

# TRIBUNE



Enrol As A Subscriber

to ensure your copy of

**TRIBUNE**

every week

One Year. . . . Rs. 37-50

Three Years. . . . Rs. 87-50

Subscription Rates—Airmail and Surfacemail—to  
foreign countries on application

**TRIBUNE**

43, Dawson Street,  
COLOMBO-2.

Tel. 33172

# Letter From The Editor

THE BULLOCK CART and the bullock-(or buffalo)-drawn plough have all but disappeared in Sri Lanka. But for the oil crisis triggered in 1973 by the conflict between OPEC (which wanted better oil prices to meet the himalayan increase in the prices of industrial goods exported by the main oil-consuming countries) and the rich industrially-advanced countries of the West, including "eastern" Japan, (which wanted cheap oil from oil producers and high prices for its own exports), the bull and the buffalo (so far as Sri Lanka is concerned) would have passed into oblivion as sources of energy and power. Until fuel-driven motorised vehicles swept aside all animal-(and human)-energised transportation, the bull and the buffalo had reigned supreme in this country as well as many other countries in this region. Man-drawn rickshaws had taken over from the man-carried palanquins from the middle of last century, but, in the last three decades petrol and diesel driven private cars and taxis have swept the rickshaw aside. In spite of the swift invasion by lorry and rail transport, the bullock cart had succeeded in holding its own for short hauls in urban areas while being still extensively used in rural areas. Within two decades the tractor has virtually driven the bull-(or buffalo)-drawn plough off our fields. There were plaintive cries from far-sighted people that it was a national tragedy to discard the bull, buffalo, the cart and the plough in favour of the more sophisticated agricultural equipment (thereby increasing the island's dependence on imports and the consequent drain of foreign exchange), but this was ignored by those who should have known better. The oil crisis, more than anything else, brought home to all and sundry that the bull and the buffalo still had their use in the national economy. In the modern age, with exploding populations, and the need to achieve green revolutions overnight, it is not possible to go back to the bull and the buffalo entirely. The tractor, the lorry and all forms of motorised equipment are required to transform a stagnant under-developed economy into something more dynamically plentiful (in terms of modern concepts measured by the twentieth century shibboleths like the gnp, per capita income, per capita consumption, etc. etc.). But, unless their use is regulated by the available resources of the country and in terms of a controlled plan, the economy of a developing country like Sri Lanka will inevitably lurch into a new kind of lop-sidedness not very different from what it had endured during the period of colonial rule. There has been a welcome move in Sri Lanka recently to restore the bull and the buffalo to their pristine glory. High rhetoric, verging on jingoism, has issued forth from Ministerial establishments that the peasant must go back to the bull and the buffalo and that the tractor should be banished from countryside. Armchair bureaucrats had ruled, not so long ago, that the four-wheeled tractor should be totally eliminated and had brought a virtual ban on their imports. They swore by the bull, buffalo and the two-wheeled hand tractor (which they decreed could be "manufactured" locally). Unfortunately for them, there were not enough bulls and buffaloes in the country—they had all found their way to the slaughter house. Carts and wooden ploughs had also become so expensive that the ordinary peasant could not dream of owning them anymore. And, he had been taught to rely on hiring tractors (on government loans) that he could not bring himself round to believe that bulls and buffaloes still had a role in the under-developed economy of Sri Lanka. Safer counsel now seems to prevail in high quarters which had for some time had lost itself in the dark clouds of self-delusion. They have at last been persuaded that the four-wheeled tractor is essential for large-scale cultivation (but they have not realised that it is a waste of national resources to use them for road haulage), that the local "manufacture" (really assembly) of two-wheeled tractors is a farce, and that a long-drawn out programme was necessary to rehabilitate the bull, buffalo and the cart. There are indications that sanity has begun to infect the bureaucratic minds which had gone berserk only a few years ago. Much as our bureaucrats dislike anything "Indian"—forgetting that this island has been part of the "Indian" subcontinent from the beginning of time—there is much we can learn from India in the matter of a rational use of the bull, buffalo and the cart. Reports indicate that, among other measures, steps were being taken to modernise the bullock cart. India had launched a huge livestock development programme many years ago and this island has at last decided that it can benefit from Indian expertise and assistance. At a recent Science Congress at Bangalore one of the main topics of discussion related to ways of re-designing a cart that will be easy for the bulls to pull and more economically for the owner.

# TRIBUNE

Founded In 1954

A Journal of Ceylon and  
World Affairs

Editor: S. P. Amarasingam

Every Saturday

February 28, 1976

Vol. 20, No. 40

TRIBUNE,

43, DAWSON STREET,  
COLOMBO - 2.

Telephone: 33172

## CONTENTS

### EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

—Before the Deluge? p. 2

### CHRONICLE

—Feb. 7 - Feb. 13 p. 7

### VILLAGE HOUSE—69

—Motives And Motivation p. 11

### KAZI—42

—Elaheera Region p. 13

### THE FUTURE

—Our Plundered Planet p. 14

### LETTERS

—Work, Aid, Trade p. 15

### REV. JOHN BICKNELL—3

—Not So Ugly American p. 16

### SHORT STORY

—The Pickle p. 17

### ANECDOTAGE

—Dandugama p. 19

### REMEMBERING

—Agatha Christie p. 19

### CONFIDENTIALLY

—School Text Books p. 20

## EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

## Before The Deluge?

February 18,

THE NO-CONFIDENCE MOTION against the Minister of Finance and Justice, Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, is the talk of the country? We have in a previous issue published the full text of the no-confidence motion and we shall deal with the debate separately after the dust and the storm stirred up by the debate has settled down somewhat. As there are suspicions that the daily papers controlled by the Government, directly as well as indirectly, will not give full coverage to the debate, the (UNP) *Journal* has already announced that it will publish special editions to cover the debate in full. The *Janadina* too is likely to give the fullest coverage. *Tribune* is a paper of comment and comment is best in retrospect. We also invite comments from our readers on the far-reaching consequences which will arise from the No-Confidence motion.

Many political circles are also intrigued by the timing of the one-day token strike planned by the JCTUO: from midnight of February 19 to the midnight of February 20. Was it a coincidence that the day chosen was the midnight of the day scheduled for the no-confidence motion? There are speculations in many circles whether the Government will take the necessary steps to enable the JCTUO to call off the strike. What is even more significant is that the strike decision was taken at a meeting of the JCTUO at the SLFP trade union headquarters. The SLFP trade union federation too had supported the token strike. This is a fact that the SLFP party leadership and the Government cannot dismiss lightly. The CMU has already decided to participate in this strike, and the CWC is likely to join it.

But, it is difficult even to guess the response the JCTUO call for a token strike will evoke among its members. Will a hundred percent, or even a majority of the affiliated membership, strike on February 20? In general, ordinary workers are in no mood to indulge in direct anti-government strikes. It is one

thing to strike against the misdeeds of bureaucrats, but an all-island strike (even a token one) is a challenge to the government.

The SLBC, however, in more than one of its news broadcasts, took great pains to announce that a trade union federation—with a high sounding and pompous name—had issued a statement that it was opposed to the token strike and that its members will go to work on the day of the proposed token strike. There has been a great deal of telephoning here and there by many to identify the "federation" in question. The JCTUO is made up of the three federations attached to the three parties that had set up the United Front government in 1970. When the LSSP quit in October 1975, the JCTUO decided that it was not going to split and that the "unity" they had maintained from 1970 would be continued. There were a few strains and stresses when the LSSP sought to launch a mini-strike wave towards the end of last year, but the LSSP did not push matters to a head. And now, the rather tough attitude adopted by the Minister of Information and Broadcasting, Mr. R. S. Perera, in regard to a trade dispute at the Government Press has brought all the constituent members of the JCTUO together to call a token strike. Mr. R. S. Perera is a stalwart of the SLFP and is reputedly close to Mr. Felix R. Dias Bandaranaike (who also favours a tough line in some matters). Will the SLFP trade union leaders in the JCTUO, who were party to the token strike decision, be expelled from the SLFP (the political party) for joining in a strike directed specifically against an SLFP Minister? This is a question that is being asked in political circles.

THE PROPOSED TOKEN STRIKE of a very large majority of trade unions in the public and private sectors is a clear indication that the Government is no longer able to settle a minor trade dispute concerning a trade apprentice. The months of January and February have also witnessed a large number of mini-strikes on inconsequential matters like bonus and loans. The UNP, ever ready to pounce on any advantage it can derive from the acts of commission and omission of the Government, has not been slow to react.

The Party's *The Journal*, in its issue of February 17, had a front page headline: STRIKES BEGIN IN SRI LANKA. This is what it said:

Strikes have begun in the country again. Many of the strikes are the result of economic demands which relate to the day-to-day living of the people. It may be a question of bonus payments or even the ready availability of loans which in turn has become part and parcel of the living pattern of a vast segment of the people. Loans are looked upon as a reliever of the pressing economic problems of the people.

On the whole therefore, the strikes we have witnessed symbolise the failure of the present government—the coalition of the SLFP/LSSP and the CP till last year, and SLFP-CP coalition since then. The earnings of the people have not kept pace with the relentless upward trend of prices. Living has become costlier. But the means have been tumbling down. The two trends have been moving in opposite directions, and the vast majority of the people have been caught helplessly in this shifting of economic forces.

The failure of the present rulers is the specific failure to put more money into the pockets of the people. More and more money cannot be squeezed out from empty slogans.

In spite of the high pressure activity of both the Lake House and Anura's papers to tell the people that things are rosy, they are aware only of dissatisfaction and disillusionment. The people only know that their purses have been shrinking steadily. This is the root cause of the strikes. And it is the present rulers, who have to accept responsibility for this situation. It is their failure. They have failed to get the economy to move sufficiently to meet the additional burdens cast on the people. The economy is stagnating and disintegrating despite the much lauded takeover of estates and other enterprises. The economic policies of the present rulers have been so shaped that only their supporters have had a real break—a break they can never have in their lives. They are today appropriating the wealth of the country at the expense of the masses. This explains why the strikes are taking place.

But wherein lies the answer to this situation. The ruin brought about by several years of rule by the SLFP ably supported by the golden brains of the LSSP and the CP, can only be wiped out by the stable policies of the UNP. The policies of the UNP announced at the 21st annual conference have been carefully worked out embracing not only economic and social consideration but also the inner urges and aspirations of the vast majority of the people. The UNP has accepted the policy of people's ownership and management. This is a policy that enables the toilers to own and manage the property of the land. They would be made the owners of the places where they work and also owners of small enterprises. The stability of society could come only in that way. Growth would be speeded. The economy would begin to move and away from the slothful stagnation it has remained for the last six years. The growing demands of the people could only be met by a growing and expanding economy. A dynamic economy is the answer to all the ills the country is facing today and naturally it is the UNP that has the policies to steer the economy and the country away from decline. The UNP is ready with the remedies.

The UNP says it has the remedies, for the strikes but it is difficult envisage how the policies announced at the last UNP Party Congress will work out in practice. The latest UNP programme is an eclectic hotch-potch like everything in the world is today. The new UNP programme is an unholy mixture of controlled private enterprise, inhibited public enterprise, fabian socialism clothed in post-1971 insurgency (Sri Lanka) jargon, UNP boastfulness with a tinge of hidden McCarthyian anti-red baiting, wishful thinking based on customary election promises couched in high falutin' terminology, something to enliven the buddhists, many things to assure the christians, hindus and the muslims—it has a bit of everything for everybody.

