celebrations of life ever to have evolved on this planet. No other environment has so many species of plant and animal. A hectare of temperate woodland, for example, normally contains no more than 10 different species of tree 20 centimetres and upwards in diameter. By contrast, a hectare of tropical rain forest generally contains more than 100 species of large tree. The profusion of plants and animals is remarkable. In the forests of Southeast Asia, there are estimated to be more than 25,000 species of flowering plants, and 49 per cent of the general represented are found nowhere else. Of the 660 different species of bird known or presumed to breed in the Malay peninsula, 441 are restricted to the rain forest. Insects, amphibians and many other animals abound in equally impressive numbers.

As Professor Paul Richards has pointed out. "The destruction in modern times of a forest that is millions of years old is a major event in the earth's history. It is larger in scale than the clearing of the forests of temperate Eurasia and America, and it will be accomplished in a much shorter time." The tropical rain forests are succumbing chiefly to the combined pressures of forestry, food production, cash crops and settlements. These activities in themselves are necessary and benign, but when pursued carelessly or in ignorance, they can be disastrous. With the exception of recent alluvial and rich volcanic soils, tropical rain forest soils are generally very poor. That the forest flourishes in such highly uncompromising circumstances is due to its unparalleled thrift, and the speed and thoroughness with which nutrients are recycled.

According to FAO, between five and ten million hectares of forest are being felled each year for agriculture alone. Often the felling is government organised. At times, this is for the very best of motives, even though the results are unfortunate and could be avoided. In West Malaysia, the lowland forests

are being felled to settle the landless under largescale co-operative settlement schemes designed to produce cash crops like rubber. At other times, the motives are more obscure. A distorted version of nationalism apparently demands that remote uninhabited areas be dragged into the country's economy before they are needed, or before it is known how best to use them. Badly run timber operators are degrading the forests as effectively as are expansionist agricultural and settlement schemes. In a forest section, only a few species may be considered of commercial value, and to get at them, 75 per cent of the surrounding canopy is destroyed.

Although some lumber companies behave responsibly, many exploit the forest for their own profits. Such companies, damaging seedlings and saplings, disrupt the mix of tree species, and expose soil to erosion over large areas. In Indonesia, 27 million hectares are officially classified as denuded by uncontrolled cutting, and the country still has too few trained foresters to supervise the enormous expansion of timber production, relying almost entirely on the good faith of the companies. Japanese companies have been offering investments of US \$ 80 million to \$ 500 million to log the Amazon rain forests. It is very difficult for hard-pressed, ambitious governments to resist such beguiling inducements, even though the result will be the destruction of a resource which, carefully used, could have lasted indefinitely. Ignorance—of the richness of tropical rain forests, of their fragility, and of what precisely to do about either quality—was once some excuse for this shortsightedness, but from 1975 onwards it can no longer be. International efforts to increase our knowledge of tropical rain forests, and to make available what is already known to all who work in them, have been stepped up. UNESCO is compiling a world tropical rain forest inventory, and issuing guidelines for conservation.

BEFORE UNDERTAKING the transformation of tropical forests, every consideration should be given to exploiting more efficiently areas already altered. The large areas that have already been cleared of forest, either for lumber or for agriculture, and then abandoned, could and should be used for plan-

tation forestry. This would relieve much of the pressure on the remaining areas of undisturbed forest, which often could be used most profitably as storehouses of genetic diversity, as laboratories and as centres of recreation. The world already derives considerable benefits from tropical forest plants: food from Brazil nuts, cashew nuts, passion fruit, papaya and avocados; beverages like cocoa and coffee; drugs such as curare, vital to safe and painless surgery; and invaluable materials such as rubber, chicle (from which chewing gum is made) and, of course, many fine woods.

