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TRIBUNE

NEWS REVIEW
CITY OF



FOREIGN SUBSCRIPTIONS

Increase Of Postal Rates

As from January 1, 1976, foreign postal rates, both surface and air mail, have been substantially increased.

We have been compelled, therefore, to revise our subscription rates to foreign countries.

Details of new rates on application.

TRIBUNE

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COLOMBO-2.

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Letter From The Editor

HARVEST TIME will soon be upon us, that is for the Maha crop in many parts of the island. Though the Northeast Monsoon has this year followed traditional patterns in timing, its distribution in the North, East, and the North Central parts of the island has been haphazardly uneven. From about 20 miles north of Vavuniya right up to the northernmost stretches of Jaffna, there has been plentiful rain along a central line and eastwards. But the western parts of the same quadrant have been denied even minimal rain and Mannar has no harvest to boast of with the mighty Giant's Tank almost dry. The Vavuniya area has had a sprinkling of rain, but from Medawachchiya right down to the Maho-Nagollagama region (and this includes the Anuradhapura district and the Kala Oya basin) there has been no north-east worth speaking about: the tanks have not filled up; and the rain was inadequate even for a rain-fed crop. The Polonnaruwa region appears to have got a wee bit more rain than the Anuradhapura area, but much more rain was needed to bring a plentiful harvest. The Trincomalee area received adequate rain for the Maha but the tanks have not filled up enough for a good Yala crop. The Batticaloa-Kalmunai-Amparai area was blessed with bountiful Northeast monsoonal rains and a bumper harvest was expected—but the unseasonal and excessive rains last week have damaged the ripening paddy but it is difficult, as yet, to estimate the loss. The Southwestern, the Southern parts and the Western parts of the island have received more rain than usual during the Northeast and a reasonably good maha crop is expected except in parts where the rains have been excessive. This is a rough and ready sketch of the distribution of rainfall during the latest Northeast based on reports which have reached the *Tribune* office. The Meteorological Department does not publish rainfall and other statistics on a day-to-day or even week-to-week basis, to enable interested people to keep themselves informed about the variations (and the vagaries) of the weather, but what we have set out in this column roughly, represents the current position. It will be seen that three of the main and largest paddy-producing areas—Mannar, Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa—have not received adequate rain and the Maha in these regions will be poor, that is in terms of actual potential. (This will not deter our official propaganda machine and the SLBC churning out stories about the miracles achieved in the paddy produced in these parts this Maha—and, as has been done in the recent past, production figures will be juggled in order to make the boasts appear real). The Batticaloa-Amparai area should have brought in a really bumper crop, but after the floods last week it is difficult to make any guesses. All in all, the Maha paddy crop this season will certainly be much higher than it was in the last two or three years of drought and semi-drought conditions, but Sri Lanka is as far from self-sufficiency in rice as it was a decade ago. This is something to think about, and planners, administrators and politicians will do well to forget the euphoria they have slipped into over the (premature) inauguration of the Mahaveli Diversion Scheme (Stage One, Phase One) and sit down to some real hard thinking about the problems of rice production. There are many matters which must engage their attention. For one thing, they must get the real statistics (and not the bogus figures supplied by officers with vested interests in hiding the truth) about the actual acreage of paddy lands that were sown even in areas where the rainfall has been adequate. Why have farmers not sown in spite of the "incentives" now being offered by the Government? Were the agricultural loans handed out too late? Was seed paddy not available at the right moment? Did fertiliser stocks come to districts long after they were needed? Were all the available tractors able to plough—or had a sizable percentage of tractors been immobilised owing lack of spares, tyres (and the inability of tractor owners to find money or get credit to buy spares or repair the machines)? Did the bureaucrats responsible for agricultural production go to sleep and work on a five-day week, 9 a.m. to 3.30 p.m., with a shut down on all holidays (with French leave thrown in) during the ploughing and sowing for the current Maha whereas it was necessary to work round the clock in order to secure highest levels of productivity on the largest extent of available land? These are only a few of the questions that an honest investigator ask to get anywhere near the truth. Such an investigator will find that we are still in the bullock cart age in spite of the large number of tractors and other mechanical equipment in the country—unfortunately an excessively large percentage of tractors are involved solely in road haulage. The picture on the cover was taken a few decades ago when there were no tractors or harvesting machines, and threshing was done in the traditional way it had been done for countless centuries.

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CONTENTS

EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

—Chou En-lai And
Sri Lanka p. 2

CHRONICLE

—Jan. 7 - Jan. 10 p. 6

FOR THE RECORD

—Dr. N. M. Perera p. 7

BUDGET 1976—I

—Political Courage And
Financial Acumen p. 9

VILLAGE HOUSE—65

—The Virtuoso—2 p. 12

ALCOHOLISM AND THE LAW—3

—By R. C. Thavarajah p. 14

IN RETROSPECT

—Farewell To Village Life p. 15

KAZI—38

—In The Horana Area p. 17

INANIA

—Death, Death To Self! p. 16

TWO TAMIL PLAYS

—By K. S. Sivakumaran p. 18

SANSKRIT

—Influence On The Malays p. 19

ASTROLOGY

—Scientists' Assert p. 19

CONFIDENTIALLY

—Milk Board p. 20

EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

Chou En-Lai And Sri Lanka

THERE IS A QUIP going the rounds—significantly, in the rural areas and not in the towns—that on the day after the Lion Flag of Sri Lanka was hoisted to signal the inauguration of the Mahaveli Diversion Scheme it was brought down to half-mast to mourn the death of the Chinese Prime Minister Chou En-lai. There is no doubt that Sri Lanka has much to be thankful to China in the last two decades and it was therefore only fitting that this country should go into a state of mourning in the same manner that China has done to honour the memory of one of the greatest Chinese of the modern era.

The day of the final funeral service in Peking, on January 15, was proclaimed a public holiday in Sri Lanka, but the country did not lose an extra working day because January 15 was already a public holiday on account of the Hindu Thai Pongal festival. The only other country which has honoured the Chinese leader in this way, (in the way Sri Lanka has done), as far as is known, is Pakistan.

In China itself, the funeral and the mourning has been on a low key, and this is something to be admired. Certain affluent countries in recent times have indulged in glittering tamashas when a national hero or a head of state (even a retired one) has died by inviting the top personages from every country to attend the funeral ceremony and procession. Some not-so-affluent countries have also followed suit to keep up with the times (and the Joneses') and such tamashas must have been a drain on their exchequers. China has done well to set an example which will help the poorer countries not to fall into the pitfall of wanting to make prestigious political capital out of the death of leaders of world renown. Peking was quick to make an announcement a few hours after the death as follows:

"The Funeral Committee has learned that the Governments, fraternal parties and friendly perso-

nages of some countries want to send delegations or representatives to China to take part in the activities to mourn over the death of Premier Chou En-lai, and for this it, expresses its deep gratitude. In accordance with Chinese customs and Protocol Reform, it has been decided that no foreign Government, fraternal party or friendly personage will be invited to send delegations or representatives to China, to take part in the mourning activities."

Whilst there can be controversy about the matter among pundits learned in Chinese customs, the key words in the announcement are "Protocol Reform". There is no doubt that the main motivation for the decision to keep the funeral on a low key was to "reform" some of ballyhoo which has attended funerals of national leaders. It may well be that in China funerals have always been purely a family affair. It is also a fact that Chinese civilisation has always been introspective and contact with the outside world was undertaken with great caution and diffidence. Much of this changed after 1949 in the political sense, but the world must respect China's desire to perform the last rites for Chou En-lai the way they want it. China is one of the few countries which could have afforded a mighty state funeral to which Governments and Organisations from the entire world could have been invited, but it has chosen to follow the path of protocol reform. Sri Lanka's Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, was one of those whose desire to attend the funeral in Peking was made known, but in deference to the wishes of the Chinese Government she abandoned her plans to go to China.

Sri Lanka's Prime Minister issued a statement within a short time of the announcement of the death of Chou En-lai. This is what she said:

"It is with a sense of grief and profound shock that I heard of the death of Prime Minister Mr. Chou En-lai. Prime Minister Mr. Chou En-lai was a long and sincere friend of the people of Sri Lanka. Both my husband and I were privileged to rank as personal friends of his. I remember that Mr. Chou En-lai visited Sri Lanka once in the time of my late husband and once again during my first period

of office as Prime Minister. It was on this later visit that he agreed to build the Bandaranaike Memorial International Conference Hall as a tribute to my late husband and to signify his personal friendship with him.

"I have also met the late P.M. twice in Peking and have always been impressed with his cordiality and friendship for us. Mr. Chou En-lai has also been sincerely sympathetic to the economic development of our country and the aspirations of our people. The magnanimous assistance that we have received from China in order to strengthen our economy has been, in my view, greatly due to his personal interest in our problems.

"The late P.M. was an outstanding statesman and world figure of the highest eminence. To the developing world in particular he has been a sincere and understanding friend. His commitment to the liberation of nations under colonial rule has been a source of great inspiration to them in their efforts to overcome foreign domination. His close concern for the economic development of these countries as a means of consolidating and furthering the independence they have won is also well-known. Whilst I feel a sense of personal loss at his death it can be truly said that Sri Lanka has lost a constant and sincere friend."

The Daily News, 10/1/76, reported under the heading JANUARY 15—DAY OF MOURNING.

The Government has declared January 15—the day of late Chinese Premier Chou En-lai's funeral—a day of national mourning. The Government has cancelled all State functions scheduled for that day. The Government has requested the public to express their sympathy on the loss of a great leader and sincere friend of Sri Lanka in an appropriate manner and directed all government departments, corporations and local government bodies to act accordingly.

The National flag will be flown at half mast over all government, local government and corporation buildings until the 15th. The late Chinese leader visited Sri Lanka twice, once in 1957 during the premiership of the late Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike. On his second visit in 1964 after Mrs. Bandaranaike became Prime Minister. Mr. Chou

Tributes

En-lai made the offer of an International conference hall for the people of Sri Lanka in memory of the late S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike. This is now the BMICH.

Mr. William Gopallawa, President of Sri Lanka, sent a message to Chu Teh, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National Peoples Congress of the People's Republic of China, extending sincere condolence on the death of Premier Chou En-lai. The message read: "It is with profound sorrow that I learnt of the death of His Excellency Prime Minister Chou En-lai. I had the privilege of knowing him personally and I recall the great regard and friendship he had for Sri Lanka and its people and the many courtesies he extended to my wife and myself. His demise is a great loss to your country and the world. Please accept our sincere condolence in your country's irreparable loss. I shall be grateful if you will convey to the family of the late prime minister our deepest sympathy."

Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, Prime Minister of Sri Lanka, sent also a message to Mr. Chu Teh. "It is with the deepest sorrow that the government and the people of Sri Lanka and I myself received the news of the death of His Excellency Premier Chou En-lai. May I convey to you and through you to the government and people of China our heartfelt condolences. Please also convey to the family of the late Prime Minister our sincerest condolences on their grievous loss. His Excellency Premier Chou En-lai was not only a beloved leader of the Chinese people but also a great international statesman held in the highest esteem throughout the world. He was a dedicated supporter of the hopes and aspirations of the developing world and his place in history as a resolute fighter for freedom and independence is assured. His Excellency Premier Chou En-lai occupies a special position in the hearts of his people of Sri Lanka because of his patently sincere and valuable contribution to the development of friendship between our two peoples. Sri Lanka mourns the loss of a dear friend."

The Daily News of January 12 reported:

The Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, will address a condolence meeting in Colombo on January 19 at 5 p.m. on the death

of the Chinese Premier, Chou En-lai. The meeting to be held at the BMICH, will be jointly sponsored by the Sri Lanka-China Friendship Association and the Bandaranaike Institute of International Study. Besides the Prime Minister representatives of the two sponsoring organisations will speak at the meeting. Mr. Ratne Deshapriya Senanayake, Deputy Minister of Planning and Economic Affairs and President of the Sri Lanka-China Friendship Association will chair the meeting which will be attended by members of the Cabinet, MPs, the Mayor of Colombo and leading citizens.