IN SRI LANKA, as everybody who knows politics, knows, it is not the election manifesto that brings (or has brought) parties or coalitions to power. It is failure of the Government in power to deliver the goods and make life more

tolerable for the "common man". The election manifesto is only a standby reservoir far away in the background which has the mythical capacity to provide remedies for all the ills which afflict the people. If strikes plague the country, the UNP as the leading Opposition party must have a manifesto from which a text could be pulled out to convince the people that it had a remedy.

The new UNP manifesto, formulated by Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, is a clever piece of work. It takes into consideration all the difficulties that presently exist because of the acts of commission and omission of the Government. If the socio-economic and political situation in the country does not change drastically in regard to fundamentals before the next elections, the UNP manifesto has all the inspirational mumbo-jumbo to carry the party to victory. What the UNP will do thereafter is another matter.

The United Front's Common Programme, formulated in 1968, had served a similar purpose to help the UF to win the 1970 general elections. The Common Programme fully exploited the acts of commission and omission of the UNP Coalition Government. The UNP had not been able to resolve the fundamental socio-economic prob-

lems of the people. The only positive feature of the Dudley Senanayake government was its *Grow More Food Campaign*, but in spite of the vast millions invested in the programme the results were minimal (though some of the results had seemed stupendous in the context of Sri Lanka's dwarf-like efforts previously to attain self-sufficiency in food). Dudley Senanayake's programme was not able to do anything more than scratch on the surface, without removing any of the root causes that had led to the chronic economic stagnation in the country.

To the credit of the United Front government it must be said that it has implemented vast socio-political and economic changes envisaged in the Common Programme. The changes suggested in the Common Programme were so staggeringly unbelievable that many voters had been impressed by the good intentions inherent in them. A substantial part of the changes proposed (and threatened) have been implemented. The system of land tenure and ownership established by the British in the early part of the last century has been changed. The administration of justice has undergone far-reaching changes. The ownership of houses is now regulated by special laws. The educational system has been turned upside down in the belief

### ON THE COVER

#### THE BULLOCK CART

Our cover picture, this week, is an old one. It was taken nearly sixty years ago, when the double bullock cart, with sleeping accommodation for a passenger, was a popular mode of long-distance travel (in the twenties). The picture was taken at a spot between Omantai and Vavuniya. At that time it was all jungle. Today, the area has been opened up and the jungle has receded in some places and disappeared in others. Travel was leisurely and easy. The party camped for the night at a suitable point. A fire was lit to keep wild animals away. Food was cooked and the travellers went to sleep early. They were up very early to do a stretch which would not tire the bulls unduly. Then, the party stopped and cooked their breakfast. Then, another short distance was covered, and then it was lunch and an afternoon siesta. And so the journey had progressed. Stops were made at the villages and the infrequent habitations on the way. Such was the manner of travel from Jaffna to Anuradhapura in those days for people who had business on the way. The railways had already started running, but it did not stop in places where business was transacted—on the spot, by the tanks and the cultivated areas. The bus and the lorry have now eliminated bullock cart travel. People cannot go back to the days of the bullock cart. Train services must be improved. The bus and lorries services too must be improved. But wherever it is possible—short hauls, inside large farms (where tractors are now used), the bullock cart can be used to advantage, especially if the cart is redesigned and modernised as they are proposing to do in India.

that it was the only way of securing emancipation from colonial culture. In fact, so many changes have been introduced that it is difficult to list them. Import trade has been made a state monopoly. The export trade is very nearly a total monopoly of the state. Wholesale trade is completely in the hands of the state. A large part of the retail trade is handled by state-owned co-operatives. This is not a complete catalogue, but this will give an indication of the vastness of the change.

But, have these changes made the lot of the common people any better than it was in 1970, or 1969 or 1965? Have these changes brought better life to the ordinary people? Is the average worker able to feed himself satisfactorily, clothe himself adequately, educate his children fittingly and thereafter get them suitable jobs?

The answers to these questions are known.

The Government, however, wants the people to be patient until the results of the changes take root, and the presently still imaginary benefits descend in a plentiful manner on all the people. The UNP and other Opposition Parties say that that whilst some of these changes are necessary and worthwhile, political racketeers have cornered all the benefits for themselves leaving the vast multitude to suffer in the morass of high prices, chronic shortages, galloping unemployment and untold corruption.

The Government also argues that high prices, inflation and unemployment are the result of global economic evils, but it is difficult to hide the fact that there are a large number of developing countries, similarly placed as Sri Lanka, where life for the ordinary man is infinitely better at all levels. The UNP and the Opposition Parties are not slow to point this out—and the Government has no real answers to challenge the opposition.

WHILE THIS DEBATE gathers momentum, there are disturbing trends which have made many people to sit up and think. The daily papers of February 12 had reported that an ARMED GANG HAD ROBBED THE PEOPLES BANK

at Gangodawila of a sum around Rs. 6 lakhs. The reports had stated that:

Six men armed with revolvers broke into Wijerama People's Bank and took away nearly Rs. 600,000 yesterday afternoon. They held the employees of the Bank at gunpoint around 1 p.m. and cleared the drawers of the cash. They had shot into the air to scare the employees. Members of the public who were at the Bank which is situated near the Vidyodaya Campus had fled in panic.

A few hours after the incident the officers of the Mirihana Police arrested two persons who were alleged to have been involved in the robbery along with the car said to have been used by six men. The car an Austin Cambridge too is believed to have been stolen by the men earlier. A third man, too, is said to have been arrested at Kaduwela, several miles away from the scene of the robbery with a part of the loot. Policemen of the Nawagamuwu Police arrested the man as he was about to board a bus at the Kaduwela Town. He was arrested on suspicion and a search yielded a large amount of cash which he had confessed was stolen from the Bank. Police are on the look out for the three other men who are said to have made away with a major part of the stolen money.

Subsequent to this, further arrests had been made and it was reported that Rs. 5 lakhs (of the six) had been already recovered. The Daily Mirror of February 16, 1976, had a speculative story on its frontpage with a staggering headline: SEQUEL TO BANK ROBBERY INVESTIGATIONS—IS ANOTHER INSURRECTION IN THE OFFING? The main question posed was: IS THERE ANOTHER INSURRECTION, SIMILAR TO THAT OF APRIL, 1971, IN THE OFFING? This what the report said:

This is the question now agitating police investigators into the recent Rs. 6 lakhs bank robbery at Gangodawila where six armed men robbed the bank after holding the employees at gun point last Wednesday. Police investigations have established the existence of an organised underground movement possessing arms, ammunition and a printing press.

A search at the residence of the four suspects taken into custody

in connection with this robbery has led to the detection of rifles, ammunition, gun powder and inflammatory literature. The four in custody include a Lecturer in Geography at the Vidyalkankara Campus, two undergraduates and the son of a woman doctor. The members of this organised movement are reported to be running a well-organised farm at Malabe where the police recovered most of the arms, ammunition and literature. This underground movement is also found to have published a news sheet titled "Mitiya"—Hammer.

The police investigators also suspect that this movement has been allegedly involved in a number of other robberies and hold-ups in various parts of the country. The police are now on the look out for two suspects one of whom is alleged to be the king pin of this underground movement. The other is said to be one who had been taken into custody in connection with the April 1971 insurrection and later released. The six men who had hijacked an Austin Cambridge car for the robbery are reported to have been on the verge of opening the jewellery vault of the bank when the late deposits car had pulled up and the suspects through fear ran away with whatever they could pounce on—Rs. 6 lakhs of which 5 lakhs have been recovered from the four suspects. It has also been revealed that the suspects had planned to rob the same bank a week earlier. But their plans were foiled when a Ford Consul car which they hijacked had fallen into a ditch at Athurugiriya. A team of policemen led by Inspector Jurangpathy, HQI, of Mirihana is conducting further investigations.

It will be remembered that Mr. Anura Bandaranaike and the Daily Mirror have warned the public, for some time now, that there were indications that another 1971-type insurrection was being planned. Many people had not taken these warnings seriously, but some recent events have begun to make many people think Mr. Anura Bandaranaike may be right after all. This is an era of surprises and unexpected events, and the Government will do well to serious notice of the warnings uttered by Mr. Anura

**Bandaranaike and the Daily Mirror in this connection. We live in a world surprises.**

**MANY WILL BE SURPRISED** to know that oil-rich Iran is now facing serious economic problems. That is probably the reason why Iran has unilaterally reduced its crude oil price in a bid to sell the oil that has begun to accumulate unsold. Many in Sri Lanka had believed that Iran would flourish in the fabulous world of Arabian Nights' riches for ever and ever. The following despatch from Washington to the Hindu by its correspondent, Easwar Sagar is most revealing.

Oil-rich Iran, which has embarked on grandiose plans to develop into a nation as modern and industrially powerful as some of the advanced nations of Europe, is said to be facing serious economic problems. Reports from Britain and France confirm what became known here earlier, that Iran which had placed huge orders for arms, equipment for the diversification of its industry and material for the development of its schools, roads, hospitals and housing, is now talking of cutting back on some of these orders because of a decline in oil revenues. Instead of a surplus of \$five to six billions from oil sales, it is now said to be faced with a budget deficit of \$two to three billions. It was disclosed here the other day that Iran, which had ordered billions of dollars worth of planes and ships to modernise its armed forces, was now reducing its purchases from the U.S. Though the reason given was that the U.S had hiked its price for these equipment, since the orders were placed, there are indications that the cutbacks were made because of lack of ready cash.

Eighteen months ago, when it was amassing profits from oil, Iran was talking of taking over Pan American Airways, of acquiring a 25 per cent share in the giant Krupps Steel Works of West Germany, and of lending Britain over a billion dollars to bail that country out of its financial problems due to declining trade receipts. Reports now indicate that Iran may not be able to give this loan to Britain.

Faced with declining sales, Iran is now reported to be pressing Western Governments to force their oil companies to buy more

Iranian oil. Iran is supposed to have told them, in what is considered to be an indirect threat, that if they do not, it may delay payments to western companies from these countries, which have sold industrial and other equipment to Iran.

Iran's unexpected economic troubles are traced to several sources. While the major western oil consumers have had some success in cutting back on their consumption in their bid to beat the high prices charged by OPEC countries, Iran has not reduced production to match the decline in off-take. It has thus been pumping out more crude than it can sell, unlike Saudi Arabia and Kuwait which are in a better position to let the oil lie underground until demand goes up again. Also, unlike other OPEC members, the Shah of Iran has always been a stern believer in keeping oil prices as high as possible. This, it is believed, has made Iran a special target of the western oil consortia, which have been keeping their oil purchases in Iran as low as possible. The suspicion is that they are doing so to pressure the Shah into lowering his price for oil, and to obtain a better profit margin than Iran is willing to allow them.

Neighbouring Iraq, on the other hand, quietly cut back on its oil prices, and was able to sell more oil than before. While Iran's oil output is said to have declined by 11 per cent, Iraq's is said to have gone up by 20 per cent. Iran's problems are also said to have other causes. Its ambitious plans to become a West Germany or France in a hurry has led it to buy western goods and technology at too rapid a pace, so much so that its ports and docks are said to be cluttered with uncleared cargo. Inflation is another factor. High food import bills have meant a drain. Also, corruption among public officials, which had led to a campaign against it, is said to have slowed down the pace of commercial activity.