Yet we have barely scratched the surface. We still know very little of the nutritional, medicinal, chemical and mechanical properties of the bewildering variety of tropical forest plants. Biologically, tropical rain forests are the centres of the world. Much of the earth's contemporary flora and fauna originated in the humid tropics. For millions of years, tropical rain forests have been genetic factories from which plants and animals, capable of adapting to more difficult environments, have gone forth to populate the subtropical and temperate regions. Conserving substantial areas of tropical rain forest, as they are, is potentially as rewarding a form of development as agriculture, forestry or mining. Area protected for their genetic diversity or scientific importance should be surrounded by buffer zones, which may be used for a variety of economic purposes—tourism and selective logging, for example—as long as they do not disturb the core area.

The short-term economic needs of countries containing tropical forests should not and do not have to be satisfied at the expense of their future prosperity. In many cases, the industrial countries ought to compensate any country conserving large areas of tropical rain forest, since such conservation represents an investment of benefit, not only to the country concerned, but to the entire world. These great forests—the parents of the planet's vegetation—are the children of plants that no longer exist. The magnificent progress from bare rock to high forest cannot be repeated. We are perilously close to the point where what goes now is gone forever. Yet we know enough about the wise use of tro-

pical rain forests for such a fate to be as unnecessary as it would be tragic.

* * *

KAZI—34

Picking Coconuts, Cattle Management

BY ANATORY BUKOBA

August 28,

A few days delay in the picking, and an estate can lose much money if the price of nuts is falling even a couple of thousand rupees. The pickers may be a couple of days late, and picking cannot go on in the rain, for, I was told, rain-drops from the coconut leaves interfere with the vision of the pickers, with their up-turned faces. It may be, too, that it is harder for them to spot which bunches, two per tree, have to be picked when all is wet. There is also the job of getting out of the way of the falling nuts. I have picked nuts under the eye of a picker, but rarely have I been in any danger of being hit. On the rare occasion when a picker has been hit, he retires from the fray hurt. Tall single bamboos are used, usually of three different lengths. A short bamboo, a long bamboo, and three of the average size. So the ideal number of pickers is five, but often, one or two do not turn up. Like at hay time in the English countryside, the carts work late gathering the nuts, the season here being the safety of the fallen nuts. The picking may take five working days or it may take more. When rain interferes, it may last a fortnight. The picking takes place every two months. In some countries and places, the nuts are just allowed to fall off the trees. On a small holding, someone may climb all the trees to pick them, and I know one place with forty trees used to take half a day, one man climbing. No sooner are the nuts picked, than nuts start to fall of their own again, and after a fortnight, carts have to go round every two or three days gathering the fallen nuts. This is done anyway, on Fridays, because of the week end holiday. An estate is usually divided into blocks. The dropped nuts in each block are noted and

then thrown into one heap. At picking time, the nuts that have been picked are counted in their blocks, at a central place where the nuts of all the blocks are brought. At the end of it all, the watcher has usually to sign for the nuts.

Estates rarely grew subsidiary crops, possibly because the old planters thought it would detract from the nut production. Some houses may have had their vegetable or kitchen gardens, and workers with houses were encouraged to grow something, but not all of them did so. They probably had very little of their own time for doing it. Passion fruit creepers have had a bad market. Soya bean has not had a particularly good market, but many things can be done with soya bean, and I know one estate that has decided to make in its main subsidiary crop. Hares are the soya-bean growers' bane, and traps are set for the hares, or else, a very low fence of cadjan acts as a deterrent. Sorghum would be a success if the problem of parrots could be got over. Crops like gingelly, *kurakkan*, and *mungatta* or green gram could be tried, but these are regarded as strictly seasonal crops as they must have a dry time for harvest. Vegetables grown on any scale are not likely to make a worthwhile profit, but it can be useful for feeding the labour force.

DAIRYING brings in a useful supplementary income to the sale of nuts, but cows must be milked twice a day if they are to give their maximum yield. It is fairly easy to have the morning's milk collected, but not the evenings, and as the evenings' milking gives much less, it can be disposed of in other ways. The estate, I know of, sells the afternoon's milk to its own labour force for a nominal ten cents a half pint.