The Daily News also reported that:

MR. MAITHRIPALA SENANAYAKE Minister of Irrigation, Power and Highways and Leader of the National State Assembly visited the Chinese embassy yesterday morning and personally conveyed his condolences to the embassy's Charge d'Affaires on the death of Mr. Chou En-lai, Prime Minister of the Peoples Republic of China. Mr. Senanayake said, that late Mr. Chou En-lai was a statesman of the highest calibre, and his death was a loss not only to the Chinese people, but to the entire world and particularly to the progressive forces. His death had removed from their midst a firm personal friend of Sri Lanka for the last 20 years. Mr. Senanayake added that he had met late Mr. Chou En-lai three times personally and his warm-personality and friendliness had made such an impression on him that he felt the loss personally. The Charge d' Affaires replied he was grateful to the Sri Lanka Government for manner in which it associated itself in expressing its profound grief at the loss of Mr. Chou En-lai."

MR. T. B. ILANGARATNE Minister of Home Affairs, Trade, and Public Administration, said yesterday that Premier Chou En-lai's death was a great loss to the world. He said he had occasion to meet Premier Chou En-lai dozen times. Meeting him was an education by itself because he was so thorough with his knowledge of world affairs. The Minister said that Premier Chou had intimate knowledge and interest in the economic development of Sri Lanka. He was so interested in the wellbeing of the people of Sri Lanka that he was fully aware of the developments

in this country. The Minister said the Chinese Premier was a great and sincere friend of Sri Lanka.

MR. ANURA BANDARANAIKE Chief Organiser, SLFP Youth Leagues issued the following statement:

"It was with deep regret that we learnt of the death of the Prime Minister of the People's Republic of China, Mr. Chou En-lai. We consider him as one of the most brilliant statesman the world has known, an outstanding figure who will not be easily replaced. We feel that he is the best friend Sri Lanka has had, always sympathetic and understanding. I was perhaps the last from Sri Lanka to have seen him which was in April, 1975. The hour-long discussion we had in his hospital in Peking will remain in my mind forever, and the political advice he gave me will be cherished. His death is not only a loss to China but to the entire world. The impact of the contribution he made upon the history of the world will be felt as the weeks, the months and the years pass by. I would like to assure the youth of China on behalf of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party Youth Leagues, that we share their grief at the demise of one of their greatest sons."

The Minister of Finance and Minister of Justice Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike said yesterday that the death of Prime Minister Chou En-lai was a great loss. He said: "I have met Premier Chou En-lai twice—the first time in January 1963 in China. He was a wonderful man."

The President of the United National Party Mr. J. R. Jayewardene said that the death of the Chinese Prime Minister was a great loss to the world scene. "He was a great international statesman and his absence can only make the international scene poorer" he said. "I have already expressed my condolence at the Chinese Embassy."

Dr. S. A. Wickremasinghe, President of the Ceylon Communist Party said: "We express our condolences on the death of Chou En-lai, Prime Minister of the Peoples Republic of China. Although the Communists of Sri Lanka have differed sharply from many of the policies of the present leaders of the Communist party of China have followed since 1960, we hold in high esteem the contribution

Chou En-lai made to the victory of the Chinese Revolution and to the establishment of the Peoples Republic of China."

Dr. Colvin R. de Silva, Deputy Leader of the LSSP said: "Chou En-lai belonged to that constellation of geniuses who led the Chinese Revolution to victory and consolidated it into the third super-power in the world today. It is true that the towering figure of Mao Tse-Tung kept his colleagues in a shadow that perhaps obscured their real proportions, but Chou En-lai early came into the lime-light outside China as a genius in diplomacy who handled in a manner that was masterly the intricate and long-drawn task of bringing the People's Republic of China into the world comity of nations.

"Chou En-lai proved in later life that he was also an administrator of the highest skill. It is he who carried through the re-organisation of the Chinese state after the turbulence of the Cultural Revolution. Chou En-lai was a steady friend of Sri Lanka and never failed us in our difficulties. The death of Chou En-lai raises anew the question of the political succession to the leadership which has guided post-Revolution China for a period so lengthy that its top figures became permanent features of the international landscape. It is inevitable that, as they pass, there should be world speculation regarding their successors. However one thing is certain. The people of China will throw up from among their un-numbered millions men with the stature to cope with the national and international problems of the next period.

"That period may well prove to be a period of rapid advance of the World Revolution. How rapid that advance will be is a question in the determination of which the mighty People's Republic of China, which the men who are passing away created and consolidated, will and must play a powerful role. The revolutionary forces of the world salute Chou En-lai in death, as is the way of humanity, already, looks forward to the new day in which the successful revolution of the past can and will overflow their boundaries to flood the world."

The Central Committee of the **Ceylon Communist Party**, states that the death of Comrade Chou En-lai is an irreparable loss not only to the great Chinese people but also to all the progressive, revolutionary and liberation movement. The statement signed by Mrs. S. Samal de Silva adds: "As a diplomat par excellence, Comrade Chou En-lai ranked as the accredited agent of all the underprivileged and the third world countries. Comrade Chou En-lai will always be remembered for his staunch and determined fight against imperialism, neo colonialism and the modern revisionism of the Soviet Social Imperialist in his efforts to preserve the pristine purity of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought. A cable has been despatched to Comrade Mao Tse-tung expressing the heartfelt condolence of the Ceylon Communist Party and all the revolutionary forces in Ceylon."

Mr. Ratne Deshapriya Senanayake, President of the Sri Lanka-China Friendship Association said that the association was greatly moved and distressed by the death of the Chinese Prime Minister who is recognised as a great revolutionary fighter. "Under the leadership of Chairman Mao, Premier Chou En-lai dedicated himself to the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism while he was so closely associated with the national struggle."

Mr. Senanayake said that the people of Sri Lanka who had engaged in anti-imperialist struggles under the Bandaranaike governments had the sincerest regard for premier Chou who had contributed greatly to the establishment of friendly relations between the two countries and strengthened the political, economic and cultural ties.

He said that premier Chou who had contributed so much to the upliftment of the oppressed masses not only in China but the whole world will have his name inscribed in the hearts of all as a great revolutionary.

Mr. I. A. Cader, President of the Samstha Lanka Yonaka Sangamaya (All Ceylon Moors Association) said "I wish to express the sentiments of the Moors of Sri Lanka on the sad demise of a world leader, the late Mr. Chou En-lai, the Prime Minister of modern China. The late Prime Minister has been

associated with every phase of the development and progress of Sri Lanka and we as Moors of Sri Lanka are aware and appreciate the great benefits our country has derived from the Chinese nation and the late leader. The miraculous awakening and development of China is a lesson and encouragement to our own people and the loss of a leader of such a great nation is as much a loss to us as it is to the great Chinese nation."

Mr. Anil Moonesinghe, Deputy Secretary, Lanka Sama Samaja Party issued the following statement yesterday on the death of the Chinese Prime Minister. "The Lanka Sama Samaja Party expresses its deep regret at the passing away of the Prime Minister of the People's Republic of China. He was one of the great leaders of the revolutionary forces of the Chinese people who overthrew the decadent and corrupt capitalist system in that country and established a new social order. The LSSP wishes to convey to the people, the Communist Party and the Government of the People's Republic of China its deepest sympathies."

In a statement on the Chinese Premier's death **Mr. Dinesh Gunewardene** General Secretary of the Mahajana Eksath Peramuna (MEP) says the death of Mr. Chou En-lai a good friend of Sri Lanka who for many years had fought in the Chinese Liberation Army and later initiated the setting up of a Chinese Communist Party and was Prime Minister for twenty six years is a great loss to the revolutionary forces and freedom fighters in general.

In a statement the Sri Lanka-China Friendship Association deeply mourns the passing away of the Chinese Prime Minister Chou En-lai. The statement describes the late leader as a great marxist revolutionary and a sincere friend of Sri Lanka. It states:—

"The Sri Lanka-China Friendship Association deeply regrets the passing away of Premier Chou En-lai. Premier Chou En-lai was a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, a member of its Political Bureau and Standing Committee, Senior Vice Chairman of the Central Committee and Premier of the State Council. He was an outstanding marxist and great proletarian revolutionary.

From his early youth, Chou En-lai was in the thick of the nationalist struggles to liberate his country from imperialist, colonialist and feudal exploitation. He took part in the student struggles known as the May Fourth Movement of 1919 and served a term in jail after being arrested during this period. Chou En-lai was one of the earliest members of the Communist Party of China and, while in Europe, was the chief organizer for the party of the young Chinese who were working or studying in Europe in the early twenties.

"In 1924, Chou En-lai also took part in the National Revolution led by Sun Yat-sen with the support of the Communist Party. In 1927, at the Communist Party Fifth National Congress, Chou En-lai was first elected to the Central Committee and its Politbureau. He took part in the Long March and spent a good many years in Yenan, where he worked beside Chairman Mao, in supreme command. Chou En-lai was a great diplomat and a consummate negotiator. He was often sent by the Party on delicate missions. In 1936, at Sian, he was instrumental in saving the life of Chiang Kai-shek who had been arrested by his own generals. He would undoubtedly have been executed by them if not for Chou En-lai's intervention. After the Japanese surrender in 1945, Chou En-lai accompanied Chairman Mao to Chungking for peace talks with Chiang Kai-shek to put an end to the civil war. These were not successful due to the intransigence of the Kuomintang and Chiang Kai-shek. After the liberation of the country in 1949, Chou En-lai was appointed Prime Minister of the People's Republic of China and continued to be its Prime Minister since then. He was also Foreign Minister till 1958, but continued to take a keen interest in diplomacy even after relinquishing the post of Foreign Minister. Chou En-lai played a prominent role at the Geneva Conference in Indo-China in 1954 and it was entirely due to his efforts that the Afro-Asian Conference held at Bandung in 1955 was such a resounding success. The five principles of peaceful co-existence was formulated by him at this conference and these have guided China's relations with all countries since then. It is the corner-stone on which China has also established

its diplomatic relations with all countries of the world. These principles on which the relations between countries should be based in this modern world are now universally accepted by almost all countries except the imperialist and predatory powers.

"That China has been accepted as a sincere friend of the people of the world and has successfully allayed all fears about her, securely fostered by her enemies, is entirely due to her strict adherence to the five principles of peaceful co-existence and Premier Chou En-lai's efforts and successfully in diplomacy.

"Premier Chou En-lai has been a great and sincere friend of Sri Lanka and her people. Ever since diplomatic relations were established between our two countries, he has remained a true friend. He visited Sri Lanka twice, first in 1957 at the invitation of the late Premier S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, and then, again, in 1963. Whenever our Prime Minister visited China, Premier Chou En-lai has personally received her and has had friendly discussions with her. He always showed an abiding interest in the people of Sri Lanka, the progress of this country and

welfare of its people. Occasions are too numerous to mention when his personal intervention has resulted in enormous goodwill and benefit to the people of Sri Lanka—especially in the economic field. We, the friends of China in Sri Lanka, are greatly saddened at the passing away of this great son of China, a great Marxist revolutionary and sincere friend of Sri Lanka."

We have, for the record, reproduced a fair cross-section of what has appeared in the English language press in Ceylon about Chou En-lai. They are all statements issued by political leaders and organisations in this country. These excerpts indicate that there is widespread sentiments of friendship and admiration for the People's Republic of China in this country. It is not that Sri Lanka does not have similar feelings and sentiments to other countries, but note must be taken of the fact (if observers desire to make evaluations paying consideration to the finer nuances of political under-currents) that the government of Sri Lanka decided to formally and officially go into a period of mourning on the death of Chinese Premier.

NEW PRODUCTS FROM THE UNITED STATES

Protects Against Water, Acids, Bacteria And Dirt:

RE-USABLE, INEXPENSIVE DISPOSABLE CLOTHING

Disposable clothing is now being used in many chemical, nuclear and food plants and hospitals, where conventional clothing is damaged by paints, chemicals or contaminants. The challenge of the market has been to make the clothing durable, tear-free, snag—and puncture-proof and washable, but still disposable and inexpensive.

Now a Texas firm is selling a line of garments that it says meets these requirements. DURAFAB DISPOSABLES are made of TYVEK, a spunbonded olefin from DuPont. Included in the selection are bouffant caps, shoes covers, smocks, aprons, pants and shirts, coveralls, lab coats, slicker suits, butcher smocks, respirator hoods and nuclear coveralls.