There are many lessons Sri Lanka can learn from Iran's experience: that it is wrong to be in a hurry; that it is wrong to be over-ambitious; that Pesalai oil (if it is found) will bring such immediate prosperity that this country could (once again!) start on a spending spree to provide,

among other things, welfare schemes the country cannot afford (even after Pesalai or Mahaweli). February 24.

The No-Confidence motion against Mr. Felix R. Dias Bandaranaike which was debated in the NSA on February 19 has certainly raised more dust than the near complete token (general strike) on February 20. The Government, through the media it controls—Lake House, the Times and the SLBC—like the proverbial ostrich hiding its head in sand, has pretended that "business" went on as usual on February 20. Those who have long memories and are old enough to remember will recall the Lake House banner headline on August 12, 1953 of BUSINESS AS USUAL when the Hartal had brought life to a standstill in Colombo and in most parts of the country. At that time, the Lake House was the faithful tool of the UNP and Senanayakes (and Kotelawela). On February 20, 1976, the Lake House adopted a similar attitude to the total (general) strike by pretending that that a large number of workers had not responded to the call of the JCTUO. (It is true that a number of workers, especially white collar workers, attended offices in Colombo and elsewhere and in the process had broken a number of traffic by-laws, viz two and three persons on the same bicycle, etc and also the recent emergency laws about passengers being transported by lorry, etc.) Lake House papers had not said BUSINESS AS USUAL, but it had endeavoured to build up a mirage that the strike was the success that its sponsors would try to make it out to be. The SLBC followed the same propaganda technique and thereby widened the credibility gap between the Government and the public. Government papers also emphasised that everything had been "peaceful" meaning thereby that the forces of law and order had kept the strikers "quiet." It would have done the Government more good if it had maintained a discreet silence—if it did not want the media to report facts.

Whatever propaganda gimmicks the Government has resorted to and will resort to in the near future to play down the strike, there is not the slightest doubt that it was the most complete one-day all-island (general) strike ever in the

history of this country. The three constituent members of the JCTUO, including the SLFP trade unions, backed the strike wholeheartedly. The CMU, CWC and the DWC supported the strike. The Central Bank Employees Union supported the strike. All UNP trade unions fully supported the strike. All FP-TUF led trade unions (though small and weak) had backed the strike. Though press reports (in the pro-government media) had stressed that a number of employees had attended their offices, everybody who had eyes saw, and everybody who had ears heard, that the token strike was a 100% success because everything had been brought to a standstill—the buses did not move, the trains did not run, the ports did not work, in short there was total and complete paralysis of all normal activity.

In the Tamil North it was a total hartal in addition to the all embracing token strike. In the South and elsewhere, the strike was so complete that no business was transacted and no business could be transacted. Everything went off peacefully because there were no unions, no groups and no parties opposed to the strike seeking to break it. If the Government does not realise that it stands isolated, even from the trade unions of the SLFP and the CP—the two parties making the Governmental United Front—then the only conclusion possible is that the Government has lost all sensitiveness to realities.

The JCTUO has now adopted an eight-point immediate minimum programme (at a meeting of the Committee on the day after the strike) and with the strength it has displayed on February 20, it is likely to press forward to compel the Government to concede the demands. The demands are: (1) Withdraw or abandon the Foreign Investment Bill; (2) Fulfill the promise made last year to nationalise all foreign banks; (3) Remove all anti-democratic and anti-union Emergency Regulations; (4) Pay a realistic cost of living allowance i.e. Rs. 250 for every increase in the every point of the index with an assured minimum basic wage of Rs. 250 a month

in the public and private sectors; (5) Pay three months salary as a loan to public servants until the Credit Councils began to function; (6) That the LB de Silva Commission report be implemented; (7) that the Rs. 15 allowance granted in the last Budget be paid to all workers; (8) that all industries that affect the day to day living of Consumers be nationalised.

But above all, the JCTUO and all other trade unions want the trade apprentice and the worker dismissed by the management of the Government Press to be reinstated. All formulae to save the face of the Minister in question (Mr. R. S. Perera) and the Government in regard to these dismissals have so far been rejected by the JCTUO. The lengthy and circumlocutory statements made by the Government to justify the action taken in the Government Press to "discipline" allegedly intransigent and recalcitrant workers have fallen on deaf ears—because the public do not seem to attach any credibility to governmental statements. "The Government says that the LSSP element in the Government Press had resorted to rowdism, but how can we believe this since the Government has indulged in so many propaganda gimmicks which have all boomeranged." is the attitude of even those who were faithful and almost blind adherents of the SLFP and the UF only a few months ago.

So much for the token general strike, and unless the Government is willing to concede some of the demands of the JCTUO, the country may witness many more strikes in the near future. One of the most significant developments of the February 20 token (general) strike was that all trade unions and all political parties in the Opposition and the unions with the Government—UNP, TUF, LSSP, SLFP and CP—had combined against a trade-unionless SLFP-CP Government. The token strike of February 20 is the culmination of many acts of commission and omission by the Government on many fronts and in many spheres.

**THE NO CONFIDENCE MOTION** against Mr. Felix R. Dias Bandaranaike and the intransigent attitude the Government has taken in permitting its "all purpose" Minister to defend what is really

defenceless has contributed greatly to the present isolation of the Government. Even if one withholds judgement on many of the charges brought against the Minister for the misuse of power, there can be no defence for the continuing default of his brother-in-law and his wife, being partners in a business concern. Parliamentary propriety of the most elementary nature demanded this business should have been wound up if the Minister's wife was to be his private secretary and his brother-in-law was to hold high governmental office. If the business was not wound up, the least that could have been done was to ask these persons to quit the business. It would have been unsatisfactory even if the wife and in-laws continued to participate in the business without holding governmental office because it is not right that such close relations of a Minister should be involved in a business which had to so many transactions with Government in matters of business: i.e. buying of poultry food on obviously concessional rates from the State Oil and Fats Corporation, selling of eggs to the Marketing Department on a guaranteed price contracts, etc. etc. G.M. dealing was a later development which was even less permissible. If the Minister, even at a late stage, was willing to end this intolerable situation, it would be easier for his friends (and those who admire his skill and his manipulative capacity) to revive public confidence in the Minister.

It would be necessary in future issues of *Tribune* to examine the charges made by the Opposition in some detail, but for the moment it is sufficient to draw attention to some of the political highlights that has stemmed from the debate. Only three SLFP MPs had spoken in defence of the Finance Minister. The newly made post-LSSP era Minister Suriyarachchi was the only SLFP Minister who participated in the debate. Deputy Minister Ratne Deshapriya Senanayake and his close collaborator Mr. Jayaratne, MP for Gampola, were the two others who spoke up for the Minister. Their "defence" was in the main as follows: (a) that as Minister Felix R. Dias Bandaranaike had brought exchange control violators like Sir Oliver Goonetilleke to trial and they had been convicted, and therefore the UNP and other



## No Confidence

"reactionaries" had sponsored the no-confidence motion (those who know political history know that there was never any love lost between J. R. and O.E.G.); (b) that Minister Felix had such an unsullied record for honesty that all the mud thrown by the Opposition would not stick on him; (c) and so on and so forth.

But the manner in which the debate was brought to an end without a division by name being taken has added the confusion. This was a motion on which a division by name should have been taken. Nobody had expected that the Speaker would rule that the "Noes" had won especially at a time when near-pandemonium had begun to prevail in the House because the sponsors of the motion had been denied the right to wind up the debate. Whatever arguments may be trotted out in defence of the Speaker's rulings and actions, there is not the slightest doubt that public is unhappy about this state of affairs.

There is widespread public talk that no senior Minister of the SLFP rose to speak in defence of Minister Felix R. Dias Bandaranaike; that Prime Minister, who was present during the debate, did not go to rescue of the Finance Minister under sharp attack by the Opposition; that the Leader of the House, Mr. Maithripala Senanayake, did not rise to defend his beleaguered colleague, that the Chief Whip, who is adept in pouring oil over troubled waters, did nothing more than crack his

whip—and that but for the grace of the Opposition which had kept the debate going when there were no governmental speakers, the debate could easily have concluded with only the speech of the Minister Felix R. Dias Bandaranaike in defence of himself.

It was altogether an uproariously funny debate. The Speaker had ruled that voice vote had indicated that the No Confidence Motion should conclude without the Opposition being given an opportunity to wind up the debate. (But the question that is being actively canvassed now is regarding the number of SLFP backbenchers who were present in the precincts of the House when division time drew near and about the number who "might" have abstained at division, or might have "gone to sleep" in one of the lobbies). But the even more important question is whether the main motion was put to the House at all. The (UNP) *Journal*, 24/2/76 described the end in the following terms:

*The Speaker said it was always advisable to stick to the agreement, and then put Mr. Maithripala Senanayake's motion that a vote be taken at that stage to the House. There was great confusion at that time when the vote was taken by voice. The Speaker then announced: "The Ayes have it" and left his chair. The members also left the chamber. In this situation, some claim that the voice vote was on Mr. Maithripala Senanayake's motion that a vote be taken at that stage. Hence the debate had only been adjourned and has to be resumed on another date. This main-*

*tains that the Speaker's ruling is that the Opposition motion has been passed. It is understood the Opposition has taken up the matter with the Speaker.*

The *Daily Mirror* version is that after the decision to take a vote at that stage "there was confusion as Members began to shout. A voice vote was then taken and the Speaker announced that the 'noes' had it. The *Daily News* version, 21/2/76, had stated as follows about this part of the debate: "...

*...When the Speaker, Mr. Stanley Tillekeratna, then put the vote to the House there was considerable confusion and the Speaker's announcement was drowned in the ensuing din. A parliamentary official later declared 'The Noes have it.' Even after the House was adjourned members retired in noisy disorder arguing with other."*

This was certainly no way to end a serious No Confidence Motion against a very important member of the Government, but this is Sri Lanka today.

The *Times of Ceylon Sunday Illustrated* on 22/2/76, had a front-page story that the Opposition view was that the NO-FAITH DEBATE WAS NOT YET OVER. The report concluded thus: "The opposition is also of the view that there is nothing in Hansard to indicate that the no-confidence motion was put to the House. The Minister of Finance and Justice is scheduled to go abroad on February 29 for medical treatment. In fact during the course of the debate Mr. Bandaranaike said he had wanted an early debate as he had to go abroad on February 29.