Poonac has usually to be given to the calves, and a bucket is sometimes put in their pen, to let them all have a sup if they wish, by turns, the hungrier usually pushing away the not so hungry, but all having a go and getting a drink. One should not in-breed. It weakens the stock, and so a new bull every two or three years is a must. I do not care for artificial insemination! The job of milker is a highly skilled job, and the milker has to be at his job early when most others are still asleep. He is often one of

the last to finish, too, and he may be called out during the night. Sickness and calving know no hours.

One place I know of took years to get its two buffaloes trained. No start was made, although the task was high on its list of priorities. Then turned up a fearless and experienced man. The first task, he said, would be to bathe the animals regularly, and not just let them wallow, though wallow they would. Bathing got them used to being handled. When this had gone on a short time, the next task, he said, was to get them used to being coupled together with an iron chain. The twelve-foot chain was too long and it had to be knotted after the blacksmith, a man experienced with buffalo chains, had done his bit. The more tame of the two buffaloes did such a mighty dance, it was a sight to watch, and it would have looked good on a movie. The length of the chain between the buffaloes was the length from the neck to the bone that protrudes behind the ribs. The chain has to be just right or the animals will not be happy if it is short, or they will get their feet entangled in it if it is long.

When the bulls had been coupled, they went for each other, and we just had to let them tire themselves out, like breaking a horse in. They soon settled down. When that buffalo, I mentioned, was behaving like a bucking broncho, the trainer was within easy charging distance of the short rope, but he worked away at the ropes almost as if the frenzied animal was not there at all.

September 4.

A noble beast, he looked at me with serious eyes. Three of us had approached him and two of us encircled him. He seemed to know our visit was as good as his death warrant. He looked at me for he knew the decision was with me. It pained me to sell him for a song, good as the price was. We had said Rs. 850/-. The butchers wasted no time in saying Rs. 750/-. He had given good service, and he would have been still working, if he had not had a limp, which those in charge of him had ignored for months, and then, as always had tried to cure too late. The *vedamruthya* thought he could be cured. He prescribed two lots of medicines. There was doubt if the second had been used. Some said it had

not, others said it had. Now the consensus of opinion was that he could not be cured. He was very old but he did not look it. He looked in the prime of life. As I write this, the animal is still alive. He will not be so much longer.

His age had turned the scales against him, and just now he would fetch a price he might not fetch later. It seemed pointless to expend too much energy and time to cure him, when, really, at his age he ought not to be working. None of his group ought to have been working. The wonder was they still were. The young bulls to take their place were not quite ready. Their training had been deferred, as all these matters are, from month to month and almost from year to year, until in desperation I brought a new man in who had set the ball rolling. The new man did not stay long. The young bulls were now trained, but they were not ready for pulling weights. This would take a little time. They were pulling light weights, carts half-full of husks.

An animal that looked so well, with a limp that might be cured, and only four animals left to draw two carts, both of which were needed; what would happen if one of the four fell sick? This noble beat might suddenly recover.

The butcher made as if to go off. I could not make a decision. To throw an animal's life away for mere greed of Rs. 750/- seemed wrong, when the animal might well be worth more. I said I could not make the decision alone and walked away, after asking them to wait. When I told the others that it broke my heart to let such a fine bull go at Rs. 750/-, they said, then, do not sell. At once my mind was made up. I had been uncertain about Rs. 850, as I thought I might be asking too much. I was more sure of Rs. 800/-, and I had been prepared to consider Rs. 775/-. They had rejected both these. So my mind made up, I asked our man in charge to go to them and say my price was Rs. 800/-, but I told him to accept Rs. 775/- if they offered it. When I returned ten minutes later, the butcher was going off. They did not wait to meet me. They had left a deposit, and the price was Rs. 775/-. I was still very sorry about our old cart bull, and I went along to see him. He did not seem to mind, or perhaps

he was more ready to forgive. I certainly felt happy that I had not rushed signing his death certificates. My consolation was that possibly a more horrible death awaited him on the estate; that he might become unsellable and die being eaten by maggots, from bed sores, lying sick, unless his death was swift. A cow had died swiftly, one had taken days, you never can tell.