Opaque DURAFAB is waterproof, acid resistant, and treated with a soluble antistatic agent. It is virtually lint-free, ideal for clean rooms, laboratories and electronic component manufacturing, according to the producer. The garments can be laundered many times. They also meet the requirements established by the U.S. Federal Flammable Fabrics Act for wearing apparel.

The clothing can be purchased in a variety of colors, from fluorescent ("safety") orange, to blue, green, yellow and white.

DURAFAB is inexpensive. Depending on the quantity ordered, the coveralls cost from \$95 to \$1.15 each. The surgeon's shirts range from \$.40 to \$.52 each. The clothing is packaged in lots of 24 to 60 per case. It can be purchased from Durafab Disposables, Inc., P.O. Box 658, Cleburne, Texas 76631.

CHRONICLE

Jan. 7 — Jan. 10

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—Achtha; SM—Silumina; SLD—Sri Lankadipa; JS—Janasathiya.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 7: Addressing a conference of SLFP youth leaguers Mr. Anura Bandaranaike, Chief Organiser of the SLFP Youth League, said that Mr J. R. Jayewardene, President of the UNP, has no right to lead his party: Mr. Bandaranaike referred to a pledge given by Mr. Jayewardene, in 1975 in which he said that he would resign from the post of President if he failed to ensure a general election at the end of five year of the present UF Government—CDM. The UNP decided not to participate at the Mahaveli diversion ceremonies at Polgolla tomorrow because according to the UNP the Government had gone back on an earlier assurance that Mr. Jayewardene, President of the UNP, would be allowed to speak at the inauguration ceremonies; meanwhile elaborate arrangements are being made for tomorrow's ceremonies connected with the Mahaveli Diversion Scheme: Government has ordered all departments and state institutions to fly the national flag tomorrow—CDM. Addressing a conference of Secretaries to Ministries Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Finance, said yesterday that treasury regulations should not be allowed to hinder Government's development projects: the Minister said according to new scheme drawn up by him secretaries will be vested with wide powers but reiterated the importance of handling public funds without waste—CDN. The Government nominated two additional directors to the Board of the Wellawatte Spinning and Weaving Mills and has ordered that no lay off labourers should be done—CDN. Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayakam, Leader of the Tamil United Front, has asked for explanation from five MPs of the Front who failed to be present at the voting of the No-Confidence Motion against the Prime Minister: the TUF will meet on Sunday to decide what action should be taken against these five MPs: the five Members who failed to vote on the No-Confidence Motion are Messrs. C. Rajadurai, Thangaturai, K. P. Ratnam, P. Neminathan and K. Jeyakody—VK. According to the *Lankadipa*, Pakistan has pledged to support Sri Lanka at any time if the country happened to experience a scarcity for food items: this aid will be under a bilateral trade pact. Witnesses have identified 44 policemen in three identification parades held at the Panadura Magistrate's Courts following an incident on Christmas day at the Moratuwa Police Station—DM. A sum of Rs. 13,632 has been paid as agricultural insurance between December 27 and January 2, according to the Agricultural Insurance Board—ATH. According to the *Janadina* the first to present a Bill in the Parliament on the Mahaveli diversion Scheme was Mr. Robert Goonewardena, the then LSSP MP for Kotte: he presented this Bill to the Parliament on October 24, 1956 and this Bill was defeated by the then MEP Government: the *Janadina*

also published the entire speech made by Mr. Goonewardena on this day about the proposal to divert the Mahaveli to the dry zone. The two Filipinos who hijacked a Airliner at the Manila airport surrendered to the authorities after ten hours: according to the authorities the two Filipino brothers hijacked the Japanese airliner with 200 passengers and 12 members of the crew just to have a free trip to Japan. President Ford warned Soviet Union to end its military intervention in Angola or face US counter measures. President Idi Amin of Uganda suggested that Angola issue should be peacefully settled and all foreign forces occupying the country should leave immediately.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 8: At the auspicious time of 10.07 a.m. the Prime Minister Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, will inaugurate the first stage of the Mahaveli diversion at Polgolla today: Mr. H. M. Navaratne, Deputy Minister of Agriculture and Lands speaking at a Mahaveli diversion Scheme ceremony held at Kandy yesterday said that it was the late Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, who initiated the Mahaveli diversion scheme: the CTB has made arrangements to run special bus services from all parts of the island to Polgolla in anticipation of a large gathering to witness today's inauguration and connected ceremonies—CDN. Mr. A. Yoganathan, the suspect in the Englebert Humperdinck show, was allowed bail in Rs. 2000 when he was produced by Police before a Magistrate yesterday—CDM. Mr. N. Sanmuganathan has been appointed Chairman of the Peoples Bank after the former Chairman resigned following the Cabinet reshuffle—CDM. The *Janadina* paid a tribute to a number of workers who died at the work site of the Mahaveli Diversion Scheme during the course of the construction and editorially said though the Government has confused the name of the Bandaranaikes with the Mahaveli no one seems to have thought of the "January 8 incident" at the Galle Road Kollupitiya where a Buddhist Priest was shot dead by Police in 1965 in a protest march against the then UNP Government. The Seventh Congress of the Communist Youth Leagues will start tomorrow with a meeting at the Nawarangahala and will end with a mass rally at the Hyde Park on the 11th—ATH. The sacred Bo sapling which arrived from India yesterday will be planted at Buddhist temple, Sri Sasanalankaraya, Udugama, on the 10th of this month—LD. Fierce fighting took place in Angola between forces backed by the Soviet Union and the West. Britain and India agreed to establish a joint committee on economic co-operation and trade to review at top Government and business levels their growing commercial and industrial relations.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 9: The Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, addressing the vast crowds present at the Mahaveli Diversion at Polgolla yesterday said that the Mahaveli diversion was the biggest and the most important project so far undertaken in this country: she said that proper use of the country's natural gifts can solve so many of the problems of the country: she appealed to every citizen to do his or her duty by the country: Mr. Maithripala Senanayake, Minister of Irrigation, Power and Highways said that with the proper use of the Mahaveli waters the country could achieve self sufficiency in food: religious ceremonies were held all over the island to mark the occasion—CDN & CDM. The first stage of the Rs. 50 million Colombo-Puttalam Canal clearing scheme will be completed by the end of July this year: the

Canal will be ready for navigation upto Negombo—CDM. The Government has relaxed the ceiling on private contractors who undertook state construction work: earlier work only upto Rs. 100,000 was given to private contractors and now this ceiling has been raised upto Rs. 300,000—CDM. The Ceylon Federation of Labour informed the Government that unless the Rs. 15 increase given to Government servants are included to state corporation, co-operative and private sector workers, the Federation would take stern trade union action—JD. According to the *Janadina* the dissident group of the UNP known as the *Janasammathawadha* UNP will field 100 candidates at the next general elections: this amounts to opposing the UNP candidates at all electorates. Ugandan President Idi Amin called for a immediate ceasefire in Angola following fierce fighting in which several people were killed: President Amin condemned the presence of foreign troops in Angola. Following the withdrawal of support by the Socialist Party the Italian Government resigned last night: the CIA has paid a sum of at least \$ 6 million in Italy for the anti Communist leaders to avoid a communist electoral gain: this has been confirmed by the White House in statement issue yesterday. Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, leader of the Conservative Party said that she hopes to become Britain's first woman Prime Minister in the next general elections defeating the present Labour Government. News was received late in the day that Mr. Chou En-lai, Prime Minister of China had died.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 10: The Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, said in a statement that it was with grief and shock she heard about the death of the Chinese Prime Minister, Mr. Chou En-lai: she said that Mr. Chou En-lai was a very good friend of the peoples of Sri Lanka and it was he responsible for the gift of the Bandaranaike National Memorial Hall which is now known as the BMICH: the Government yesterday decided to make January 15, the day of the funeral of the Chinese Prime Minister, a day of national mourning: until this date all Government Department and state corporations will fly the national flag half masted as a mark of respect to the late leader—CDN & CDM. The Secretary of the Ministry of Justice has been empowered to suspend or remit sentences imposed by a

court of law: this power has been vested with the Secretary under Emergency Regulations—CDN. Speaking at the Seventh Congress of the Communist Youth League Mr. Pieter Keuneman, Minister of Housing and Construction and President of the Communist Party said though some elements are desperately trying to divert the Government on a path of the rightists the Communist party will not neither support nor allow the Government to do this—VK. According to the *Daily Mirror* Foreign Ministry officials were yesterday working out the necessary arrangements for the Prime Minister to attend the late Chinese leader's funeral in Peking on January 15. Following the rise in the price of coconuts the Government has stopped the export of coconut from the beginning of this month—CDM. The *Janadina* in an editorial Mahaveli referred to the speech of the Prime Minister and other Ministers who claimed that this was the brainchild of the late leader Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike: the editorialsaid the masses will not forget that when the late Mr. Robert Gunawardena who was an LSSP MP at that time presented the Mahaveli diversion Scheme in 1956 it was defeated by the late Mr. Bandaranaike's MEP Government: the editorial also criticised the attitude of the Government which the paper said was make this opportunity for political gains without considering the men behind Mahaveli diversion scheme. According to the *Aththa* there is reasonable suspicion that the Arithmetic questions paper of the first NCGE examination that was held recently had leaked to several students in certain leading schools in Colombo: the paper editorially requested an investigation and an explanation from the authorities for this suspicion. According to the *Lankadipa* in keeping with the Chinese tradition no representative will participate at the funeral of the late leader Chou En lai. World leaders including US President Gerald Ford expressed their sympathies at the death of the Chinese Premier: the Prime Minister was suffering from cancer for a few years and had only occasional meetings with visiting VIPs. Indian External Affairs Minister, Mr. Y. Chavan, said in New Delhi that India is not satisfied with US assurances that all arms supplies to Pakistan would be cash terms and would considered on merit.

FOR THE RECORD

Dr. N. M. Perera
On The Treasury—2

Now something about this gentleman. He is the Chairman of the Bank of Ceylon as well as now, according to him, the man in charge of the Treasury—virtually in charge of all the Departments under the Treasury. The Treasury Circular says:

"All Chairmen of Corporations' except in regard to economic matters.."

(I do not know how they are going to make the distinction.)

"May deal directly with Mr. Wickramanayake and take orders from Mr. Wickramanayake."

Mr. Wickramanayake is also dealing with the Gem Corporation, as a Corporation under that Ministry. Now, who is Mr. Wickramanayake? He is a gem dealer. Have you a right to appoint a gem dealer to be in charge of the Corporation? I have photostat copies of his application to be a gem dealer. I will read it out. I have seen the original and I take full responsibility for the documents I am placing before this House. I am quite prepared to table them—

"DECLARATION—(I do not want to read the number) I, G.B. Wickramanayake hereby declare that all statements and representations

made by me and my agents are correct and I further declare that I shall observe all the terms and conditions upon which this Licence has been issued. I agree that this Licence may be cancelled and that all sums of money deposited by me may be forfeited if either any of the statements or representations made by me or my agents are untrue or if in the opinion of the General Manager of the State Gem Corporation I have failed to observe any of the terms and conditions upon which this Licence has been issued.

Here we are. It is signed by G.B. Wickramanayake, Precedent Partner.

To quote:—

"Gamini Benedict Wickramanayake Mrs. Malkanthie Winifred Wickramanayake."

That is his wife, who is also operating in the Ministry.

"John Rex Wickramanayake Mrs. Eileen Sreema Daluwatte Mrs. Elizabeth Muttulakshmi Dias Bandaranaike."

That is the wife of Mr. Felix R. Dias Bandaranaike.

"Wellington Jayanayagam Rasanayagam."

These are the members of the company of which Mr. Wickramanayake is the precedent partner.

Now, I come to the State Gem Corporation. Here is the State Gem Corporation application with all their signatures and so on:—

"State Gem Corporation Application For Gem Dealer's Licence—1974

1. Applicant's Full Name: "Palm Grove Farms"

These are the directors and members of Palm Grove Farms. You are talking about gem merchants that I have created but some of the merchants are your own people. I have not created them; they created themselves. They got the benefit of my activity, the Government activity.

Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike:

So, you created them!

Dr. N. M. Perera:

I created them only in an indirect sense, for a good number of gem merchants existed. But, of course, you have now taken the full benefit of the benefits that existed—not only you, there are a lot of other people from the top element who are there. To quote:—

"2. Residential Address: 101, Galle Road, Colombo."