## CHRONICLE

# Feb. 7 — Feb. 13

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

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

**SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 7:** The CIC (Exchange Frauds) yesterday sentenced Sir Oliver Goonetilleke, a former Governor General of Ceylon to four years rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 950,000 for foreign exchange offences involving a sum of Rs. 10

million; Mrs. Sheila Sathananthan, daughter of Sir Oliver, was given a suspended sentence of 2 years rigorous imprisonment (suspended for a period of five years) and a fine of Rs. 551,000; Mr. Sathananthan, son-in-law of Sir Oliver, was sentenced to two years rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 220,000; Mr. A. R. M. Mukthar, a leading gem merchant was sentenced to four years rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 1.8 million; his two sons Messrs Thowfeek Mukthar and Fawmy Mukthar were each fined Rs. 10,000; the total fines imposed in this case amounted to Rs. 3,541,000—CDN. Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwa, Minister of Lands and Agriculture, said yesterday that a organisation called the Jantha Estate Development Board also known as the "Janavasama" will be incharge of managing the estates taken over by the Government; Mr. K. H. J. W. Jedasa, Chairman of the Land Reforms Commission will be the Chairman of the Janawasama; there will be a five board of directors under the Chairman—CDM. The Committee consisting of Ministers and MPs who

conducted investigations into the communal disturbances in Puttalam in its report to the government said that an incident originating from a personal dispute had been exploited by looters and political spies and this had led to violence—*CDN*. Police and Income Tax authorities investigating the affairs of the Colombo Commercial Company Ltd., now taken over by the Government, have discovered that in one instance the Company had obtained illegally a large quantity of urea assigned for the State Fertilizer Corporation—*ATH*. The *Aththa* editorially compared the statement of Mr. Maithripala Senanayake, Minister of Irrigation, Power and Highways, seeking co-operation from the working class when he explained the incidents of Puttalam at the NSA to the present position of the workers of the Government Press who have been let down by the Minister of Information and Broadcasting: the *Aththa* said it was regrettable to note that certain Ministers and MPs do not understand the importance of the working class. The *Janadina* referring to the Police invasion of the meeting of the employees of the Government Press who were on strike said this amounted to thuggery on the part of the Minister of Information and Broadcasting who was in charge of the Government Press. According to reports from Geneva nearly 6000 people died and 4000 were injured in an earthquake in Guatemala. Following a U.S. Senate sub-committee disclosure that the American Lockheed Aircraft Corporation has paid large sums of money for the purpose of sales promotions to Japanese politicians, *Reuter* said that this could lead to a political storm in Japan in the year of its general elections.

**SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 8:** Mr. Lakshman Jayakody, Deputy Minister of Defence and Foreign Affairs, had been informed from an Indian source that out of the Rs. 1500 million declared in Tamil Nadu under the amnesty granted by the Indian Government for "black money" approximately Rs. 80 million were earned in Sri Lanka and illegally transferred to South India; following this information the Deputy Minister has asked the authorities for a thorough investigation—*CO*. Mr. J. R. Jayewardene Leader of the Opposition, has nominated Mr. Rukman Senanayake, MP for Dedigama, for an educational course in parliamentary practice in London organised by the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association: Mr. Senanayake's conduct during the Colombo South by-election was the subject of an inquiry by the UNP Working Committee—*CO*. A senior official of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting told the *Sunday Observer* that with the recruitment of over two thousand new hands the Government Press will return to normal functioning from Wednesday: yesterday over 4,000 odd applications were received by the Press for jobs. According to the *Sunday Times* the Police will from this week take stern action to stop the racing menace in the country: according to a spokesman even school children have been lured into placing bets on horse racing. According to the *Sri Lankadipa* the announcement by the British Broadcasting Corporation that it would do away with the Sinhala medium broadcasting from the end of this month was not for the purpose of cutting down on expenditure as claimed by the BBC but as a political revenge for taking over British owned estates: Mr. David Page, an official of the BBC Eastern Service, who was in the island last week told the *Lankadipa* that he did not think that this had any bearing with the taking over of the estates by the Government: he also said that he would however take

up the matter with officials of the BBC—*SLD*. According to the *Silumina* Puttalam and suburbs are now peaceful after the recent communal violence there. The *Janasathiyā* published a story where the Tourist Police mistook two school children for beggars and transported them to a camp for beggars: the mother of the children who went in search of her daughters to the school, was also arrested by the Police and transported to the camp for beggars: Mr. Bernard Soysa, MP for Colombo South, revealed this in the NSA. Political circles in Pakistan attributed a Cabinet reshuffle by Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Prime Minister, to early general elections: the Cabinet of 11 Ministers were expanded to 16. A second earth quake within two days hit the city of Guatemala sending the entire population fleeing to the streets.

**MONDAY, FEBRUARY 9:** According to the *Daily News* Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, and her high ranking party men will hold talks with the Communist Party on the provisions of the draft Foreign Investment Bill now under consideration by the Government: the proposed talks were initiated by the Communist Party after the decision of the party leadership was placed before the Government, following discussions at the Central Committee level. The Janata Estate Development Board which was set up by Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwa, Minister of Lands and Agriculture, to manage the estates taken over by the government will hold its inaugural meeting today: the Board which is known as Janawasama will also discuss the question whether the directors of the now defunct agency houses should be re-employed—*CDN*. The Sri Lanka Independent Trade Union Federation appealed to the Prime Minister and the Minister of Information and Broadcasting to reconsider the deadline given to employees of the Government Press who went out on strike.—*CDN* Campus authorities at Peradeniya have fixed the dates for all examinations and particulars of residential facilities for candidates—*CDN*. According to the *Daily Mirror* about 400 tractor engines imported two years ago for use in the government's food production drive have been idling unused: these tractor engines were imported by the Industrial Development Board and Sri Lanka State Trading (Tractor) Corporation. Ministry of Education will soon appoint science degree holders to teaching posts to schools in remote areas—*DM*. A team of officials led by Mr. T. B. Hanganatne, Minister of Trade and Public Administration, left the island yesterday for talks with the Indian Government on mutual aid between the two countries: the talks will commence today—*DM*. According to the *Lankadipa* over thirty firms in America have expressed their willingness to undertake petroleum drilling work in the shores of Sri Lanka: following these applications a team of officials headed by the Chairman of the Petroleum Corporation, Mr. E. R. S. R. Coomaraswamy, left for America for negotiations. The ICTUO meets tomorrow to decide what action should be pursued in regard to the strike at the Government Press and the subsequent action by the Government to appoint fresh hands: meanwhile several trade unions in the JCTUO proposed to launch a one-day token strike—*VK*. The *Aththa* editorially said that the action of the Minister of Information and Broadcasting in regard to the strike at the Government Press has turned out to be a joke and posed the question whether blacklegs unskilled in the trade of printing could work in a place like the Government Press, which needed

skilled and experienced workers: the paper in its front page lead said that the whole public sector is ready to launch a struggle for the sake of their brethren in the Government Press. According to the *Janadina* thousands who queued up opposite the Government Press following announcement that freshers would be recruited for employment were baton-charged by the Police and several were injured. Public Security Minister, Hua Kuo-Feng, has been appointed acting Prime Minister of China: observers said that this was a major surprise as everybody expected senior Vice Premier Mr. Teng Hsiao Ping, to be appointed to the post: certain observers however felt that the appointment of Mr. Hua Kuo-Feng who is also one of the Vice Prime Ministers was only temporary until the Communist Party of China found a suitable person. Ex-President of US, Mr. Richard Nixon, and his wife Patricia, will make a trip to China on February 21, on an invitation by the Government of China.

**TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 10:** According to the *Aththa* the employees of the Ceylon Petroleum Corporation decided yesterday not to issue petroleum products to any vehicles belonging to the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting and to vehicles of the departments that came under this Ministry: several other trade unions in corporations and state departments will soon decide to follow the Petroleum Corporation: these actions were in retribution to the attitude taken by the Minister of Information and Broadcasting, Mr. R. S. Perera, in regard to the strike at the Government Press: according to the *Janadina*, Mr. Batty Weerakoon, General Secretary of the Federation of Labour, told a meeting in Kiribathgoda yesterday soon every corporation and Government department would indulge in a boycott campaign in order to make the Minister of Information and Broadcasting know that he cannot play the fool with or intimidate the workers. According to the *Daily News* a Government spokesman has told that the Government will not extend the deadline set for the workers of the Government Press to return to work. The curfew in the Puttalam district was lifted yesterday—*CDN*. Employees in agency houses were yesterday asked by the Land Reform Commission to reapply for continuation of employment before the 20th of this month: such applications have to be sent to the *LRC*—*CDN*. According to the *Daily Mirror* 61 per cent of the students who sat the NCGE in the English medium failed the examination: the percentage of failures are much high in the English medium and this is attributed to non-availability of necessary texts. Officials of the Department of Immigration and Emigration arrested 107 people, all heads of families for failure to leave the country under the Sirima-Shastri Pact: these arrests were made mainly in the Plantation sector—*LD*. CTB has asked for a loan of Rs. 150 million from the Treasury to import 710 new buses—*LD*. Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwa, Minister of Agriculture and Lands, decided to allocate all lands less than 50 acres and acquired by the *LRC* to landless peasants and to those who needed building blocks to put up houses: nearly 450,000 families will benefit under the proposed scheme—*DM*. The French Communist Party broke away its connections with Moscow and announced its determination to seek a more liberal life with personal freedom. The National Emergency Committee of Guatemala announced that the death toll in the recent earthquake has risen to 12,000. Mr. Kurt Waldheim

General Secretary of the United Nations, said that he may not seek a second term for the present post held by him.

**WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 11:** The Department of Inland Revenue has given top priority to investigate the Convertible Rupee Accounts of Individuals and their tax returns: according to the Department it has been discovered that many CRA holders have lawfully disposed of their CRAs but had not shown the true figures in their returns in order to evade taxation—*CDN*. According to the *Daily Mirror* the International Police has alerted all international airports throughout the world including the Bandaranaike International Airport at Katunayake that the notorious international terrorist Carlos Ramirez Sanchez who is popularly known as "The Jackal" is preparing for a new strike and to look for him: "The Jackal" was responsible and masterminded the attack on the OPEC headquarters in Vienna. The JCTUO which met yesterday to decide on the future action regarding the strike at the Government Press resolved that it would decide tomorrow on the date of a token strike in sympathy with the strikers at the Government Press: JCTUO also decided to call on the private sector member unions too to join the proposed token strike: the JCTUO will decide on the date of the token strike at a rally to be held at the Hyde Park tomorrow: representatives of SLFP, LSSP and the CP were present at yesterday's meeting of the JCTUO—*ATH*. The workers of the Colombo, Trincomalee and Galle Harbours of the Port Commission commenced a strike from yesterday in support of their demands regarding Credit Council regulations—*ATH*. According to the *Daily News* Mr. R. S. Perera, Minister of Information and Broadcasting, yesterday had discussion with a group of employees of the Government Press and later agreed to re-employ them: according to Ministry sources this group of employees together with 200 new recruits will commence work from today. The Indo-Sri Lanka Joint Commission which had discussions lasting two days in New Delhi signed agreements on a number of bi-lateral undertakings—*CDN*. According to the *Daily Mirror* the working of Credit Councils in many government department was in a mess and the Minister of Finance, Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, had summoned all Secretaries to Ministries for a discussion to prepare a plan to effectively operate these councils. The Tamil United Front will meet on the 23rd of this month to decide on further actions under the present political atmosphere—*VK*. The Insurance Corporation has decided to pay a bonus of Rs. 15 for each year of 1972 and 1973 for those who held life insurance policies—*LD*. According to the *Dinamina* Ministry of Defence and Foreign Affairs has taken steps to deport nearly 40,000 citizens of Indian origin under the Sirima-Shastri Pact within the next few months. Lord Mountbatten will arrive in the island tomorrow and he will be guest of the President Mr. William Gopallawa: he will meet the Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, too—*CDN*. The Dutch Cabinet held a special session to appoint an independent commission of inquiry into allegations that the American Lockheed Aircraft Corporation gave Prince Bernhard \$1.1 million to promote company sales: according to *Reuters* though the Prince had denied the charges yet this would create a major political uproar resulting in the abdication of his wife Queen

Juliana. It is feared that the death toll in the Guatemala earth quake may rise to 50,000 and the United Nations has resolved to send 75,000 US dollars for the families of victims.

**THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 12:** According to the *Daily Mirror* a wave of strikes threatens the public sector organisations: from yesterday employees belonging to the Port Commission in Colombo, Trincomalee and Galle went on strike over the failure by Credit Councils to grant relief they had sought to relieve themselves of indebtedness: the dispute of Credit Councils prevail in several other government departments too: meanwhile the Minister of Finance, Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, yesterday instructed the Treasury to release the full amount of Rs. 89 million allocated to Credit Councils Department to be distributed among the respective Credit Councils—CDM. Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Finance, yesterday turned down a request by public sector trade unions that the 40 per cent ceiling on deductions from their pay packet should be increased: the Minister has ruled that it would not be desirable to exceed the present deduction limit as this would result in a reduction of the employees take-home pay—CDN. According to the *Daily News* the Government Press has nearly 400 new persons and started functioning yesterday: the paper quoted a Government spokesman as saying that the Press returned to normalcy from yesterday and the first gazette would be put out on the 20th of this month. Mr. J. A. K. Perera, President of the Government Service Trade Union Federation, in a statement to the *Aththa* said that the Cabinet and the Government has been misrepresented on the condition of the strike at the Government Press and the Harbour and this has led to a stalemate in these strikes—ATH. The Union of Post and Telecommunications United Front decided not to deliver letters and maintain other essential telecommunication service to the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting and to departments under this Ministry—ATH. The *Janadina* in an editorial referring to the strike at the Government Press said that this was an ideal opportunity for the working class to teach a lesson to capitalist policies of the SLFP-CP Government. Speaking at a meeting in Peradeniya Mr. H. M. Navaratne, Deputy Minister of Agriculture and Lands, and Mr. D. M. Jayaratne, SLFP MP for Gampola, said that this Government will not hold a general election in 1977 or even after that—LD. An armed gang broke into the Peoples Bank branch at Wijerama, Nugegoda yesterday noon and got away with cash Rs. 600,000: later the Police arrested three suspects and recovered part of the loot ten miles away from Nugegoda—CDM. A Commission to investigate charges against Prince Bernard was set up in Holland as the American Lockheed payoff scandal drew more repercussions in five other countries. The US Navy has moved a task of five ships into the Indian Ocean according to the US Defence Department. The Organisation of African Unity (OAU) yesterday recognised the Angolan Peoples Republic of the Soviet-backed MPLA as a full member state; meanwhile troops of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) appeared to be on the threshold of victory over the rival nationalist forces.

**FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 13:** At the JCTUO rally held at the Hyde Park yesterday it was decided to hold a day's token strike on the 20th of this month: the strike was in protest at the steps taken by the Ministry of

Information and Broadcasting over the strike at the Government Press—CDN. According to the *Daily Mirror* the JCTUO decided to bring the public and private sectors in the strike. According to the *Janadina* transport and hospital workers too will participate in the strike. Following the announcement by the Ministry of Shipping and Tourism that the demands of the port workers in regard to the Credit Councils will be met, the employees in the ports of Colombo, Trincomalee and Galle returned to work yesterday—JD. The *Janadina* in an editorial referred to statements by responsible MPs of the SLFP regarding the general elections in 1977 and said this revealed the Government's present position—JD. According to the *Aththa* several world nations are surprised at the delay by the Government of Sri Lanka to recognise the legal Government of the MPLA organisation of Angola. According to the *Daily Mirror* Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Finance, has advised the Government that the State Distilleries Corporation and the Gem Corporation which are presently under his Ministry be brought under the Ministry of Plantations Industries and the Ministry of Trade respectively. A massive fraud in the National Savings Bank using forged bank labels, counterfeit post office seals has been bared: three people including a woman were arrested by the Police: the withdrawals have been made by producing identity cards with tampered serial numbers—CDM. The ALL Ceylon Muslims League requested the Prime Minister to grant compensation for Muslim families that have lost property and money in the recent events in Puttalam and certain other areas—VK. Mr. K. B. Ratnayake, Minister of Transport, in an order to the CTB wanted extreme caution exercised when interdicting CTB employees for alleged offences: the Minister has ordered that interdictions should be only if it was very sure that the charges preferred against an employee could be proved and which would result in dismissal from service, if proved—LD. A US Subcommittee said that there was nothing improper in the relationship between Lockheed Aircraft Corporation and its Swedish Agent, Swedair, or any of Swedair's board of directors. Spain's Interior Minister, Manuel Fraga, warned Spaniards that guerilla violence could wreck attempts to reform the authoritarian regime left by General Franco.

### NEW INSURGENCY BUILD-UP?

Addressing a conference of Government Agents in regard to their new powers to reorganise and operate the co-operative movement, on Tuesday, February 24, 1976, the Prime Minister, Mrs. Srimavo Bandaranaike, confirmed the *Daily Mirror* story of February 16 that police investigations into the Rs. 6 lakh bank robbery had revealed "that it had a connection with an ultra-left insurrection movement," and that this robbery had been engineered to finance a printing press for the movement. She had pointed that there had recently been a spate of robberies, especially in co-operative societies which handled large sums of cash, and she called upon the GAs to exercise greatest vigilance because similar robberies had preceded the 1971 insurgency.

## Motives And Motivation

By Herbert Kauneman

I WAS both interested and touched to read in *Tribune* of January 24 Kumar's regretful but courageous manifesto *Farewell to Village Life* with its disillusioned admission, 'my attempt...has been a failure' and its poignant apology, 'forgive a man...if he has tried and failed.'

None knows better than I that there is nothing to forgive; on the contrary where I too, at 67, feel myself 'alone and old' as Kumar did, I find much to praise and admire in one who—a whole decade older than am I—yet had the vision and fortitude to attempt (as, he has every right to point out, few cited 'reformers' have attempted) to reframe the ruinous structure of the Island's majority society from within. And again, when Kumar says: 'I could not become a villager, it is difficult for a man of bourgeois stock to integrate with the proletariat'—and this after he had made far more effort (eating, dressing and housing himself as a villager) than ever I have done or have been prepared to do—I well understand and sympathize.

Yet I am not as convinced as Kumar is that to have succeeded in becoming a true villager would have yielded the other success he was concerned with. The two are contradictory terms.

PATRONIZING as it may seem to come right out and actually say it, to be a villager is to accept his values and, even, to share his ignorance (let us use the hard but honest word) since it is thence that many of his values spring. His convictions are those of prejudice rather than cerebration, he leans toward tradition rather than rationality, he is deeply self-centred, inordinately envious, and—though he may deny it and try to hide it for fear of seeming 'backward' in the eyes of a 'superior' whose superiority he does not in his heart acknowledge—superstitious to a degree.

The point I am making is that had Kumar achieved the success

of becoming a veritable villager (that is to say, beyond the distance of merely accepting his physical disabilities as far as which he bravely went) he would have found himself metamorphosed from the individual who desired that success only for the sake of an even greater one: 'to form a nucleus working for radical change'. Radical change is the last thing the villager really wants. On the other hand, if Kumar's nucleus were of the sort that sincerely pressed for it they might indeed move 'with the people like fish moving in the ocean'; but they would be forced to acknowledge themselves a different species of fish.

Believe me, I am not being cheaply cynical; cynicism would be a thoroughly unworthy reaction to idealism that went to such lengths; and I am all for Kumar's implied contention that (in a still predominantly rural nation like Ceylon) it is salutary, it is vital, that reformers should be at first hand familiar with the majority by which the reforms they planned would have to be implemented. But—from a total of village residence not by very much far short of Kumar's own; and from I hope an unbiased assessment of historical testimony—I draw what seems to me the ineluctable conclusion that revolution is not a village phenomenon. To one failure, or another, therefore, I believe Kumar had foredoomed himself.

I re-assert—and in sounding so categorical about it I apologize only for the obnoxious fact that any assertion tends to sound like a bad argument, like a pre-emptive refusal to argue—that no viable revolution, red or green, or blue! ever sprang from the village. Rebellion (which is only exasperation forced beyond its tolerated pitch) rebellion, yes. Wat Tyler, yes. Kappitipola, yes. Revolution (which is a very different and more deliberated, deliberate and responsible thing) no. Cromwell was not a villager; nor Washington; nor Mirabeau. Not really revolutionary prime-movers? sometimes a revolution begins as a rebellion, and then for a figurehead one must pick a man who released or, better still! controlled, co-ordinated and directed all that unleashed power. So, let us turn to men who consciously set out to create a new social order; and never are they villagers either. Not Thomas Paine,

not Marx and Lenin, not Gandhi-ji, not Sun Yat Sen nor (!) Mao Tse Tung, nor Fidel Castro, nor S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike.

WHEN I SAID in the previous paragraph that not even the 'blue' revolution had village roots, that was no mere gibe. To deduce from the political affiliations (it is more realistic to employ that word than the word 'loyalties' of the villagers of at all events this region, I think it can still be safely said that the majority are as yet SLFP. It is undeniable that the UNP has a material following as well—an expression, largely, of discontent with the misunderstanding leading to mismanagement and misgovernment by the government in power; once so enthusiastically and trustingly but naively welcomed by the rural element; a signal of the exasperation whence rebellion springs and therefore perilous to lightly discount—but on the whole the region is predominantly 'blue'. Nevertheless just as it would be unhistorical to think of SLFP socialism as village-grown it is un-realistic and sentimental to believe that the village is in love with the SLFP's democratic-socialistic ideals and policies. It would be irresponsible and dishonest in me to pretend that it did so.

So much that has nothing to do with politics—or simple honest-to-goodness policies—comes into village 'loyalty'. One is the villager's intense dislike (based on pride at least as much as on prudence) for being on a losing side or in a minority that does not show a considerable likelihood of winning (in the latter case he may reveal himself a consummate gambler). On the whole, though, he will seldom risk a present if as yet undemonstrated, advantage for a future equally putative one—not 'loyalty', then, but stubbornness; or, at the best, conservatism, prudence—certainly not for a mere principle. Besides, his characteristic principle is self-advantage. But perhaps in this he is little different from his city brother?

However, he is different from his brother,—at least in degree, in the narrowness of his parochialism. The city man has learned to think in terms of his 'class', if no more; the villager thinks at his highest level, in terms of his village; and, as village life be-

comes more and more eroded by the incursion of non-village elements ('foreign' settlers, the passing but constantly fretting traffic of transferable Government officials, above all by 'colonists' poured on in swamping floods) in the gradually narrowing terms of his immediate family and, finally, himself and self alone. Give him water for his crops, cheap textiles and enough spare cash to expect to build a *bangalaya* and he will declare with the Party that gives, or plausibly promises, him them. He may be aware of world trends, world economic problems, his 'own' Party's professed problems, but he feels no responsibility concerning them. *Altruism—which is finally at the bottom of all planned reform—is a sophisticated sympathy.* No villager would have emulated Kumar and gone to live in a city slum to work for the redistribution of wealth there.