Sowing grass had been a total failure. Much money had gone to the transport of the cuttings. A pretty penny had gone for the cuttings themselves. A man had arrived with them at 10 p.m., breaking sleep. They had been left three days piled up in a shady place. They had just done what freshly cut grass would do anyway in similar circumstances, just boiled. The cuttings had been scattered over an area that had been ploughed, and they had been harrowed in. Hardly any had come up. We tried a new tactic this time. The whole labour force, all that could be spared, were out under a very old hand, and the ground was prepared with mammoties. We shall see how it works. On a Saturday, ground was prepared for a new house. All the wood or timber for the house was collected. On the Tuesday, the holes were dug, the posts put up, the fram of the house erected, and the roof put on. Two men spent all Wednesday putting up the cadjan walls. They wanted another day to make the kitchen. Five woman were put weaving cadjans one day cadjans are a serious business. They are wanted to repair leaking roof and it has rained nearly every day. The spirit on the estate seems good. I cannot help feeling it is the beginning of a new age. A man, who had not been a superintendent before, took over when his boss fell sick, and he seemed to make an even better job of it.

FOR HUMANITY

Light And Sound

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

A misleading title?

In a way—yes. It has nothing to do with "HEAT, LIGHT AND SOUND"—subjects of Chemistry and Physics on which most informative books have been compiled by eminent scholars. I am totally

untutored in these subjects. The only Chemistry I know is the Chemistry of LOVE—and when I speak of LOVE, I do not mean the erotic effluvia projected on the screen—the box office draws with high commercial value. I am referring to the LOVE that is the image of God that perfect LOVE which transcends all human thoughts.

The Light and Sound I allude to are what are denied to some—the precious gifts of vision and hearing. I am forcibly reminded of the lines of that eloquently simple poem by James Stephens entitled "THE BLIND BOY".

O say what is that thing called Light which I must ne'er enjoy.

What are the blessings of your sight Oh, tell your poor blind boy.

You talk of wondrous things you see You say the sun shines bright I feel him warm but how can be Make it day or night?

My day or night myself I make When ever I sleep or play. And could I ever keep awake With me t'were always day.

With heavy sigh I, often hear You mourn my hapless woe : But, sure, with PATIENCE I can bear A loss I ne'er can know.

Then let not what I cannot have My cheer of mind destroy Whilst thus I sing I am a KING Although a poor blind boy.

The facetious "giants" of journalism trained in the esoteric art of literary composition—which, sometimes, turns out to be an 'imposition' and who consider the 'Alpha and Omega' of good writing their sole pre-rogative, may condemn my somewhat marked penchant for melodrama if I add the words of another simple song:—

"As I was lonely passing An Orphan School one day, I stopped there for a moment Just to watch the children play Alone, a boy was standing And when I asked him why He turned his eyes that cannot see And he began to cry.

I'am nobody's darling I'am no body's child I'm just a flower I'am growing wild.

No mummie's kisses And no daddy's smile Nobody wants me I'am nobody's child".

Yes—Blindness is a crushing disability—"a handicap that makes it-

self felt most severely in perceptual patterns and in travel."

It is only men of courage, fortitude and FAITH like JOHN MILTON (1608-1674) who dedicated himself to poetry who can treat this most punitive disadvantage with stoic endurance and philosophic acceptance. Having bequeathed to the world his immortal and priceless literary treasures such as "IL PENSOROSO (THE THOUGHTFUL MAN), L' ALIEGRO (The light hearted Man), Sweet Echo—A song from COMUS, LYCIDAS, the name of a shepherd in several Greek and Latin pastoral poems, Paradise Lost, and "PARADISE RE-GAINED" he moralized even on his blindness when he wrote:—

"When I consider how my life is spent

Ere half my days in this dark world, and wide,

And that one talent which is death to hide

Lodged with me Useless, though my soul more bent

To serve therewith my MAKER and present

My true account, lest He returning chide—

Doth God exact day labour, light denied?