Please note this address. I want you to note that because I am coming to something else he has done. This residence is important.

"3. Business Address: —Do—"

The business is also 101, Galle Road, Colombo.

"4. Does the applicant have any other Branches? Please state Address. Farm at Kottawa."

That is another farm.

"5. Name of the District where the Business is carried out. Colombo

6. Name of partners, if any: As per List."

That is in the List I just now mentioned.

"7. Is the applicant a citizen of Sri Lanka?"

(i) by descent— By Descent

(ii) by registration—

8. Do you possess any synthetic colourless stones? No..

9. Are you a Registered Foreign Exchange Dealer with the Department of Exchange Control? No.

10. Have you obtained a Licence for the last year. If so please state the Licence No. No.

"11. Have you been punished for any offence connected with gem dealing? No."

That is a consolation.

"12. Maximum value of the stock you intend to possess during the course of the year. Rs. 500,000"

That is nearly half a million rupees. The Gem Licence number is given there. The amount deposited was Rs. 500.

Now I want to come to the gem dealing transactions. I have got them.

On 29.1.75 with Daimon Jewellery, Japan, U.S. Dollars, 5,990.87 which is equivalent to Rs. 40,138.79; on 1.4.75 with Nakao, Thakal, U.S. Dollars 2,915.31.

The rupee equivalent is Rs. 18,832.88. S.R. Purren Ltd. also on 1st April Canada, U.S. Dollars 4,691.63 and the rupee equivalent Rs. 30,307.90. On 6th August 1975, Nakao Siakui, Japan, 2,542.57 dollars and the rupee equivalent Rs. 17,975.97. Then on 20th October 1975, after he became the de facto Secretary to the Treasury, Noor Trading Company, Hong Kong, 2,545.79 dollars and the rupee equivalent Rs. 19,067.94. Again, Noor Trading Company, Hong Kong, on the same date, 4,353.65 dollars and the rupee equivalent Rs. 32,608.82. On the 27th October 1975, Noor Trading Company, Hong Kong 7,478.04 dollars and the rupee equivalent Rs. 56,085.30. Again on 27th October 1975, Noor Trading Company, Hong Kong, 7,840.60 dollars and the rupee equivalent Rs. 58,804.50.

What is the propriety of having a man who is a gem dealer to look after the Gem Corporation? He is the Head of the Gem Corporation now. As the Secretary to the Treasury he is in charge of all the corporations. The least the Minister should have done is to see that he has nothing to do with the Gem Corporation which is working under him. He is exporting gems. His company is exporting gems.

What is the morality of this whole business? You are prosecuting people in the C.J.C... You had better prosecute yourself first and your kich and kin. This is corruption of the worst type. This is immorality. What is the propriety of having your own men doing things like this? I happen to know that he has questioned certain valuations also. He is bound to. He is interested in the whole business. Are there certain valuations which have been reduced? Where are we? These are people who are talking of morality, corruption, and so on, and trying to clean up corruption in high places. Cleanse yourself before you start trying to cleanse others.

He is still exporting gems. A Government servant cannot even have his wife doing business. It is part of the Administrative Regulations. The Minister's wife who is also his secretary, cannot be in charge of this job.

I said, note the address on the application because this is important. I have got applications made by this gentleman to the Bank of Ceylon. I am only saying this because I want you to note the address on the application made by him to the Bank of Ceylon:—

"Name of Applicant: Mr. G. B. Wickramanayake and Mrs. W. M. Wickramanayake, Address, 101, Galle Road Colombo 3."

This is very important. This is an application for finance. The proposed limit of existing loans was to be increased to Rs. 40,000. There are a number of loans. I am not objecting to those loans. I am interested in his address that is given: his personal address of Galle Road.

I will tell you why.

I have told you already that he has a poultry farm in Kottawa—Palm Grove Farm. That was the basis on which he had made an application for a gem licence. Thereafter, he made an application for a telephone connection to this place, Palm Grove Farm. When that application was made, the Telecommunications Department made an estimate. The Departmental estimate for the telephone connection was Rs. 24,000 and the applicant was asked to deposit this sum in order that the Department could make the connection. But what did he do? He was al-

Public Morality?

ready Secretary to the Ministry of Public Administration. He wrote to the Telecommunications Department saying "My residence is not 101, Galle Road, but Palm Grove Farm, Kottawa", and got the Government to instal an official telephone there. The number is 443, Maharagama Exchange.

Chairman:

I presume that the Hon. Member takes responsibility for these statements?

Dr. N. M. Perera:

Yes, Sir, I take full responsibility.

I have already pointed out to you, Sir, that his declared address is 101, Galle Road. For the purpose of getting a telephone connection free of charge from Government he utilized his position and gave the other address. I believe that his home number is the number of his official telephone namely, 20865. That is found in the Telephone Directory. Now he has got No. 443, Maharagama Exchange. I believe that is within your electorate, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman:

No. That is away from my electorate.

Dr. N. M. Perera:

Anyway, that is the official telephone now. Private business is transacted at this place. All the poultry business is transacted there. And he is a very successful poultry businessman selling about 10,000 eggs a day or a week. I give him credit for being a successful businessman. Of course he is, when one can utilize one's position in order to get an official telephone. That is one of the cleverest things most businessmen do. A lot of poultry business is transacted over that telephone. I do not know who pays. I have not been able to find out. A state telephone is used for that purpose.

There is something more about this gentleman I have to tell you. This gentleman was, sometime back, the Chairman of the Oils and Fats Corporation that provides feed for poultry and so on. There was a strike in that place and the workers unanimously demanded that he be removed from that post, and Mr. Subasinghe had to remove him from that place in order to have peace in the institution. When he was Chairman of that Corporation he signed a contract with his farm to provide

poultry food for his poultry. This contract was signed at the rates prevailing then; and these rates still continue.

A person who was in charge of a farm of that nature should never have accepted that office if he was honest. Propriety demanded that he should not accept that job because he was involved in this whole business. These are elementary precautions that have to be taken. A Minister is prevented from becoming a director of a company, a Minister is prevented from doing business like that. When one is appointed Chairman of a corporation like that, surely one must not run a business having an interest in the products—of that corporation and be in a position to draw the benefits. Even if you do not draw the benefits, it is inevitable that people will start talking about benefits being drawn by virtue of the fact that you are the Chairman of the Corporation.

These questions are being raised by the Auditor-General, including the telephone matter. I am raising this because I fear that these matter will not come up in the life time of this Parliament. I do not want that to happen, and I want to assure the Auditor-General to carry out his job and do it quickly without fear or favour in the interests of maintaining the high standard of morality that we expect of a Government. It is surely wrong that he should have accepted that job as Chairman knowing that he was interested in animal foods.

Do you think we should continue to have this gentleman as de facto Secretary against the Constitution, against all canons of public administration? The least that we can expect of this Government is to see that this man is removed overnight from that job. He has no right to remain there one minute longer than you can help it. He must be removed in the interests of cleansing the administration of this country. You talk about the steps taken to eradicate corruption in this country. You must set the example first. Let others follow.....

BUDGET 1976—1

Political Courage And Financial Acumen

By N. U. Jayawardene

We publish in two instalments the full text of the speech made by Mr. N. U. Jayawardene on the Budget 1976 at the Colombo Rotary Club early in December 1975. Mr. Jayawardene reflects a point of view of significance and consequence in this country.

THE BUDGET for 1976 announced by the Minister of Finance on 5th November 1975 is in many ways remarkable. It contains, for the first time, a succinct analysis of the economic trends of the national economy over the last thirteen years, which in the course of 6 pages of the printed copy of the budget speech, deftly depicts the developments of this period. One would have preferred, if he had produced as a White Paper, a comprehensive survey both of the economic situation as it has developed and of the budgets over the period of time, treated functionally and analytically. But the Minister was fighting against time. We should probably have to await his budget next year for these exercises.

I shall refer to a few salient features emerging from the Minister's analysis as a backdrop to my comments on the budgets itself.

Since 1963, population has increased by another 3 million to 13.6 million, representing an average rate of increase of about 2 per cent per annum as compared with an annual growth rate of 2.7 per cent experienced in previous decennium. This has had implications on the allocation of resources. There are now 77 dependents (i.e. below 15 years and over 65 years of age) for every 100 persons of working age. Given a commitment to various social welfare programmes increased resources had to be utilised for consumption purposes rather than for economic development. The rate of increase in the numbers of newly created jobs has not kept pace with



the increase in the numbers seeking employment, and according to the 1971 population census it would appear that there were over 800,000 persons unemployed, nearly 40 per cent of whom have studied up to the O-Level. It is evident that the economic policy of successive Governments has not succeeded in achieving an adequate level of growth to solve the problem of unemployment. The trend has been towards a very slow growth compared to what has been achieved in neighbouring countries such as Malaysia and Singapore.

DESPITE THIS slow economic growth a commendable feature has been a movement towards greater equality in the distribution of income by reductions in the shares received by the richer group of households and by significant increases among the poorer groups. The share in income of the poorest 40 per cent of the households has risen since 1963 from 14 per cent to 19 per cent in 1973. Similarly, the share of income received by the top 10 per cent of households has declined from 37 per cent to 28 per cent during the same period. If the impact of the Government's social welfare measures as well as the progressivity of our tax structure on distribution of income are also taken into account, there is even more dramatic evidence of the shift in more egalitarian distribution over the whole period.

During the period, both growth of national income and its favourable distribution were dominated by the main emphasis on import substitution in agriculture. Industrialisation was initially based on an inward-looking policy aimed at substituting in an ad hoc fashion the imports of selected consumer goods. However, some of these industries far from saving foreign exchange, required more foreign exchange to support them.

Between 1970 and 1975 industries, both in the private and Government sectors, have pursued a more aggressive policy towards export promotion. The success of the more recent export thrust can be seen in the fall in the share of tea, rubber and coconut exports, the traditional export earners, from 90 per cent in 1970 to 75 per cent today.

The process of export diversification has not, however, offset the continued deterioration of the terms

of trade and the resulting compression of our capacity. The problem was met in part by resort to heavy foreign borrowing but the constraint on our balance of payments and external banking reserves were such that we reached the position of possessing net external banking liabilities in place of assets.

IN FISCAL MANAGEMENT, successive Governments have been committed to two broad objectives, namely, the provision of social welfare measures such as subsidised food, free education and free health and the promotion of economic development. In the context of limited availability of resources, the allocation has generally favoured the provision of social welfare measures. This has meant that consumption needs of the present generation have taken precedence over the need for economic development for the benefit of generations to come.

In the context of this commitment to welfare expenditure and the increasing role of Government in promoting economic growth both directly and indirectly, the budget deficits have progressively increased in magnitude. The budget deficit which in 1960/61 stood at Rs. 492 million was Rs. 7,600 million in the fiscal year 1974 and is expected to exceed Rs. 2,000 million in 1975.

My comments on the economic trends have been culled from the section of the Minister's budget speech headed "State of the Economy" which I suggest should be compulsory reading for our estimable Members of Parliament,

aspirants to Parliamentary office, political debators, teachers and students, apart from men of public affairs and men of business affairs. For if one studies the analysis of the Minister and tries to understand it, I feel sure that there will be more sense and less froth in public debate on economic affairs of this country than we have been hitherto accustomed to have.

I do not propose to tire you after your lunch with the arithmetic of the budget. The arithmetic itself has become a matter of controversy. The Minister of Finance himself has confessed that he is not good at addition but not bad at division!

The truth of the matter is that the arithmetic of the budget is correct. He followed the previous practice of allowing for under expenditure on current and capital account to determine the net cash outlays, he set off against these outlays the revenue and other receipts; the result was a substantial current account surplus on Rs. 418 million but a large overall cash or budget deficit, larger than before which earlier analysis of economic trends, as a preliminary to his unfolding of the budget itself, the Minister has stressed, has been a recurring feature every year. He has designed his fiscal policy to produce a balanced budget, overall, leaving a marginal surplus of Rs. 2 million!