IN OTHER WORDS, no villager would ever have devised a socialist, leave alone a communist, economic system. Let no one point out that nearly every villager today supports a socialistic Party; what other Party is there to support? SLFP, LSSP, CP, the 'new' UNP of either branch, each is socialist by lip-service if nothing else. The villager belongs to one or the other because he has to belong somewhere—it is unlikely, to say the least, that there can be several million Independents—but not because he believes at all in diffuse philanthropy; it is simply his hope that by achieving any sort of singularity as a party activist he will earn for himself some advantage not available to a rival. The very denial of equal opportunity to all! the very rebuttal of the subjection of a selfish opportunity to mere community interests! In such respects, save that the field of concern was smaller the ancient and now ruined village stood far nearer the genuine socialist ideal. All that modern politics has taught its inhabitant is to grab what comes while it is grabable. As Kumar says, it will take a long time—probably more than 'a generation'—to un-teach him that.

My own 'motive' in first coming to live in a village was not to change the villager—either by teaching or un-teaching him—but to observe him (for he seemed to me as other and as colourful as a bird; yet I hope this will not be interpreted

as patronizing of me, for it was not, it was sheer fascination with an unfamiliar subject) and, when opportunity occurred, to offer him what service was within my ability. I stated at the very beginning of this series that (a) I came here to write a book—never written, as I then explained—on Ceylon Drums and Drummers; and (b) to try to mediate to the villager, if I could, by the tested kindness of friends more influentially placed than me, the many benefits to which he was theoretically entitled but which I already knew enough of the village to be aware he could not practicably appropriate without disinterested help; because, as I stated, my wife and I felt the social ferment of the late 1950s and wished to be part of it but were put off by its ill-mannered Colombo effects!

We learned a great deal (and perhaps repaid a little) but above all we learned to love the village 'warts and all'; and that was why I came 'home' to it lonely in 1972. I have not, I think, this time either, tried to change my friends any more than one normally tries to change someone one loves but disagrees with; and no more than the first time have I tried to change myself into an imitation villager but in one particular: solvency.

The particular was partly dictated by circumstances; and partly by my personal psychology; but partly—considerably—by a deliberate decision. I came to the village now to find a place in it (where previously I had come—I thought—to fill a place in it) and I must establish my identity with it in some way. It seemed that this was as deep a way as I could reach; for you will agree there is something sacramental—more so than in a shared benefit—in a shared privation. Since then I have lived on a village scale of income, though I have reserved the right to expend that income to suit my own priorities; to adopt village priorities unconvicted would have been deliberate hypocrisy. I am no more than so much a villager.

BUT I AM LEARNING. Still. And I still love the village and still try to repay it a little in the only way I now can (now that most of my friends who are not entrapped in the expediencies of politics are superannuated and retired) by trying to demonstrate in these articles the shortfall between what

Sri Lanka's people are promised and what The System allows them, in practice, to obtain.

Maybe the Government is cynically aware that it can promise so much and pretend to the governed and the world at large that its promises are sterling only because it knows for sure that the voter can actually realize so little. Maybe, in any Government? bankruptcy is averted only by the fact that its guard-dogs make a run on the bank impossible? Maybe that is the art of government? Maybe if only we could have it, we should—whatever the Government—never have had it so good?

But every Government is so preoccupied with digging itself into power that actual governing becomes a side issue. Kumar's solution, that 'There should be only one party—a people's party', it seems to me would be doomed like any other to 'failure' so long as one interpreted failure as the opposite of success. Failure is not inability to succeed but refusal to try. Which party has succeeded, in 8,000 years of human attempts at government? Besides, who are 'the people'? the present villager myopic and blinkered? A mere majority, however vast, is not 'the people.'

And, too, we have *three times* since Independence had a single-party government (one UNP and two SLFP) in the sense that each

## For Sale

Coconut rafters

@ 70 cents

a riang

Coconut beams

@ Rs. 1/10

a riang

available at

**Yakadagalla Estate**  
Kotadeniyawa.

had an irresistible majority in the governing authority . . . without success. Opposition is not the less opposed because it is allowed no party name. And if opposition—as such—were to be proscribed the result would be dictatorship; and even a People's Dictatorship would be no better than its individual agents.

Maybe, although we now talk exclusively of 'masses' and 'revolution', personal 'conversion'—revolution on the mini-scale—is as yet a highly relevant though neglected concept?



KAZI—42

## In The Elahera Region

BY ANATORY BUKOBA

December 21,

The second kazi I wrote was on Elahera, and it was not my wish to let so much time fly by without another jaunt there. Sunday, and with a festive mass twenty minutes late at an obscure church still further on, it was eleven when I got back, and two o'clock when I set off. With a two-rupee ride, and another, and then yet another, with a last bus from there, I was ready to call off my visit if I could not make it, and to go elsewhere. At Dambulla a man recognised me and called my name, and with the entreaties of a woman tried to get me to call off my trip for that night and to go to his digs. I stayed the course and won, for there was a last bus at Naula and some time to go till it came. Here as in other places, it was the danger of making the trip that was urged on me to discourage me. I just fell asleep there, as I wrote that last word, and I feel better for the small nap, but I must close my eyes a bit.

Here and I writing in another place. I had some distance to go, and after catching the last bus, I had still to make sure I got off at the right place. My luck held, and a man knew where I was going, and he got off at the same spot. A boutique lay well off the road, and I recognized it as the place

where relations of the person I had named stayed, if they were not actually his family. The first person who woke up took a little convincing about my credentials, but who should just then pass by, late as the hour was, but the man who had showed me the place where I had wanted to go on my first visit ever to the area. It had been a stormy night then, and he recognized me now although I was a little distance from the road. The boutique people knew the voice, and then a second voice inside recognized mine. They took me across the canal, the owner of the first voice carrying my bag, and the owner of the second voice holding my torch and giving me a hand. It was a rickety bridge, some small single saplings end to end, and the most precarious of hand-rails, a single one.

We passed house after house, the path slippery, and arrived, I was greeted all right, but with some perturbation. One of the problems was accommodation. The morning revealed the problems. There was a single room with fine furniture, and a glass book-case with fine books, the entire top shelf English, the bottom Sinhalese. All these pieces of furniture, with a heavy tin trunk, had been carried across the precarious bridge. I heard later that many bags of manure were still carried across it. There was a tiny corner of a verandah, and also opening from this an open second room with a double bed that took up almost the entire space, and certainly the entire length. The brother and I slept in this room, the man, his wife and child on the floor in the other room, just as they always did. We always spoke English, the two senior men, but I spoke Sinhalese with the wife and the brother as they were not at ease in English. Most of my time there was spent reading a book from that small library, Tolstoy's *Resurrection*, which, of course, I could not hope to finish. It had been published in Moscow, the translator an English girl, I think. The English of the translation was fine but Tolstoy excelled in describing the most commonplace of human situations; and the not so common. The story, a very human one, was every bit as good, and no word, was read but you wanted to read on. At no time was there a strain reading, which speaks

well for both author and translator. It was strange that I should have to go to the Elahera region, an agricultural colony, to read my first Tolstoy.

Tolstoy in this story did not miss a single detail of a human situation, and yet he did not have to rely on any banalities, as most authors seem to have to do, banalities such as useless description of the weather, when they did not really apply. It had taken my friend four days of continuous reading to read the book, and he judged it would take me as long. I had only a day and a half. He and his wife had a dog which was quite out of the world they lived in, and although dogs usually do not scare monkeys, they thought that this one did. Their plantation did not look extensive, but it meant much to them. Their main pre-occupation at this time were their paddy field which was out of sight. They would have sown paddy that first day I was there, but they found it had not germinated properly, and that they would have to start again with a fresh lot of paddy.

I kept to the house that first day, as I did not wish to risk the bridge on a rainy day. I did not even go to the bridge as the path was slippery. Just as I was going to wash a shirt, it rained again, but I got in a bath down by the canal. This canal is very full all the time, and a rise in the water level usually means flooding. Ten months ago in Kazi I wondered how it was going to hold Mahawell water. I had thought at that time the banks would be raised. Now I heard that the canal would be deepened, and to do this the water already in the canal would have to be diverted, so that it would continue in its river bed. I moved to a house back across the canal.

### LETTERS

The Tribune welcomes letters from readers. Short letters have a better chance of being published. All letters are subject to condensation for space reasons. Anonymous letters will not be considered for publication. Writers may request that their letters be signed only with initials or a pseudonym but preference will be given to those fully signed and bearing the writer's complete address.

My friend visited me there and took me for a walk. His cousin, a small black lad, came along to fetch in the buffaloes. I chaffed him for not diving into that canal, but the small lad though he was, he swam strongly across it. He disappeared and came back later with the buffaloes. His cousin had asked me if I would like to see him ride the buffaloes back across the deep canal, as was his wont, and we waited for this. Just as we began to move off he appeared. He had not found them easily. He slipped into the water after the buffaloes, and on the way back he rode one and then another, and even a calf. His cousin said that the buffaloes were helpless against him doing this in deep water, but that they would have shaken him off had he tried this on land.

There was a route through the jungle five miles to Dambulla, but very few could use this or knew it. The ordinary way was some thirty-five miles or less round by the road, and that meant by bus, with a change at Naula. In my earlier Kazi I wrote how I walked three miles towards Wahacotte from Naula at night to save twenty-three miles round by road and bus, with three changes, sometimes involving hours of waiting, and yet our people would rather do this than walk.

The new family spent all that day I was with them in the paddy field. Manioc was brought to them at eleven, and rice and curry at one. They knocked off at four. It rained, but they paid no attention to it. One lad was bare-bodied, and they all wore sarongs. Their movements were unhurried and yet they got a lot done. They had a hand-tractor helping them. For the most part it worked, but once or twice it would not, and after a long time they would succeed in getting it going again. The brother of that friend I mentioned earlier was with them, and he was a mechanic, who was sometimes called out for jobs great distances away, and so would stay a week, and of course he was a cousin.

There were three connected families here, the lads tall and slim, the families prolific, and there was work for them all. I met a lad from my own village. He knew me although I did not know him. My friend had des-

cribed Elahara as the most successful Agricultural scheme in Ceylon. One young lad had lost Rs. 3000/- stolen. The boutiques at Elahara town were really expensive, Ceylon-wise.



## THE FUTURE

# Our Plundered Planet

—how much longer can man survive?

by Sir Kingsley Dunham

**SIR KINGSLEY DUNHAM, FRSE, FGS,** the author, is the newly elected President of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. He has been Professor of Geology, University of Durham, President of Britain's Institute of Mining and Metallurgy and Honorary Fellow of the Geological Society of America.

**CAN THE HUMAN RACE** survive for much longer? Probably not, you might think, because some day in the dim and distant future the world will come to an end. You might even think that this isn't our problem, because it probably won't happen in our lifetime. Yet you would be wrong, because the problem of man's survival is much more urgent than most people realise. Many eminent scientists, indeed, are wondering not whether the human race can survive forever, but it could possibly continue to exist... for just the next few hundred years!

And the chances are that we cannot. For man's ultimate end may not come from a blinding, world-shattering explosion, or crawling radio activity, as the result of a nuclear war, but will probably be something much less spectacular.