I fondly ask:—"But PATIENCE, to prevent

That murmur, soon replies: God doth NOT need

Either mans work, or His own gifts; who best

Bear his mild yoke, they serve HIM best. His state

Is kingly; thousands at HIS bidding speed

And post O'er land and ocean without rest:—

They also serve who only stand and wait."

PROGRESS. IN SRI LANKA and all over the world, tremendous progress is being made and indefatigable enthusiasm evinced to alleviate the hardships of those afflicted with lack of vision and hearing. Schools with complete curricula on par with regular educational institutions have been inaugurated. Much Research and assiduous study in this field extends even to the improved techniques of instructing the member of the tutorial staff of schools for the Deaf and Blind. The Heads of these Institutions are guided; besides other sources, by the instructions of CHARLES E. SKINNER Professor Emeritus, New York, University Visiting, Professor, South

Illinois University in his most erudite treatise "EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY"—(4th EDITION). Professor Skinner refers to the principle of communication. According to him, the two-way interchange can be effective ONLY if both parties understand each other; His evaluation of the task of the tutors in Institutions for the handicapped is most note-worthy. He emphasises that personality characteristics often developed by deaf children are of more basic concern. "Teachers should" he has emphatically enunciated, "be constantly on the alert to re-inforce the child's concept of himself as an acceptable person. Given the skills of communication, adequate self-acceptance and subsequent satisfactory inter-personal relationship are the difference between productive and unproductive living."

In regard to the handicap of blindness, he emphasises that "A very real problem in the instruction of the blind persons is the need to provide for learning perceptual closure—that is helping him to fit specific details into a meaningful whole."

LOUIS BRAILLE (1809-1852) who was blinded at the age of three invented the universally accepted system of Reading and Writing used by the blind in 1824. The British Encyclopaedia records that when Braille entered the School for the Blind—the Institution Nationale DES JEVNES AVEUCI ES, (National Institution for Blind Children in Paris), there were only fourteen books in embossed characters. There was no way to write using raised lines of this system. He, therefore, learned a system of tangible writing using dots invented in 1819 by Captain CHARLES BARRIER A French Army Officer, called "Night Writing" intended for Night time battle field communications.

Recently, a four-day Seminar on Non-FORMAL Education was organised by the young and dynamically energetic Principal of the NUFFIELD School for the Deaf and Blind, KAITHADY, MR. J. S. DAVID. In a succinct brochure, he has referred to "The contribution made by the Christian Church which was rendered Signal Service to the Nation over the past century and a half." He has suggested supplementary School-based education sometimes substituting for it Non-formal educational programmes cal-

culated to promote liberation and justice. He has expressed his conviction most courageously with the trenchant but flagrantly obvious truth. He states, "No longer is it enough to afford Social nobility for the few—the need is SOCIAL JUSTICE for the Many". He adds that some of the answers have to be sought as indicated in the UNESCO's Current Report—LEARNING TO BE (1972) "Life long education should be the keystone of all educational policies in the years ahead in industrially developed as well as in developing countries."

According to Mr. David, a spell of schooling or a period at the University may prove to be "grossly inadequate to meet the needs of a maturing person in his journey towards self-fulfilment as man and citizen or the needs of a rapidly changing society—the school without walls." He quotes what President NYRERE of TANZANIA had said that any Nation striving towards fast modernisation should first educate its adults so as to carry the entire people together in their developmental journey.