ON THE MERE ARITHMETIC of the budget I have just one comment to make. Following the long established traditional of his predecessors, the Minister has balan-

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Democratic Socialism Or Socialist Democratic Society?

ced the 1976 budget but without making provision for supplementary estimates likely to be introduced during the year. In 1974 supplementary estimates on current and capital account amounted to Rs 1,045 million or approximately 20 per cent of the provision in the original estimates. In 1975, supplementary estimates are reckoned altogether at Rs. 637 million. If supplementaries follow their previous pattern in 1976 as well, the arithmetically balanced budget will get unbalanced, unless (i) substantial under-expenditures on current and capital account are realised, (ii) supplementary estimates are severely pruned down or eliminated, (iii) revenue buoyancy, partly stimulated by investment growth itself, generated by his tax proposals is such that receipts on this account exceed significantly the revenue anticipated in the budget, (iv) there is a combination of all these factors to reduce the resulting gap and (v) other forms of finance through increased non-bank borrowing as a result of much larger savings or a greater flow of external finance, contribute to reducing or eliminating the budget gap.

The remarkable feature of the budget, as an exercise of political courage and financial acumen, is the dexterity he has displayed by combining political skill in offering reliefs, within the constraints of the budget, to as wide a spectrum of the community affected by the hardships of the present economic crisis with its inflationary overtones with tax adjustments, concessions and incentives to increase investment and expand growth. For this purpose, he has introduced a complex of fiscal measures designed (i) to increase (a) the will to work, save, risk and invest and (b) the ability to save, invest and develop, and (ii) to establish the infrastructure through reorganising the banking structure and offering an invitation to foreign investment and linking it with statutory safeguards for the foreign investor, but coupling it with the catalyst of technology, management and export marketing which foreign investment can offer to promote speedily development and growth.

In farming his fiscal policies, he has had the courage to draw a firm distinction between Democratic Socialism which is the basic principle underlying the philosophy of Bandaranaike policies with its counterpart of a Social Democratic Society and the confused notions, which became current coin after the formation of the Coalition of the United Front in 1970, of Socialism and of a Socialist Democratic Society as if both sets of concepts were identical in principle and application.

In a Socialist Democratic Society which in my view is a misnomer for a Collectivist Society, the tax proposals of the Minister of Finance have no place and function; in a Social Democratic Society, the tax proposals are an integral element of its fiscal structure.

IT IS DIFFICULT to comment on the new proposals relating to Direct Taxation in the absence of the relevant details which will appear in the relevant legislation. I must utter a note of caution. However, admirable are the principles of policy underlying the Minister's Tax Proposals, their ultimate outcome in achieving the economic objectives he has sought can be negated, in a large measure, in application of the detailed formulation of the proposals themselves. So it is necessary for one to suspend judgement until then, though one can safely conclude that having had the political courage and financial sagacity to introduce the new budget proposals, the minister will ensure that the details relevant to their application conform to the principles underlying the proposals.

I shall next comment briefly on the direct tax proposals themselves:

- (1) **Personal Income Tax:** It requires great political and high moral, courage for a Finance Minister to undertake at one remove, a series of radical measures which I would call an assault on the Direct Taxation Front at several points, namely.
 - (a) Raising exemption of income tax of salaried employees from Rs. 6,000 to Rs. 9,000 per annum which is right in the prevailing climate of unchecked inflation.
 - (b) Disaggregation, for income tax purposes of a wife's employment income from a husband's income up to certain, limits. There sho-

uld be safeguards against possible loopholes for evasion and avoidance. It is conceivable that a business with a large number of female dependents may find it convenient and attractive to have them all ostensibly employed on the staff of the business at maximum permissible salary levels and contrive to minimise the tax liability through disaggregation of a single family income. Such conduct, lacking morality, will invite eventually withdrawal of and the very destruction of the concession.

- (c) Disaggregation of employment income up to certain limits from non-employment income.
- (d) Reduction of maximum marginal rate of income tax to 50 per cent from 65 per cent. One must recognise that no Finance Minister of any other Government of whatever political hue, not even of a Government of the rightist persuasion associated with the UNP in the popular mind, would have had the courage to propose this reduction. I do sincerely hope that in the next budget, the Minister would reduce this rate to 45 per cent, which is the ideal rate of income tax in this situation. It will discourage tax evasion and avoidance; significantly improve tax compliance, and most likely increase, as a result, tax revenue. If the maximum tax rate is reduced to 45 per cent, he should simultaneously raise the realised capital gains tax to 45 per cent from the present level of 25 per cent. In the last analysis, there is little economic distinction between income and capital gains in an age of inflation. On a personal note, the increase in capital gains tax to 45 per cent will inflict a very material loss on me, but that is beside the point.
- (e) The Minister rightly rejected most of the tax proposals of his predecessor for 1975, but should he reduce the maximum rate of tax on personal income to 45 per cent and raise the realised capital gains tax to 45 per cent, then he would be right in implementing the proposal of his predecessor to abolish the Capital Gains Tax on death or on gifting.
- (f) The Minister has correctly abolished compulsory savings and the ceiling on income introduced

by his predecessor. These two measures were erected to the status of Sacred Cows in the fiscal policy of that era. They lacked rationality or economic justification.

(g) The Minister has retained the Company tax at 60 per cent but has offered a reduction to 50 per cent by way of a 10 per cent rebate linked to approved investment plans and offered a lower rate of 40 per cent to People's Companies.

This is so far so good. There is room for further improvement in the next budget. He could reduce the Company tax to 45 per cent and the tax on People's Companies to 25 per cent. I shall explain why presently.

A strong argument claimed, historically at least, in favour of a high rate of Company tax in Sri Lanka, has been that it would reduce the burden of remittance of profits earned by foreign companies from their agricultural and business operations. With the nationalisation of agricultural land and with the statutory requirement that almost all foreign concerns engaged in business must be incorporated in Sri Lanka, this argument loses much of its value. Besides, with the re-introduction of the expenditure tax, if it is rationally and effectively administered, a lower rate of Company tax should augment funds of business enterprises for productive investment which is the mainspring of growth and also offer a strong incentive to greater economy of resources in business management, which high taxation tends to discourage. There is also the further consideration that a reduction in direct taxation on profits will contribute to a lowering of prices to the overall benefit of the consumer, and which point I shall develop presently. Another reason for reducing Company tax rate to 25 per cent for People's Companies, thus bringing this rate broadly to the level of so-called small Companies, is that in a Social Democracy there is a paramount need for diffusion of property ownership and the lower rate will serve as a strong spur to promotion of People's Companies. These are fiscal cosmetics

which the Minister could consider in the next budget.

An innovative aspect of the budget is the introduction of the very desirable feature of worker's incentives and production incentives. Worker's incentives are offered by way of a statutory share of the profits.

I would wish to dwell on this for a moment before the forum of an institution like the Rotary Club. The requirement of compulsory profit sharing springs from the indisputable economic principle that (i) all output is a joint product of labour and capital—by labour I include management too—and that (ii) it is the institution of private property which enables property owners to appropriate the surplus after meeting the market price of wages and other expenses. A situation is equally conceivable where those employed in production hire capital at the market price, organise production on their own and appropriate the surplus.

(To be Concluded)



BUILDING A VILLAGE HOUSE—65

The Virtuoso—2

By Herbert Keuneman

We saw last week—anyway I was meaning you to see, even if I didn't make the point labouredly clear—that when entirely on their own the simple 'good' man stands no chance at all against today's breed of artful dodger, the *gamarala* we were talking about and the Drummer. (They are not on their own in point of fact, no need to get discouraged about it, yet this is how it often appears).

The thing about artful dodgers like the Drummer is that they can turn the smallest items to their advantage. Here, for instance, was this pair of unlikely allies going out to rescue the *gamarala's* daughters, whom a *rakshaya* had run off with, and the *gamarala* had no armour but a just quarrel and the Drummer's accoutrement did not look like much; I mean to say, a tusk! a toothpick! a deer-hide rope! a drum! But then, you couldn't be expected to know the kind of thing that comes in useful dealing with *rakshayas*; the Drummer did.

Their journey took the two many a weary mile. But at last, about nightfall, they came to a lonely house in a palm grove; and it needed only the smell of human flesh that hung about it to identify it as the *rakshaya's* dwelling. At the same time, the absence of the stertorous crepitan breathing peculiar to *rakshayas* (which has been linked by more vivid pens than my own to a distant-cannonade) proclaimed the welcome fact that the *rakshaya* was not at home. Equally welcome the fact which they saw for themselves: that both the girls were. There was Kiri Menika, the elder, plying her domestic chores as a *rakshaya's* helpmeet dutifully should, gathering up a human femur here and a human sternum there and piling them up in a corner of the compound to be tidily burned, looking perhaps a little disillusioned but as beautiful as ever; and a little way off, Ran Menika was playing with some old skulls, building pyramids and knocking them down again. It was indeed an idyllic picture; and Kiri Menika's loveliness so graced it that the Drummer began to long for nothing so much as even the privilege of merely holding her hand. The Quest was over! All that remained was to hurry the innocent damsels—well, they claimed to be innocent—from their charnel-house cloister. It seemed to good to be true.

It was, so. Scarcely had they greeted each other when a whiffling noise announced the approach of the *rakshaya*! Kiri Menika had barely time to hustle her father and his companion into the high loft above the kitchen fire before the *rakshaya* entered, bending low to pass beneath his twelve-foot door. None that has never seen a *rakshaya* can adequately picture 'his un-picturesqueness: you must draw what impression you can from his first words. 'A-a-a-ah! he breathed, wrinkling a nose like several pounds of hog's liver. 'Smell of human flesh! Lovely, lovely, lovely smell of human flesh!'

Dainty Kiri Menika, for all her nervousness concerning the stowaways ensconced a foot (if that) above the *rakshaya's* head, stood up to him admirably. 'Smell of human flesh!' she chided snappishly. 'You silly old *rakshaya* you! You guzzle human flesh all day; you stuff the frig and every cupboard in this house with it; you've just

The Prakshaya

been eating somebody, as I can see because you haven't wiped your mouth, you dirty pig! and then you talk of a "smell of human flesh"! Pish!

She might even have gone, who knows! so far as to say 'Tush!' had not the *rakshaya* interrupted. 'No,' he said, 'this is fresh flesh.' He sniffed. 'Live flesh! Lovely, live, fresh human flesh.' This, as you may imagine, put all four humans present in something of a tizzy. But after all, the *rakshaya* (who had really fed very well already) allowed himself to be led off to bed and lay down and went to sleep without again referring to the subject.

At dawn the Drummer awoke, and from force of habit unthinkingly began lightly fingering his drum and quietly singing to himself. The *rakshaya* was instantly alert. Thrashing furiously about, he repeatedly shouted 'Who's that? Who's that?' in a voice that lifted the thatch from the roof.

'Now', whispered the *gamarala* to the Drummer in a terror, 'you've gone and done it!'

Politely waiting until the *rakshaya* had shouted 'Who's that?' for the third time, he answered firmly, if not quite unequivocally, after village custom: 'Mama', it's me.

At the best of times this is not an enlightening, not to say reassuring, identification, and the *rakshaya* was no whit enlightened or reassured. The Drummer therefore, recognizing the *rakshaya's* excitement as excusable, introduced himself more fully. 'I', he announced in a not-to-be-trifled-with kind of voice, 'am the *rakshaya*-eating *prakshaya*!'

'Wha-a-a-at?' screamed the *rakshaya*. The unhappy fellow was quite panic-stricken.

You must understand that there is nothing, but nothing, that a *rakshaya* fears—indeed is brought up from childhood to fear—as much as a *prakshaya*. To make matters worse for the poor devil (and I measure every latter word) there is really no such creature. As a result, a *prakshaya* is to a *rakshaya* no less fearsome than a *rakshaya* is to an ordinary human being; and ancient *rakshayas* have handed down to their descendants several useful tests by which a *prakshaya* may be unmistakably verified.

'I—I—don't believe you', quavered our *rakshaya* hopefully.

'Oh I am. I am indeed. No doubt about it' came back the Drummer, as one who brooks no contradiction.

'Oh!' said the *rakshaya* nervously. 'So?'

'W—well then, sh—show me your fangs!' (This is the First Test by which *rakshayas* may recognize *prakshayas* and, metaphorically speaking, get on their marks. But it isn't infallible, there are other and surer tests).

'I'll show you just one,' said the Drummer grudgingly. 'Since you ask,' he said. And he hung the elephant tusk over the edge of the loft on which he and the *gamarala* lay.

'Heavens!' sighed the *rakshaya*. 'Sh-sh-show me an eye-lash!'