If man's days are numbered it is entirely his own fault. If there was anyone left to write a history book, the cause of the end of the human race could be summed up as the result of greed, thoughtlessness

and carelessness. Nothing grander than that.

**WHAT IS HAPPENING** is that man—galloping ever faster after the shadowy figure of progress—is using up at an alarming rate, all the natural resources that are essential to industrial civilisation and to the survival of the human race in its present numbers. It has been taken for granted for too long that the world's natural resources, so generously provided, will always be there. Well, the unpleasant, but unavoidable, truth is they won't.

**COAL**, a universal source of power, heat and energy, took billions of years to form. In the space of about 100 years, man has been using it as if there is no tomorrow. As a result, it now looks as if there probably won't be a tomorrow. In about two or three centuries there will simply be no more coal left.

**OIL** creates an even more serious situation. Informed estimates reckon the world's sources will be completely used up by 1995. There may be hitherto undiscovered sources of oil that will enable us to scratch along for another 20 or so years, but not for much longer than that.

Some people, with blind faith in the miracles of technology, say something will turn up, that someone is bound to think of something. Yet, if you examine the alternatives, the situation is far from bright.

**NUCLEAR ENERGY**, for instance. This fuel force produces masses of radio-active waste that remains active and lethal for 30,000 years. It can be stored and kept 'safe' in concrete boxes—there is one in the middle of the Nevada desert, in America—but no one knows what would happen if a sudden earthquake, or tremor cracked one of these 'safe' boxes. If we were to use nuclear energy on a massive scale, there would be hundreds and thousands of such boxes all at the mercy of the elements.

**HYDROPOWER**—the use of water, an energy-giving source—and geothermal energy, using the heat from the Earth's interior—neither of these would seem likely to provide a long-term solution. The problem with the former is how to control it, with the latter, how to extract it.



**SOLAR RADIATION**—using the heat generated by the sun—also has problems. No one has yet discovered a way of collecting and harnessing it.

IT IS POSSIBLE that one of these could provide a universal source of energy, but research is at such a stage that it is unlikely that a practical solution will be found in time.

There is a secondary problem, too. According to some calculations, development of energy sources sufficient to allow us to enjoy the high standard of living we have become used to, would raise the whole temperature of the atmosphere and seas to a dangerous level. In other words, the world would become just too hot to live in.

In fact, that may happen anyway. Some Swedish scientists have already suggested that—as a result of intensive, prolonged, combustion of fossil fuels like coal and oil—there will be an increase of 18 per cent carbon dioxide in the upper atmosphere by the year 2000. This will produce a 'greenhouse' effect on the Earth's surface, and make the world hotter and stickier.

It is not only non-renewable resources—ones like coal, that once used, are gone forever—that are providing problems for man's survival. The situation with renewable resources—the products of agriculture and forestry—is just as serious. The population is increasing all the time. By the year 2000, it is predicted that the Earth's population will have doubled, to top the six billion mark. With improved medical facilities, a drop in the infant mortality rate and fewer world famines and wars, there are more and more people in the world. And more mouths to feed, too.

**INTENSIVE CONCENTRATION** on vital food sources such as cereals has been tried. High quality grain was grown in a recent experiment in India called the 'Green Revolution'. The experiment was a success but it was discovered that this did not solve the food shortage problem. Far more people who were fed, the more there were to feed

Also, scientists are worried about the effects on the plant community in concentrating on one particular form of plant life. They are discovering that it upsets and disturbs the natural balance

of plant life, but it is too soon to say what the results might be.

So what is being done? It would seem not enough. In Britain, the Natural Environment Research Council had a budget of a mere £20 million for 1973-74 compared with the total figure for government expenditure of £16.6 thousand million. This means that merely one tenth of one per cent of the national income is being spent on finding the vital answers to these disturbing questions.

I believe that a lot more could be done in the field of research. A practical, short-term solution might be to curb the worldwide boom in industrial output. Wealthier nations could face the prospect of rationing to allow the less affluent countries a fair share of all available raw materials.

No one knows for certain if our supplies, and the human race, are going to an end, but some of us think we ought to try to find out before it is too late. Some people say we're doomed, some say an answer will be found through technology. For goodness' sake, let us find out just who is right.

If you believe, as I do, that the great resources with which man has been endowed—practical intellectual and moral—have by no means been developed to the full, there remains solid grounds for hope. But we must have accurate information as well as the time to action it.

#### LETTERS

### \* Work \* Aid \* Trade

Sir,  
In a developing country, like ours, the citizens should be hard-working with true patriotism. But we are more holiday-minded, than zealous for work, as our Calendar makes one to guess.

Look at the holidays we have this year.

In January and May, we have four days in succession as holidays, Jan. 15-18 and May 13-16. Besides, we have four week-ends, when our holidays are three days in succession Mar. 13-15, April 16-18, Jan. 11-13, Oct. 22-24; and Dec. 4-6. On the top of these, in April we have holiday for five days in succession, 10-14.

To improve our economy, and to be able to work more, and make

better contribution, in the great task before us, of building a great nation, we should become more work-minded.

I beg to suggest, that we will have ten to twelve additional working days, every year, if we had Saturday as a working day, in the weeks when Full Moon Poya fell on any of the working days, Monday to Friday.

Rev. Dr. James S. Mather  
Colombo 4.  
10.2.76

Sir,

Some of our leaders describe this country as a poor one. This is not true. This country is rich; unfortunately it is inhabited by poor spirited people. If we became instead the spirited poor, we'd become again the granary of the East.

Efforts are being made to eliminate the beggars from the streets of Colombo. We must note that vast numbers of our children staying close to the Tourist Hotels any place in Sri Lanka have all become beggars and any Tourist will tell you that if he gets to know any native of this country, low class, middle class or no class, they all uniformly asked for radio sets, wristlet watches, foreign liquor etc.

The beggars on the streets usually have some physical handicap—the rest of us beggars?

Bryan de Kretser

Pritchipura,  
10.2.76

Sir,

It is very infrequently that I get presents. The other day, of all things, I got a present of a box of chocolates manufactured by one of the well-known confectioners of England. As chocolates go, it was good and attractively presented in keeping with the Food and Drug Act of the country of origin. It reflects the legal care taken by that country to ensure that its citizens get good, unadulterated wholesome and pure food as advertised or claimed to be by the manufacturer.

What was interesting in the chocolates was not that kind of claim but what ingredients went to the cooking of the chocolates. Each piece was of a different shape very elegantly wrapped and each piece had its own taste. The ingredients that went into each piece came from several countries:

Vanilla from Tahiti, strawberry from England, almonds from Majorca, Orto of Roses from North Africa, Cocoa beans from West Africa, molasses from West Indies, fresh oranges from the Mediterranean, brown sugar from the Carribean, hazel nuts from Turkey, coffee from Ethiopia, fresh milk from Irish dairies. Produce from all these countries went to make a pound of chocolate which every child relishes. But what an effort to produce such a common place sweet we were used to in this country. This is the quality of life a free and democratic country guarantees its citizen. Looking at the catalogue of countries from where the chocolate makers procured their ingredients, there seemed to be no trading restrictions or import controls even in the case of non-essentials like chocolates.

But the import pattern represented by the ingredients in the chocolate seemed to have been designed to help those countries to sell their produce to maintain their economy and thereby the development of those countries as distant as Tahiti and as close as Iceland. This is the kind of free trade that can bring prosperity to a country and not aid in money and kind. But what a developing country produces at a reasonable price and markets them as is done in this single box of chocolate. If this could be pushed ahead than aid and gift bowls, free trade may go a long way in developing the aid receiving countries.

Marketing by the aid giving countries of goods produced by the recipient countries are much more important to build up prosperity than the gifts or aid. A socio-economic system that can get over trade barriers to maintain a quality of life reflected in that simple box of chocolate is what we should aim at—free trade and free enterprise and not a police state where reams of paper have to be filled up before one can get half an ounce of maldive fish; a necessary ingredient in the sambol the average man needs to eat his bread or rice and at a price he can afford. But politicians think there is glamour in hardships in "existence" to achieve socialism.

R. Kahawita

Colombo 7.  
30th January 1976,

NOT SO UGLY AMERICAN—3

## Rev. John Bicknell

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

"Look at them, Mr. E." he said. "I know these boys. They come from respectable homes. I am certain they will not do anything to disgrace their parents and our School. I think you are making a mistake" he added after giving the suspects that 'sciagraphic' look. Guilt weighed heavily on them and the suspects looked down. There were no thefts of chicken after that.

His profound knowledge of the Arts and Science, his scintillating wit and *savoir-faire* were of rare distinction. At an Alumni dinner of the Colombo Branch, the word weary invitees had shown signs of restlessness at the post-prandial speeches possessing neither wit nor brevity which laboriously and painfully had strayed into the late hours of the night. The Toast Master finally rose and, with somewhat pompous seriousness, announced that the Principal of Jaffna College would give his address. Not entirely out of consideration for the almost somnolent listeners, he got up and, with a sang-froid so usual of him, said "Those of you who wish to correspond with me may send their letters to the following "address:—"

"Rev. John Bicknell,  
Jaffna College,  
Vaddukodai"

and sat down with accustomed aplomb. He was not only resorting to the "conceit arising from the use of two words that agree in sound but differ in the sense." In that unrivalled style of impromptu reply—"the touchstone of the man of wit", he was politely but naively teaching the simple lesson that 'Brevity is the soul of wit' and also saying, "Good night, it is rather late."

TO THE TRUE CHRISTIAN that he was, Charity was more vibrant than—to quote from the Gospel according to St. Paul—the "empty sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal". The penalty for non-payment of school fees was disallowance to the class rooms. To a noble and enlightened mind such as his, it

was irreligious and unethical in the extreme to deny the intelligent but indigent students the Lamp of Learning. Being aware that the majority of the parents were farmers who depended solely on the seasonal rains to "swell their grain", he was quick to understand their difficulties.

He did not confine himself to the 'Ivory towers' of his office and bungalow. It was not an unfamiliar sight to see the great man walking long distances to the humble homes of the poor students. These visits often resulted in financial concessions being given to students irrespective of whether they were Christians or Hindus. How true to F. W. Robertson's concept of a Christian: "The Christian life is NOT merely knowing or hearing BUT doing the Will of CHRIST".

THE GREAT PACIFIST that he was, when the Armistice was declared after the cessation of hostilities in 1918, he held the large multitude that gathered at the Police Grounds (The present Jaffna Stadium) spell-bound with his fort-right and brilliant speech where he most trenchantly deprecated the stark futility of War—"Rash, fruitless war, described by Thomson as "Splendid Murder". He is reported to have posed the question which of the two—Man was going to choose— "Global fraternity or Global GRAVE YARD". :

The devoted perfectionist that he was, he believed in what Harold Laski, one of the builders of the British Socialist Movement said: "Men must learn to subordinate their self-interest to the common welfare". He practised this dictum by spending his holiday in Kodai-kana, a holiday resort for American Missionaries in South India, using most of the time studying the Tamil language so that he could deliver his sermon at the S.I.U.C Church at Vaddukodai in Tamil.

If I may quote from Shakespeare's Julius Ceasar:

"Here was a MAN, when comes such another?"