IDEALS. One cannot agree with him more and I consider it relevant to quote what SIR PONNAMBALAM ARUNACHALAM, K.T., M.A., President, Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch), Member of the Executive and Legislative Council's of Ceylon and—President of the Ceylon University Association in his inestimable Book "STUDIES AND TRANSLATIONS" (Philosophical and Religious) so penetratingly propounded in his chapter on "Eastern Ideals in Education". He said "Our real educationists however, belonged to a period much earlier than the Universities—I have mentioned and earlier than the Christian era. These men lived away from the din of cities, leading simple lives and meditating on the great problems of humanity. Their teaching has come down to us under the name UPANISHAD. It has profoundly influenced all Indian thought, and through China and Persia, nearly all Asiatic thought. It filtered into Europe through Persia, Arabia and Asia Minor, both before and after the invasion of India by Alexander the Great, and left its impress on the early Greek Philosophers from THALES and PYTHAGORAS, on the Gnostics and Neo Platonists of Alexandria, on the Universities of the

Middle Ages and through DESCARTES and Spinoza, Schopenhauer, and Hartman on Modern European thought. UPANISHAD means etymologically "Sitting near a person", the French "STANCE" or Session, and these Upanishads represent to us the outcome of sittings or gatherings which took place under the shelter of mighty trees in the forests, where the old sages and their disciples met together and poured out what they had gathered during days and nights spent in quiet solitude and meditation. They did not profess to be educationists, but they made it their business to investigate that mysterious thing which we call "PERSONALITY".

My fervent prayer is that success attend the task of those dedicated to the sacred trust of tutorship of the handicapped. Visits to the Schools for the Deaf and Blind at Ratmalana where Mr. C. H. GCONEWARDENE, Principal in Charge and other similar institutions in other parts of our country will serve as an invigorating tonic to all educationists and social workers. These devoted men who are conscious of their responsibility in this sanctified field and who deserve a high place among the Ministers of Nature and the fullest recognition from the Community are doing selfless service without expectation of reward.

Subjects such as Handicraft Wood-work, Basket making, Pottery, Carpentry, Plague designing etc., are taught by proficient tutors. The products of the students reflect a unique skill superior even to those who are not handicapped. They have, most convincingly proved that a defect of a vital sense of the physical body cannot defeat their unconquerable souls. They, under devoted guidance, are spontaneously inspired by John Milton, and the Great Composer, LUDWIG VAN BEETHOVEN, who gave his first recital when he was only seven years old.

This child prodigy later gave music lovers of all nations his exquisite-master pieces such as the Moon Light SONATA, FIDELIO, Pathétique, the pastoral Symphony, and, when DEAFNESS struck its most punishing blow, continued his work consisting of nine Symphonies, thirty two piano SONATAS, ten Sonatas for the Violin, and five concertos. His maturer works portray the different periods of

his life. He was able to develop his individuality to the full by taking immense pains to compose and revise his melodies.

In 1825, in spite of illness, gout and weak eyes, he was planning a TENTH SYMPHONY. According to him, "Although the spirit he not master of that which it creates through MUSIC, yet it is blessed in this creation, which, like every creation of art, is mightier than the artist." Here was that HUMILITY which is the only path to GOD and which CONFUCIUS referred to as "The solid foundation of all the virtues."

Many of us remember JOHN the Pianist a product of the Ratmalana School for the Blind. His virtuosity in rendering anything you wanted—the old favourites, classics, light classics or even the present fashion of MOD Music was of rare vintage. It is strangely ironical that he made his own "arrangement" of the popular Nursery Song "THREE BLIND MICE", setting it to the tango, calypso, quick Step, fox-trot, Slow Waltz, quick Waltz, boogie beat and even to the latest in Jazz—one merging mellifluously and harmoniously into the other and ending with a climax of a grand finale. It is a pity that there was no recording of this. It would have delighted the visitors to our Island.

Yes—Certainly when GOD shuts one door, he indubitably opens another.

To members of prestigious Clubs with international affiliations, who enhance their sartorial elegance with distinguished neck-wear and imported tie-pins, and cuff links, who fritter away easily-earned money on Wines and Viands—to captains of Business and Professions who tried to evade payment of Income Tax till the last day, when the Hundred Rupee Currency Note was demonetised and, who most reluctantly, flung lakhs of the filthy papyracious Legal tender

into the fire which relentlessly and ruthlessly reduced them to worthless ashes, I will command the Noble thoughts of WORDS-WORTH who wrote—

"The Charities that soothe, and heal and Bless lie scattered at the feet of men like flowers."