'Here', said the Drummer; and as the *rakshaya* put up his hand to feel he stuck the sharp silver toothpick hard into one of the great groping fingers.

'Ow!' the *rakshaya* howled. Then falteringly: 'Sh-sh-sh-show me your hair? W-w-w-will you, n-n-n-nice dog?'

'Well, just one stalk of it, then' the Drummer agreed. And he lowered the end of the deer-hide rope.

The *rakshaya* gasped. 'God be my witness!' he fervently petitioned.

The situation was shaping desperately. The *rakshaya* mulled over it some short while, then resolved to stake everything on the conclusive Final Test. He summoned all his all-but-vanished courage. 'Let us roar', he challenged, letting out a bellow that nearly had the Drummer (and the *gamarala*) out of the loft from the blast.


But the Drummer was equal even to this. Setting his drum across his knees he beat out such a *pade*—such a tattoo—that the hairs flew out of the *rakshaya's* beard, one by one; and in the royal capital many miles distant, from far and near the army mobilized for war.

The fight was, by now, completely knocked out of the *rakshaya*; and with a despairing wail of 'I'm going to consult my guru-oo-oo-oo-oo!' he fled from the house to his demon tutor who (in the way of tutors) had taught him how to identify a *prakshaya* but nothing else to do about one.

'Now!' shouted the Drummer. And seizing Kiri Men'ke by the hand and bestowing Ran Men'ka, the little girl, into her father's care he led them all quickly into refuge in the palm grove.

And none too soon. They had not penetrated far when the whiffing noise, but this time twice as loud and terrible, heralded again the approach of the *rakshaya* with his *guru* (a giant even amongst *rakshayas*) placed prudently in his van.

'Hide!' the Drummer called. And suiting action to the word—nor yet forgetting to take his drum with him—he shinned rapidly up a palm tree. The girls, slenderer than palm stems, hid themselves



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without difficulty. But the *gamarala* having got only halfway up his tree, slipped in his hurry and slid all the way down to the foot of it again. With a howl the pair of *rakshayas* leaped for him.

Then the Drummer, shaking the palm fronds amongst which he sat until they tossed as though the south-west wind raged in them, beat on his drum a *pade* so full of thunder that in the capital the king's newly-mobilized army forthwith flung down their arms and deserted. Next, while the *rakshayas* shaken and trembling hesitated, he sprang to the ground, took Kiri Menika again by the hand, pushed Ran Menika towards her father, shouted at the top of his voice 'You look after the young one, *gamarala*; leave the elder one to me!' and, followed by the others, sped straight for home.

A good bluff seldom fails. The two *rakshayas* hesitated no longer. Misinterpreting the Drummer's words (as he had deliberately intended) they became quite disorganized and fled from the palm grove, squealing 'The *prakshaya* is upon us, the *prakshaya* is upon us! Two *prakshayas* are upon us! We are undone, we are altogether undone!' until at last the sound of them died in the distant forests.

But the *gamarals* let the Drummer hold Kiri Menka's hand all the way back to the village, at the Drummer's insistence... just for safety's sake.

(To be Concluded)

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ALCOHOLISM AND THE LAW—3

Alcoholics Anonymous

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

PETER "A", the most highly charged energetic 'livewire' of the Colombo Branch of the *Alcoholics Anonymous* had some very interesting things to tell me. He believed in Group Therapy, that is, members sharing their experiences both emotional and alcoholic experiences. At their "Open" Meetings, leading psychiatrists, religious leaders, eminent members of the Legal and Medical profession and others interested address the gatherings. Peter was, however, most emphatic about one point. He, most categorically, reiterated "Ours is not a Tempe-

rance Movement. We insist on total abstinence only for the alcoholics."

My own view is that this is a more dynamic and constructively positive approach than the rigor of dogma and lugubrious liturgies which can most easily be proffered by pious puritans. The A.A. neither endorses nor does it oppose any movement with similar aims. Strict Anonymity is most religiously observed to enable the helpiest addict to seek and obtain re-habilitation without any injury to his personality and private life. Besides, the carefully studied programme is calculated to achieve 'Ego deflation'. Publicity will, in the opinion of Peter "A", not only defeat the main purpose of A.A. but also help to increase the ego.

There are six centres in Sri Lanka and over a million members all over the World. The Police in Western countries help the Alcoholics Anonymous by requesting the offenders charged for various offences committed whilst under the influence of liquor to attend A.A. Meetings. These individuals are provided with cards which are signed by the Chairman of the A.A. as proof of their attendance. A smile of satisfaction lit up Peter's face as he told me that several cases of persons subject to VIOLENT Criminal behaviour have been re-habilitated by the A.A. Groups of Sri Lanka. According to Peter, the 'intake' of members at present is mainly of the age group of 25 to 35 years—those who have silt to retain their jobs and their families. He was sad, however, that, although the percentage of success was appreciably high, there were the 'odd' cases who joined the A.A. but did not make the grade. Reason—they were always looking for excuses.

A common threadbare excuse for consumption of liquor is that Jesus Christ turned water into wine at the marriage feast at CANA of Galilee; "and the Mother of Jesus was there"—Gospel according to St. John, Chapter II, verse No. 1—It may well be that Christ, considering the urgency of the need as there was a shortage of the 'stuff' converted the six pots containing 'aqua pura' into fresh, sparkling wine. It certainly is a 'non-squitor' that he by this act if miraculous conversion encouraged alcoholism.

By way of digression, I am impelled to refer to Lord Byron's explanation of the episode. When asked by his lecturer to write an essay on the miracle at Cana, Byron looked up at the ceiling for a long time and, just before the answer scripts were collected, wrote one pithy sentence—"The water saw its Lord and Blushed". He won the first prize scoring over the rest of the class who wrote lengthy compositions. There are some who quote from the Bible—The Gospel according to St. Mathew, Chapter 15, verse No: 11—"Not that which goeth into the mouth defileth a man" and, conveniently omit the rest of the verse which reads "but that which cometh out of the mouth, this defileth a man."

Instead of stupidly, like the Devil as William Shakespeare put it "citing the Scriptures for its purpose", they will be well advised to study the Holy Bible more thoroughly. Sir Walter Scott (1771-1882), 18th century Edinburgh intellectual, and a pioneer of the Romantic movement; "A conservative who celebrated the greatness of beggars, outcasts and madmen; a rationalist constantly fascinated by superstition, omens and prophecies; an incorrigible Jacobite, author of the immortal of "The Lay of the Last Minstrel", Marmion, Old Mortality, "The Lady of the Lake", The Heart of Midlothian, and other masterly contributions to the English Prose and Poetry said of the Bible.. "The more deeply he works the mine, the richer and more abundant he finds the ore; new light continually beams from this source of heavenly knowledge, to direct the conduct, and illustrate the work of GOD and the ways of men; and he will at last leave the world confessing, that the MORE he studied the Scriptures, the fuller conviction he had of his own ignorance and of their inestimable value". Sir Walter Scott was a supporter of the House of Stuarts' claim to the Throne of England and Scotland against those of the ruling House of Hanover

THE LAW RELATING TO INTOXICATION.

It will be disgustingly and painfully boring if I were to impose on the readers a protracted dissertation on the basis and content of the Law relating to Criminal Liability on the ground of Intoxication. Several invaluable complica-

tions have been written by eminent jurists and legal luminaries. Dr. G. L. Peiris, L.L.B. (Hons), Ceylon, (Sri Lanka), D.Phil (Oxon), Lecturer in Law, University of Sri Lanka, sometime Rhodes Scholar, University of Oxford has contributed a masterly treatise entitled *General Principles Of Criminal Liability In Ceylon*. Sri Lanka's most erudite Chief Justice, the Honourable Mr. Victor Tennekoon, in his succinct but most commendably comprehensive forward has paid Dr. Peiris the following compliment which he so richly deserves:—

"The abstract Legal Principles which form the basis of Criminal Liability are analytically and critically examined and presented with clarity and attractiveness. The Author's analysis of both the Statute Law and Case Law of Ceylon in this field, coupled with an assessment of the comparable law prevailing in other jurisdictions, will render this book an invaluable ally to those concerned with the administration of Criminal Law in this country".

Dr. Peiris has dealt most lucidly on the different principles applicable to Voluntary Intoxication, Insanity induced by Voluntary intoxication on Criminal Intent, Voluntary Intoxication as a circumstance negating Recklessness or Negligence, etc. Even if I were to attempt to summarise Dr. Peiris's Chapter on Intoxication, I would be inflicting on the reader the tedium of a plethora of technicalities. I would, therefore, give briefly the main content as follows:—

(a) "In Modern Law, Voluntary Intoxication is No defence unless it amounts to unsoundness of mind or has produced a mental or physical condition inconsistent with the inference that the act of the Accused under the influence of liquor was un-intentional.

(b) That Involuntary intoxication "is a very rare thing and can never exist when the person knows what he is drinking and drinks the intoxicant voluntarily and Without Being Made To Do So By Force Or Coercion. If I may be permitted to add by way of parenthesis a time honoured proverb "One may lead a horse to water. Even twenty cannot make him drink." Unfortunately, there are some two-legged horses and "donkeys" who do not require much "persuasion" when it comes to a question of

alcoholic 'beverages' especially if they are of the imported variety.

(c) The basic limitation of Voluntary Drunkenness as a Defence to a Criminal Charge in Sri Lanka is that the knowledge of a sober man in like circumstances is constructively imputed to the Accused person." Dr. Peiris refers, in particular, to the case of CRUSE (1838), 8 C & P. 541 at page 207, where the charge was one of inflicting bodily injury dangerous to life with intent to murder and quotes Patterson J who said "Although Drunkenness is NO EXCUSE for any crime whatever; yet it is often of very great importance in cases where it is a question of Intent. A person may be so drunk as to be utterly unable to form any intent at all, and yet he may be guilty of very great violence."

Dr. Sri Hari Singh Gour, M.A., D.Litt, D.C.L., L.L.D., of the Inner Temple, knight, Vice-Chancellor, Nagpur University, Founder of Saugor University, Author of the Hindu Code in his inestimable Book, "The Penal Law of India (1955), 6th Edition at page 321 enunciates:—

"Drink, as a rule, is no excuse for crime. The Law in England is the same. Voluntary drunkenness is no EXCUSE there. It is, on the other hand, considered an aggravation." He continues "Excessive drinking causes the derangement of the Mind known as Delirium Tremens. It commences with tremors of the hands and the individual suffers from hallucinations and illusions, sometimes of a horrid kind referring to past occupations or events."

In countries where and amongst classes in which drunkenness is common, this form of 'Dementia' is frequently raised as a defence. But, in order to be sufficient it must establish a condition of positive and well defined Insanity. Where it lacks that degree of proof, drunkenness is Not and an answer to a crime though it may be taken into account as an extenuating circumstance.

The Encyclopaedia Britannica refers to chronic alcoholism as a disease in which a person has an uncontrollable desire for Alcohol. Once this craving is triggered, the alcoholic begins to drink steadily and excessively. The great and famous physician, William Osler said "Alcohol does not make people

do things better,—it makes them less ashamed of doing them BADLY." I am constrained to quote the old proverb "To a worm in horse raddish, the horse raddish seems sweet". This should at least shock the chronic alcoholics and prove itself more effective than the Electro-convulsive therapy so that they can pull themselves out of the mire they sink into. The craving for alcohol can be overcome by the power of one's own MIND. The sayings of the enlightened one are so truthfully and syncretistically consonant with what the Bagavad Gita says:—

"The abstinent run away from what they desire

But carry their desires with them. Grow attached and you become addicted:

Thwart your addiction, it turns to anger,

Be angry, and you confude your mind.

Confuse your mind, you forget the lesson of EXPERIENCE

Forget Experience, you lose discrimination;

Loss discrimination and you miss Life's only purpose."

It is left to you—and no one else to decide. I will conclude by commending the inexorable message simple, eloquent and so pregnant with meaning:—

"The secret of success is constancy to purpose."

Concluded

IN RETROSPECT

Farewell To Village Life

By KUMAR

A new, perhaps final, phase of my life has begun. The phase of rural work is over—I have closed my rural dispensary and have come to live with my daughter in the city of Colombo.

On looking back, my attempt to do work in the rural areas has been a failure. The rural dispensary part went all right specially at Bulathkchupitiya, which had never had a doctor residing there. The insurgency came and I was too close to the hinterlands where the insurgents swarmed. I could probably have lived through it and survived, if my purpose was only to run a dispensary.

But my intention was to use the dispensary as a means of penetrating into village life and influencing the villager. In this I completely failed. I was promised support by friends who invited me to live in the village. The insurgency routed them too—the tragic indirect result of the abortive rising which threw the left movement in Lanka, already weakened by fragmentation, into complete disarray.

We must learn from our failures and Marxists know the value of self-criticism. I must chalk out the pluses and minuses of my centre. On the plus side is the fact that I ventured out to live in the hinterlands of Lanka, which few of our leaders based in cities have dared to do. I dressed in cloth, lived in a converted stable and ate what was available in the village. But I could not become a villager. It is difficult for a man of bourgeois stock to integrate with the proletariat, specially if he is alone and old. I think such a venture must be a group venture.

Another handicap was the cultural gap. I was of Christian stock, versed only in English and all my reading and recreation were foreign to the village. This disadvantage again could have been minimised living with a group.

After writing this I am reminded of people like Herbert Keuneman writing in the weekly *Tribune* about his life in a Wannu village. His objectives and mine are, however, different. I am not sure what his objectives are but they cannot be mine which were to form a nucleus working for radical change, which alone will abolish poverty. I am convinced that as long as we adhere to parliamentary democracy we can never have radical change. Parliamentary democracy has been carefully devised to preserve the status quo under capitalism. On the pretext of a "free world" it requires an Opposition party. The stage is now set for endless dispute and recrimination, each party blaming all ills on the misdeeds of the other party. The power of mass media is so great that the people are led to believe that if only they can throw the present government out all their problems would be solved by the opposite party, which then assumes power. The problems remain and the whole process is repeated. Parliamentary democracy is like the old grand father clock on the wall, with its

pendulum moving right and left, giving the impression of change, while the clock remains stationary. This view is not mine only. It has been endorsed at the heart of the seat of parliamentary Democracy.

At a complimentary dinner given in London in September '73 to Harold McMillan, former Prime Minister of England, he said that the central fact in Parliamentary Democracy is that there is basic agreement on fundamentals and that Parliamentary Democracy can never lead to revolution and counter-revolution. R. H. Tawney, the English historian also endorsed this view when he said over 30 years ago: You can peel an onion layer by layer but you can't skin a live tiger claw by claw.

I am convinced that parliamentary democracy with its two or more party system is a curse and must be stamped out. There should be only one party—a people's party in which all the people get together and select fellow people, not on the basis of race, wealth or religion but on the basis of services already rendered to the community, from the village level up. This work has to start in the village and until our leaders live and work in the village, moving with the people like fish moving in the ocean, poverty will never be abolished. It is a long and arduous process: it will take years, perhaps a generation, before results are seen. But it is a necessary process and has to begin sometime, somewhere.

I was aware of this and went to live in the village. As I close this chapter, defeated, I pause to record my thoughts. If one is in earnest about abolishing poverty and all the sorrow and degradation in entails one must integrate with village life. Forgive me, who will be beginning his 78th year of life next week, if he tried and failed.

KAZI—38

The Horana Area

BY ANATORY BUKOBA

November 1,

The No. 120 bus plies to Horana and the service is good. Beyond Horana, going south, the route gets flooded at times, but the people have not taken to boats as they do elsewhere, towards Ratnapura. Water rushes across the

road and you wade through it for long stretches. In the countryside, where I went, food seems cheap. There is even a place exporting flowers abroad.

Talking of floods, there was a house along the main road, a house that I thought was old architecturally, where the retort to my observation came pat, Oh, no, it is the floods, from people who thought I was referring to the colour of the walls and not the building itself. It seems they shut the doors and windows, and let the furniture float up to the roof, both the bed and the desk in the room where I was, just removing the drawers with their contents and whatever else might get damaged. With these they beat a retreat beyond the back of the house and up the hill where relatives lived.

Off the main road one came to *walauwas*, a name which, I think, denotes the residence of someone of some standing. As I do not think new houses are called *walauwas*, it must denote the house of a person of long-standing, too. Yet one finds new *walauwas* and old *walauwas* of the same family.

A man made an interesting discovery at one of these *walauwas*. He had visited it before, but on this occasion he met the brother of the man he met before. When he introduced himself, his host told him that he had known his grandfather well, and that the two families used to ride horses together, or rather, the visitor's family and the host's in-laws. As his family seemed to have been known so well, the visitor, whose ancestry seems to have been lost in the mists of time, and who did not know his own race, asked how his family had been regarded. He learnt something both of his origins and also of his race, and the matter was settled, it seemed, beyond doubt. His host, not satisfied with just giving the information, quoted his authority. I have heard the case of the descendant of African slaves in America tracing his tribe in Africa, a thing which would seem almost impossible for a man to do. This man was lucky, and he found that the tribe of his origin had preserved the tradition, the memory of the time when some of their members had been taken away as slaves.

Our visitor to this house then realised that there are ancestral

secrets which should be kept out of respect for those who had wanted them kept secret. His host, too, had felt this strongly, and he had only been informative, he said, because of the keenness with which is guest had broached the subject. The visitor recalled his visits to newspaper offices, to the museum library, and the reference section of the public library, for information about his ancestry, work and time all of no avail, and here the secret had been revealed when he least expected it, and where he least expected it. He expressed his disappointment to his host that he was not of African origin, as he had fondly imagined might be the case. I might have mentioned in a previous Kazi how a man learned something about his family lands in Rajangane, of all places, from people he had known for over two years, without in the least suspecting their near-ancestral association with this land, nor they his. Yet his friendship with this family had been far from just casual before this discovery. There was another case revealed on this trip where a man who had, as it were, been rather antipathetic towards someone who had dropped in on him from the blue, as it were a total stranger, suddenly found that he had known his sister quite well.

I am half way through this kazi and I am wondering just how I am going to fill up the rest of it. As I write, it is raining, and I want to go out and visit some calves, one of whom, not a week old, and in the pen for the first time, persists in standing under a leak in the roof, which results in his having to be dried with a gunny sack. I should have said her, for it is a heifer. The spot under the leaky hole in the roof, is the nearest point that that calf can get to its mother. It is beastly cold.

Just before I set out to write this Kazi last night, a man came to tell me that his wife had seen a light a few yards from her, when she went into the kitchen, or rather, her small back verandah to get some water. The light had been in the bushes as she was acting strangely. I went along with him. She breathed as I did not think a human being could breathe, and she even made noises which were scarcely human. Soon after I first arrived, I felt the atmosphere to be tense, an that feeling wore off

when I recalled that we are all pretty much in God's hands. I did what I could but it took a long time to work, and for a long time I was the only man around as the menfolk had gone to find a *Vedavala*. They were hours coming back, and when they got back, the woman seemed cured.

During this Kazi I do not seem to have come to grips with Horana, at all, but while there I came closer to S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike than at any other time through people who had known him. I learned how some Bandaranaikes came to be Dias, and so resume the name of Bandaranaike. Coming to think of it, Sir Solomon and his son were Dias Bandaranaikes. S. W. R. D regarded Buddhism as a philosophy, and later it would appear that he felt that Christianity could not fit into the pattern of this philosophy. Just before his death, it seems common knowledge, that he put all this right. The son seems to be following his father, and his mother latterly, in finding the right world. Like the rest of us, he must be in the process of finding himself. Given a good will, I think this always opens up new vistas, but the way is usually hard. I think the greatest service a man can render anyone is to be himself. This is not usually what a man likes to think himself, and to forgo this may be what is meant by denying oneself and taking up one's cross.

As I write this it is raining again. I had to stop this last night when I had fallen asleep, and I woke up at midnight sitting upright in a chair, where I had apparently fallen asleep writing, and it was with the greatest difficulty that I managed to move around and get to bed. Earlier there had been a series of crashes and bangs, and the only apparent cause was the house dog. It did not help much that my torch bulb had packed up just then. Yet it was hardly likely that a dog would open and close doors and gates.

* *

NEXT WEEK

- BATTICALOA'S BIGGEST BURLGLARY
- SINHALA DRAMA FESTIVAL

Inania of this, that and the other

Death, Death To Self! Anatta

By Inna

It was a simple classroom.

The teacher had asked the students what it was that saddled the world with so much of trouble today. Some said it was injustice, others blurted it out "Oppression". Still others, almost in chorus, said: "Bribery and Corruption". A corner—student weakly replied: "Man against man". In the silence one could discern a lowly voice: "I think it all boils down to selfishness". And the teacher's steady voice: "Right you are", as she encircled the word on the blackboard: *s-e-l-f-i-s-h-n-e-s-s*. No question of living and letting live, but I for myself and myself for me.

A great surgeon, Norman Bethune of the Canadian Communist Party came to China to head a medical team and arrived in Yanan early in 1938. So selfless was he in his work at the front, he contracted blood-poisoning while operating on wounded soldier and died in Tangshien, Hopei on Nov. 12, 1939. On 21 December, just a little over three months of the beginning of World War II. Chairman Mao-Tse-Tung of China made a speech over Norman Bethune. It is a masterpiece of appreciation of self-sacrifice which pins down the transition from selfishness to selflessness.

Students of a universal spirit; futurologists of every hue from Alvin Toffler to Georges Friedman; seekers for the Truth, and men who wish to learn from China's selfless spirit could do well to analyse this speech of Chairman Mao. I know of a Catholic—not much love lost between former Catholics and present communists—who has heard of Pope Paul's *Ecclesiam Suam*, "a man must be listened to, and where he merits it, agreed with" and in that sign, gone ahead and read this speech of Mao and agreed with him fully. That's a real Christian, and Clartence is his name.

Here's that speech or snatches of it:

"Bethune died a martyr at his post..What kind of spirit is

this that makes a foreigner selflessly adopt the cause of the Chinese people's liberation as his own?..Comrade Bethune's spirit, his utter devotion to others without any thought of self, was shown in his great sense of responsibility in his work and his great warm-heartedness towards all comrades and the people.. There are not a few people who are irresponsible in their work, preferring the light and shirking the heavy, passing the burdensome tasks on to others and choosing the easy ones for themselves before others..When they make some small contribution, they swell with pride and brag about it for fear that others will not know. They feel no warmth towards comrades and the people but are cold, indifferent, apathetic..None remained unmoved by Bethune's spirit..I am deeply grieved over his death. We must all learn the spirit of absolute selflessness from him. With this spirit everyone can be useful to the people." (China pictorial 1967, and Selected Writings, Vol. II, pp. 337-338). (underlining mine)

The Buddhist Co-operative official knew of Lord Buddha's selflessness in his great renunciation and in the Jataka stories, and desisted from taking bribes. The catholic Engineer-driver knowing that he was responsible for the thousands on his night-mail did not sleep, however tired he was. The Hindu engineer with scintillating eyes, scanned the foreign invitation and decided NOT to join the brain-drain. He turned down a superb sterling salary. The Muslim gem-dealer sold his best gem for "a reasonable price" because he loved the truth and his country.

TWO TAMIL PLAYS

* Vilippu—Awakening * Thottathu Rani— Queen Of The Garden

By K. S. Sivakumaran

These plays were restaged recently and they were among the five finalists in last year's Tamil Drama festival. *Vilippu* was written and produced by N. Suntharalingam. Fauzul Ameer wrote *Thottathu Rani* and it was directed by M. M. Mackeen.

VILIPPU: How can the unemployment problem be solved? Is it a problem of the educated alone? Or are the peasants and workers also affected by it? It is a private problem of few individuals or does it affect a vast majority of people? Can going back to the village fields going to ease the unemployment situation? Can wire-pulling and influence help to seek employment? How to bring about a reformation first at home before bringing about a social change at large?

These are questions posed implicitly and answered in this Tamil play. The answer is that unless there is a total transformation of the society from a capitalistic framework, nothing else can solve this problem. To achieve this the students and workers and peasants should join together to fight against capitalism. Conservative attitudes should vanish. Romantic notions held by Tamil women should disappear with new realities. Selfishness should submerge in the interest of the many. All simple truisms. But through the medium of the theatre the play achieves its purpose, which is to show the way. It was a superb play, deliberately slow in driving the point home. Much of the success is due to a controlled and studied portrayal of characters by the actors particularly Thaseesiyus, Srinivasan and Suntharalingam. It's the free borrowings from a variety of dramatic forms (soliloquy, pantomime, stylization and expressionism) that give the play a structural stature and surprisingly they are related together as an organic whole. Perhaps the most absorbing but slightly overdrawn sequence in the play was the mock interview, symbolically presented by Pathmanathan and others.