I would also add what the erudite ALDOUS HUXLEY said in his Introduction to the BAGAVAD GITA: "Only by means of Self - Abnegation and Charity can we clear away the evil, folly and ignorance which constitute the thing we call our personality and prevent us from becoming aware of the Spark of Divinity illumining the innerman"

Contribution to the Schools for the Handicapped, will help in providing better Recreational and Welfare facilities for those who are not

THE JACK

A GIANT FRUIT

BANANA, mango and jack are grouped together in Tamil literature, as the triad of fruits, "mukkani", implying that they are the most wholesome among fruits. Among these the jack has got its own special flavour combined with sweetness. It is also compared in literature to persons who have a rough exterior but are really very kind and humanitarian. Embedded in the thick mass of tissues and enveloped by a prickly coat are the delectable succulent packs (chulai) which are the edible part of the massive fruit. This is however intended by nature only as protective coating to the seed which is less important as food. In addition to its fine taste, the pulp of the jack is to some extent rich in calcium, phosphorus and vitamin A. In 100 grams of the flesh, which forms 30 per cent of the whole fruit, it contains 1.9 gm protein, 0.1 gm fat, 19.8 gm carbohydrate, 20 mg of calcium, 41 mg of phos-

so fortunate as their affluent brethren.

Sometimes I seek consolation that, in this Vile and wicked world, they, in these Institutions, are in a way blessed. It is good that some things are NOT seen and heard.

My thoughts, in no uncertain way, find union with what JOUBERT had in mind when he wrote "EYES raised to Heaven are always Beautiful—Whatever they may be," I can always see that blind, homeless violinist with an ancient Stradivarius rendering devotional music in praise of GOD MURUGA at the Nallur Kandasamy Temple, seeking Solace—not in the coins condescendingly dropped—before him, but mysteriously happy with the simple blessings of life that "Flash upon that INWARD EYE which is the bliss of SOLITUDE."

phorus, 0.5 mg iron, 260 international units of Vitamin A, 0.03 mg of thiamin, 0.13 mg riboflavin, 0.4 mg niacin and 7 mg vitamin C. The unripe jack is used as vegetable, after peeling off the prickly outer covering. This material is richer in protein (2.6 gm), calcium (30 mg), iron (1.7) mg but is devoid of vitamin A. The seed are also, used as vegetable or directly consumed after roasting. They contain more starch (25.8 gm) protein (6.6 gm) and are more concentrated in calcium (50 mg) and phosphorus (97 mg). There are two types of the jack fruit, one producing crisp fleshy, matter and the other with slightly fibrous tissue. The former, known as varikan is preferred by consumers. Recently, a technique has been developed at the Agricultural College at Vellayanai, near Trivandrum, to produce grafts of the varikan more easily and in large numbers. These grafts come to bearing earlier than the seedlings. They also give fruits of better quality.

—Hindu

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Confidentially

G.M.R. And Rail Collisions—3

IS IT NOT STRANGE that the GMR should become his own PRO and write letters to the editors of the different newspapers desiring publicity (and indicating that Secretary of the Press Council was interested in a copy of his missile)? That *Tribune* has also been the recipient of such a love letter from the GMR in the same manner and style of the letters he had written to the *Daily Mirror*? That we have published the letter he has sent us (vide pp 13) in the first issue in which it could be printed after the receipt of the letter? That he had obviously sent us the letter in order to make us pay pooja before writing GMR and Rail Collisions—2? But our schedules are such that GMR—2 was already in print by the time the letter was received? That we are therefore publishing his letter (in full) in this issue which will carry GMR and Rail Collision—3? That the letter he has written to the *Tribune* is so transparently of the same genre as his letters to the *Daily Mirror* that it does not deserve any special reply? That the GMR has pointed to "inaccuracies" of such a nature that any newspaper editor will be willing to say "sorry" and make the necessary corrections? That the GMR, however does not seem to be worried about the really important matters at issue? That he does not seem to be worried that drivers had ignored signals and driven at excessive speeds but is worried that *Tribune* had stated that "Mr. Perera's report was correct"—if he read our piece carefully we had covered ourselves by the term "from what we learn"? That this is no doubt a journalistic device to correct small inaccuracies (when pointed out) because when news is scooped unofficially, minor inaccuracies are bound to creep in? That it is not the inconsequential which matters but the real crux that a large number of the new drivers in the CGR were a menace to the travelling public? That people who travel on the