Vilippu was awarded a number of prizes including the trophy for the best play, but it was not the first play to experiment with new techniques. *Kaduliyum* staged in 1971 was the pacesetter. In my opinion it was a better play than *Vilippu*. As a keen observer of the Tamil cultural scene for a very long time, I can safely say that the awakening in Tamil drama has come as early as *Mathamattam* in the late fifties. But there is no doubt that *Vilippu* will hasten the process of development in theatre craft.

THOTTATHU RANI: The play attempts to explain the implementation of the Rent Act to the shanty dwellers. In doing so it presents a picture of the life patterns of those unfortunate people in their natural setting. In the garden, live a school teacher and his daughter from Jaffna, a cooly and his son, a Sinhalese IRC, an old man engaged in wrapping snuff-powder as his profession and finally the Muslim family of a youthful son, his father (both unemployed) and the woman. There is communal harmony; no class distinction but there is antagonism against self-centredness. The old man performs the role of an Observer who comments on the incidents in the play.

The Queen of the Gardens is the Muslim woman who competes with another Sinhala woman in the adjoining gardens to grab as much as possible the rice ration books for paltry loans she gives. She is created as a self-centred person looking only for her own good than the interests of the others. The play concentrates on the character of this bigot, who controls her unemployed husband. The pressure from the neighbours is so great that the husbands unwillingly concedes to self respect when he starts ignoring her. So she throws him out but the neighbours come forward to give him shelter. Her own son elopes with the daughter of the Jaffna neighbour. On the top of it, the Housing department officials consider her husband as the master of the house as the records maintained by them give his name and not her's. So it is a question of her dramatic fall from the state of the queen to that of a hated helpless woman. But the underdog husband comes to her rescue and they live together happily ever after. The tenants in the tenements eventually become the owners of these dwelling places.

Thottathu Rani was enjoyable even as a good humorous play. Rajapandiyam, Jayagowri, Jawahir, Jobu Nazir, Pararajasingham, Jayanthi and Stephen Fernando played their parts in an effortless manner. The cinematic influence was there in production. The microphones did not cooperate and there was faulty lighting. Certain players were not audible at times. Incidentally there was constant reference to the Land Reforms Act when what was meant was the ceiling on houses.

Sanskrit Learning

The play could have been serious had greater attention been paid to deeper understanding of the Housing problems.

SANSKRIT

Influence On The Malays

By T. M. G. Samat

There is a wealth of Sanskrit influences among Malays. Locally these are to be seen in Malay names such as Wangsa, Singhawasa, Guna-vijayah, Jayah and so on.

Pooja in Malay is *Puja* in Sanskrit. Do you know the meaning of the Malay word "Merdeka"? Its origin "Maha-ridkha" is Sanskrit and means "Great Prosperity" more than which Malays cannot wish for their country. The Sanskrit word *Pustkha* means a book whereas in Malay a library is *Perpus-Takaan*. Several Sanskrit words are still in their Sanskrit form, in Malay.

It is interesting to find striking parallels in a close study of *Hita-padesha* and *Panchatantra* along with Malay folklore like *Mat Jamia*, *Si Lunchai*, *Pa Belalang* and *Mesang Benjanaggin*.

In Malay literature, mythology and other spheres, Sanskrit is an element that cannot be ignored. While visiting Malaya some years ago I was able to learn that children especially on the East Coast were brought up on stories woven around Sri (a Sanskrit title) Rama, of the Ramayan. Dr. W. Linean, Pahang's historian, says that "Pahang was anciently known by that name and also the fact that in the *Serajah Melayu*, the Malay annals the country about the estuary of the Pahang river was called by its Sanskrit name for city."

Pahang in the 14th Century had a King named *Pa-la-mi-So-La-Si-Mi*, according to Chinese accounts. "The first element of this very long name," writes S. Durai Raja Singham, "is clearly the cause of conjecture but also may represent a Sanskrit title."

Sanskrit titles abound in many Malay lands.

In the 14th and 15th centuries there was much religious stir in

Bengal and Ibnu Batuta no stranger to ancient Sri Lanka tells us (vide *Nigar*, monthly Jubilee Number 1948) that Muslims and Hindus lived close to each other.

No doubt the reflections of this amity came through Sanskrit among other things. Malay appreciation of Sanskrit learning indicated also Malay appreciation of Sanskrit culture and civilisation; strong enough to remain distinct from each other.

Sanskrit lore always had a rich store for scholars among whom Malays, in spite of sweeping political changes and the political atmosphere, did not betray the cause of Sanskrit learning.

The two main springs in the entry of Sanskrit into Malay is the exhortation "Go in search of knowledge to as far as China" to Muslims and the Buddhist Sanskrit influence. Another element is the deep interest of India generally in Sanskrit learning.

Sanskrit was the language in which the wisdom of the East was couched and Malays, not behind in scholarship as any others, devoted attention to the study of Sanskrit beside patronising Sanskrit ways.

"While there is ample evidence in the history of Muslim patronage of Sanskrit learning very little has come to light" says Ali Akbar. A circumstance of this Muslim patronage could be Arabic interest in Sanskrit thus bringing a favourable position for Malay learning in the study of Sanskrit through Arabic (according to *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. II.)

A Muslim scholar Abu Raihan al-Biruni translated voluminous Sanskrit books into Arabic and Persian, and no doubt Malay scholars took advantage of this.

Several works on theology Astrology, Music, and Agriculture were translated from the Sanskrit. Two other early important branches of knowledge according to Ali Akbar were Medicine and Mineralogy and all these by themselves would have attracted Malay attention and inspired new zeal for the pursuit of knowledge in different parts of the world.

What is to be noted points out Ali Akbar is that all these were achieved by the time Muslims had entered India as conquerors under Mohammed Ibn Qasim in 712 CE.

SCIENTISTS ASSERT

No Scientific Foundation For Astrology

A group of 186 scientists, including 18 Nobel Prize winners, has charged that "there is no scientific foundation" for astrology, whose practitioners assert that the stars foretell events and influence people's lives.

In a statement in the current issue of *The Humanist* magazine, published in New York for the American Humanist Association, the scientists said they wanted "to caution the public against the unquestioning acceptance of the predictions and advice given privately and publicly by astrologers."

Astrology, they said, was part of the "magical world view" held by ancient peoples who, having no concept of the vast distances from the earth to the planets and stars, regarded "celestial objects as abodes or omens of the gods and, thus, intimately connected with events here on earth." "Now that these distances can and have been calculated," the scientists said, "we can see how infinitesimally small are the gravitational and other effects produced by the distant planets and the far more distant stars. It is simply a mistake to imagine that the forces exerted by stars and planets at the moment of birth can in any way shape our futures."

Neither is it true that the position of distant heavenly bodies makes certain days or periods more favourable to particular kinds of action, or that the sign under which one was born determines one's compatibility or incompatibility with other people."

The scientists went on to say: "We are especially disturbed by the continued uncritical dissemination of astrological charts, forecasts, and horoscopes, by the media and by otherwise reputable newspapers, magazines, and book publishers. This can only contribute to the growth of irrationalism and obscurantism. We believe that the time has come to challenge directly, and forcefully the pretentious claims of astrological charlatans."

* * *

Confidentially

Pasteurised, Powdered And Condensed?

IS IT NOT TRUE that a story is gaining currency that the Milk Board will cease to produce pasteurised milk in the near future? That even top officials of the Milk Board admit this *off-the-record*? That no one wants to be quoted but important members of the Milk Board Establishment say that owing to "unforeseen difficulties" the "manufacture" of pasteurised milk will grind to a halt in the not too distant future? That they assert that this was not due to the decrease in the supply of milk? That whilst no one at the top is willing to say why this tragedy will soon overtake the Milk Board, proletarian underlings in the Board say that the refrigeration and freezing plants of the Milk Board will soon be out of commission owing to the lack of spares and parts to replace worn-out equipment? That it is not possible to find out what the real cause is of the coming breakdown in the supplies of pasteurised milk? That this is a mystery which will soon hit the deadline? That an unsuspecting public will thereafter be told the virtues of sterilised milk which, it will be said, can be stored without a freezer or a refrigerator? That sterilised milk can be kept for days, weeks or even months? That, unfortunately, it has been the experience of many who buy sterilised milk that what they purchased had already gone stale?

IS IT ALSO NOT A FACT that the powdered milk factory at Ambawela has run into difficulties? That the factory was built to handle 175,000 pints of milk everyday? That with this 175,000 pints it was necessary to mix high quality soyabean powder (to a maximum of 17%) to obtain optimum quality in the powdered milk? That the soyabean powder for this purpose was imported from the USA? That at present the factory is not able to obtain anything like the 175,000 pints required for the purpose? That milk supplies have decreased ever since Land Reform had compelled many estates to shut down their dairy departments? That it is

well known that many estates had sold off to their herds (to the butchers because they could not maintain them after the land had been taken over)? That state farms, co-op farms, Janawasas and the like have not been able to sustain the production of milk even at the old levels? That it is another matter to find out why milk supplies have begun to disappear (and to speculate on how supplies could be increased in the new system of land tenure)? That here we are only concerned with the fact that the powdered milk factory is not able to get even half the milk required to work the factory at anything like economic capacity? That there have been days when the supplies of milk went down to as low as 50,000 pints? That at the best of times, nowadays, 80,000 to 85,000 pints a day was all that the factory was able to get? That gossip has it that the shortfall was met by increasing the quantum of soyabean powder? That the rumour also has it that the soyabean content now varies violently depending on the quantity of fresh milk that becomes available? That it is alleged that the soyabean powder content on certain days goes up to as much as 85%? That as proof of this excessive soyabean "adulteration" *Tribune* was asked to examine the contents of different *Lakspray* tins? That it is alleged that tins from different batches will smell differently and even taste differently because of the differing quantities of soyabean powder in the product? That *Tribune* has not been able to collect the necessary number of tins that would make such an experiment worthwhile? That pending this, *Tribune* has interrogated many users of Milk Board powdered milk and these investigations reveal that nearly all consumers are "dissatisfied" with the quality of many of the tins or packets they have bought in recent weeks? That if the information set out in this column is not true or correct, the hierarchy of the Milk Board will do well to tell the public the "real" truth? That if this were not done, the public will tend to believe in the rumours which are now circulating all over the island?

THAT IT WILL ALSO BE GOOD if the Milk Board can inform the public as to why the condensed milk manufactured and marketed by the Milk Board is of such uneven quality? That a large number of

tins are "bad" when they are opened? That the contents are dark brown in colour and the "milk" is in lumps? That this "condensed milk" has a peculiarly nutty flavour? That explanations (galore) are circulating on the *rumour circuit* which has taken over the mass media in this country after Lake House and the SLBC have enveloped themselves in a credibility immense proportions? That the most persistent rumour which has gained credibility among consumers is that the condensed milk factory was built to utilise cow's milk? That in the absence of adequate quantities of cow's milk, buffaloes' milk was being used (or even mixed with the cow's milk) to manufacture condensed milk? That buffalo milk has a much higher content of "fat" and that this has created problems in manufacture? That if the percentage of buffalo milk fat went beyond a particular point the heating process had to go on longer with the result that the product assumed a dark brown tint? That if the percentage of cow's milk was higher, the condensed milk was "whiter" and had a greater degree of fluidity? That to add to the difficulties of the management, a sizable percentage of the sugar that should have gone into the manufacture was pinched by certain unscrupulous members of the working staff? That this diminished quantity of sugar content also made it necessary for the product to be "burnt" a little more? That stories of this nature now abound? That in the absence of accurate information the public cannot be blamed for believing such stories however fantastic they may be? That the public is entitled to know why a large percentage of the condensed milk produced by the Milk Board is of such poor quality making it unusable?



NEXT WEEK

- BUDGET 1976—2
—Concluding
- CHANGING WORLD
—After Chou
- C. G. R. AGAIN
—What's Wrong

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