CGR far oftener than the GMR has ever done (or will ever do) know the risky manner in which some of the new drivers of the CGR handle the trains? That commuters have seen the drivers ignore signals ever so often? That is why the *Tribune* and this column has been writing about the hazards of rail travel for the last three years? That the GMR has not paid any attention to these writings all these years? That it is intriguing as to why the GMR should suddenly wake up to the existence of *Tribune*? That he has even thought it necessary to send a copy of the letter he has written to the Secretary of the Press Council? That the Secretary of the Press is usually not sent such copies of letters? That what must be sent to the Secretary of the Press Council is a formal complaint alleging an offence under the Press laws? That *mala fide* is an essential ingredient in any violation of the ethics of journalism? That *Tribune* has nothing personal against the GMR except that he has not done what had to be done for five years to make travelling on the railway safe for the commuters? That drunken and negligent drivers were permitted to flourish and whenever allegations were made against the conduct and behaviour of railway employees, the complaints were not entertained? That the GMR in his letter to the *Tribune* finally chooses to deliver himself of a sermon on newspaper ethics? That he seems to take comfort in the pompous assertion that "constructive criticism is welcome from whatever source it comes"—implying thereby that a "source" like the *Tribune* is one to be sniffed at by the bureaucrats? That the remark "from whatever source" is not understandable unless one sees it in a patronising attitude of high condescension towards the *Tribune*? That there is no doubt that the *Tribune* is not a mighty "daily" with official patronage? That it is time that the GMR realised that the *Tribune* is a little atom which is read by the discerning and that it has been read for 21 years? That the GMR, thereafter, unburdens himself with an even more profound remark that "when prejudice is allowed to over-ride good sense, unforgiveable in journalism, inaccuracies must necessarily be pin-pointed and corrected"? That this is bureaucratic pompo-

sity and arrogance at its childish best? That the GMR has not said how "prejudice" has over-ridden "good sense" in the way *Tribune* has raised certain vital issues of great public interest? That does the GMR also say that the *Daily Mirror* was also guilty of "prejudice" in the way that a number of stories were presented in that paper? That the GMR was playing with dangerous words when he seeks to intimidate newspapers with the accusation of "prejudice" in order to prevent the spotlight being turned on the hazards of rail travel? That if factual inaccuracies arise, *Tribune*, like any other newspaper, will always be prepared to publish corrections? That *Tribune*, however, refuses to be intimidated by such sermons on "prejudice" (with copies to the Secretary of the Press Council)? That all that we can say is Amen before reverting to the matters under discussion? That in GMR and Rail Collisions—4 we will get back to the subject we were dealing in GMR and Rail Collisions—2? That we will get on the second half of the letter the GMR had written to the *Daily Mirror* and make the necessary comments to show that the GMR does not seem anxious to spotlight the defects of the CGR and make it safe for the public to travel by train? That instead he seems only anxious only to draw red herrings across the trail? That the GMR's comments on the need to interdict Inspector T. C. F. Perera because he had "leaked" a "confidential" document will be also dealt with in the next instalment of this series? That it is difficult to see how a document relating to a sensational train crash of such magnitude, as the Batuwatte one, was "confidential" (like a Budget secret)? That it is because the reports of rail accidents in the past had been treated as "confidential" that accidents had continued to mount? That inefficiency and negligence among drivers and other employees in the Railway had increased by leaps and bounds because their lapses and misdeeds were treated as "confidential and secret"?



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