HE NEVER MISSED a soccer or a cricket match the School played and found time even to be present in the evenings when the teams practised. He stressed the importance of participating in games to help the young students to build character, physical fitness and requisites such as endurance, leadership and keen, healthy rivalry. I

remember that, on the morning of the cricket match with St. Patrick's College, Jaffna—"the Battle of the Golds of the North" as it is termed now—he read out Sir Henry Newbolt's invigorating poem entitled "Vitia Lampade!":—

"The sand of the desert is sodden  
RED,  
Red with the wreck of a square  
that broke;  
The Galling's jammed and the  
Colonel dead,  
And the Regiment blind with dust  
and smoke.  
The River of Death has brimmed  
its banks  
And England's fame and honour  
a name;  
But the voice of a school boy rallies  
the ranks:  
Play up, Play up, and Play the Game.  
The verse he laid particular  
emphasis was one which was most  
appropriate:—

"There" a breathless hush in the  
close tonight,  
Ten to make and the match to win;  
A bumping pitch and a blinding light,  
An hour to play and the last man in.  
And it's not for the sake of the  
ribboned coat  
Or the selfish hope of a season's  
fame;  
But his Captain's hand on his  
shoulder smote:  
"Play Up, Play Up! and Play  
the Game."

His final exhortation was "Remember, the match is not over till the last over is over and the last ball is bowled." By this he did not mean the literal sense of the physical act of drawing the "stumps". The message was the compelling urge to strive, be strong in will and not to yield to the last. How prophetic his words were! The next evening saw our team struggling against a massive first innings lead. The Last man, Ariyanayagam, held his end up whilst the late Thomas Abraham patiently scored a century with a match ending in a draw.

I KNEW HIM when I was only a boy. I cannot, therefore, write of his contribution to Education in the North. Some of us for various reasons "fell by the wayside". We did not reach scholastic heights. What the Great Teacher bequeathed to us and which has Imprinted an indelible impression in our minds was that priceless gift of undaunted adulthood—some of the things which Rudyard Kipling enunciated in his immortal poem "IF", such as, to "to meet with

TRIUMPH and DISASTER and treat those two IMPOSTERS just the same."

REV. JOHN BICKNELL is no more. In the crowned height of his glory after the School had celebrated his Golden Jubilee, Death laid 'its icy hand' rudely and suddenly to snuff out that bright Flame which was indeed 'The LIGHT OF LIFE', the College motto. It was a dismal morning when he lay in state in the Hall where we used to hear him speak with such clarity of diction and thought—now serene and silent in that undisturbed Peace of eternal Rest.

At the moment of my writing this, that is forty years after his demise, how devoutly I wish he were alive today. My earnest prayer most ardently express a hope that there will be the resurgence of the indomitable spirit of Rev. J.B. everywhere. They will then say that the Great Mentor had not lived and worked in vain. My thoughts seem to find solace, in some way, in the words of Sarah Teasdale in her eloquently simple poem entitled "FLAME AND SHADOW":—

"These tawny beaches will know  
much of me;  
I shall come back, as Constant  
and as Changeful  
As the UNDYING, many-coloured  
sea.  
If life was small, if it has made  
me scornful,  
Forgive me—, I shall straighten  
like a FLAME  
In the Great Calm of Death. And,  
if you want me  
Stand on the seaward dunes and  
call my NAME."

In the sombre silence that descended like a depressing pall, the funeral orations especially that of Rev. Father Timothy F. LONG, O.M.I., M.A.(Cantab), D.Litt, D.D., Rector Emeritus of St. Patrick's College, Jaffna, a towering and dominant Doyen of Education in the North at that time and a particular friend of Rev. J.B. had ended.

Somehow, I seem to still hear the concluding words of Mr. HANDY PERINPANAYAGAM, Tutor, 'Par Excellence' of English in our School and who later functioned as Head of Kokuvil Hindu College, quoting from the Holy Bible and echoing the resounding TRUTH:—"THERE WAS A MAN SENT FROM GOD WHOSE NAME WAS JOHN."

(Concluded)

## SHORT STORY

### The Pickle

by T. M. G. Samat

LIVING in a tenement garden and living in one of those M C flats have much besides the difference of climbing up and climbing down concrete steps. No back compound for your junk for flat dwellers, plenty of unusual acoustics for those used to tenement living..

In this case for instance the strident shout of the *acharu* hawker assailed from below. 'Loony Miris.. *acharu*' 'Loony Miris', a significant pause, perhaps to stress the lack of these two commodities these days and then the mess, '*acharu*' 'Loony Miris..*acharu*.. The shout reverberated.

Sumana framed in the window of her flat could see by the help of the street lamp how fast the hawker's business was moving. Turning to James in his comfortable easy chair, not to mention the blessings of a childless marriage she said "I wonder how much he would want for a portion of that *acharu*".

"I am dog tired after all day turning out those bolts and nuts at the workshop. Just leave me in peace."

Too late James realised he had spoken with indiscretion.

"Tell me when you were not tired" she snapped.

He would have been spared this and what was to follow had he not failed in the bid for a ground floor flat. Though there was no one from an upper floor to throw rubbish into your garden, she deliberately did not want to recognise the hygienic virtue of living on an upper floor and also the fact they were childless and not eligible for a ground floor.

All the time she whined and insinuated he was a useless fellow because he did not get a ground floor.

"I do the cooking, the washing, the cleaning, the marketing and the 101 things, plodding up and down all day, the flight of steps. And you are the only one tired.."

At this outburst James uncrossed his legs and crossed them again and sank deeper into the easy chair.

Sumana strided into their room—the only one—and in less time

than it takes to tell she came out wrapped up in a red saree, she was out at once of the flat glowering at James.

But that was final with James. 'Loonu Miris' or no, he went to sleep in the easy chair with the evening paper.

HOURS AFTER, two Police Constables on night patrol observed high up electric lights blazing in a flat. They looked at their wrist watches and then at each other. 1.30 a.m. It was very odd. It was certainly a case for investigation.

The guardians of the law went up the flight of steps. They found the front door of James' flat wide open and there was James fast asleep in the easy chair with the evening paper, and not another living thing.

A good part of an hour of search in the flat and questioning followed. The policemen found nothing to suspect but did not fail to point out James had been negligent to keep the front door open and falling asleep like that, with the result overworked guardians of the law had to unnecessarily climb the flight of steps and see such temptation to night burglars.

After the admonition, James was instructed to shut the door and switch off lights and further instructed to report next morning at the Police Station whether he suspected foul play.

THE POLICE LEFT. The rest of the night was not only "Sumanless" but a "sleepless" one for James. Oh she would be with relatives or friends in that Dematagoda Tenement garden. Lulled by the thought he tried to find peace in sleep but sleep would not come.

Tea-less, breakfastless still Sumanless, James went next morning to the Police Station where he was advised to lodge a formal complaint about the missing wife. After another tiresome day added with the worries about "Sumanless" he returned to the Flats and found it without Sumana yet but any number to sympathise with him. "Anney muna Upra da yak da may" (What a crime) They said.

There were all sorts of enquiries and theories. Many had read the Hue and Cry at the Pent House boards of the Police and, already in some quarters were plotting to get his flat.

At the end of a fortnight he could not stand it any more and left the flat forever.

THEN YEARS had elapsed turning out bolts and nuts. Quite suddenly James banged into his missing wife at a Pettah crossing all dolled up wrapped in an expensive saree.

"Still buying Loonu Miris Acharu are you?"

"Whether I am, or not, is not your concern now. Shut up and go away" she said.

"Why?"

"I am the keep of the Acharu man. He will give you a kick if I tell him."

"After stealing your wife who had gone to buy Acharu".

"He will give you another kick if I tell him that".

"And beside that" she continued "you will get a thundering slap".

"Hari Wadday! (Fine how do you do.) Well never mind. It is some Acharu you have got. My ship sails today".

"Oh your ship sails". She laughed harshly at the mental picture of any ship that would have James, as she started to move away.

Suddenly he called her hesitantly when she was some way off. "There was something I meant to ask you Sumana. How much was a portion of that 'Loonu Miris.. Acharu?.....'"

#### ANECDOTAGE

### DANDUGAMA

— building the old bridge —

by J. L. M. Obeysekera

'DANDUGAMA OYA'. The River flows out of Attanagalu Oya and Pattala Gederu Oya which form a confluence at Attanagalla. It flows through a number of prosperous villages and falls into the Negombo Lagoon. This stream unlike slow meandering streams like Maha Oya and Malwatu Oya is a fast flowing one deeper than even the rivers like Mahaweli and the Kelani. It is infested with crocodiles which often lie in wait for human prey. The old bridge which is now being replaced by a new one lies half way between Ja-Ela and Seeduwa.

The old bridge had been constructed about one hundred years ago. Prior to the old bridge there had been a ferry. So the junction now in the vicinity came to be termed as 'Dandugam Totupola. (Then Ceylon being a British Colony, Ceylon came under the rule of British Governors.) Thus the construction of the old Bridge

came under the supervision of European Engineers. Most of the labourers were engaged locally.

Wijelis Zoysa who was a resident of Dandugama first joined the work site of Dandugama Bridge as a labourer. As he was a hard worker he earned his promotion as a Kangany (a Labour Supervisor). Wijelis Zoysa, being a well-built young man could easily control labour. Moreover he knew china-footing and could easily tackle any man in the labour gang. The European Engineer in charge of the site liked him. Though Wijelis Zoysa was keen on his work at the beginning he began to shirk his responsibilities later. This lethargic attitude was due to his falling in love with one beauty in the gang. The Engineer noticed the difference.

One day Wijelis Zoysa came late to the work site and the Engineer took him to task. He came with the whip in hand for in the past Europeans used to whip labourers and other menial workers. Wijelis, a proud man, could not stand the "cheek" of the white man. So when the first lash fell across his face he played the hat trick on the Engineer. He put his silk handkerchief on to the face of the white man and gave a hard kick. When this unexpected blow deposited on his abdomen, the Engineer rolled down along the river bank. A shout from the gang and an angry painful cry from the European Master raised a hue and cry over the work site. The labourers came out with all sorts of weapons in hand but Wijelis Zoysa showed a clean pair of heels. Even today people around the old bridge remember this story as if it had happened yesterday. Today Wijelis Zoysa is no more but few of his friends still survive. Still, when the new bridge is being constructed this old story is related among the residents of the village of Dandugama.

The ferry at Dandugam Oya is not without its romantic anecdotes. The Young beauty who lived during the time of the construction of the earlier bridge too is still remembered. She was known as Charleshamy of Dandugam Totupola. She was a good swimmer who used to swim often across this deep and crocodile infested stream. With other young women she used to visit the paddy fields on the other side of the Oya and

brought rush plants for weaving mats. Closed to the ferry and also her hut there lived a shrewd blind man named Robert. He was nick-named as Roba Kana (blind Roba). Being something of a village rowdy, people in the area were a little scared of him. Robert used to drink every evening after his rounds. He often listened to Charleshamy's seepada recited during her boat trips along the stream. When he was fully intoxicated he was talkative and had made some uncalled for remarks about the beauty of the ferry, CHARLESHAMY. Other village girls had gossiped about the affair and Charleshamy also had got the wind of Robert's amorous attitude. She however awaited an opportunity to teach this man a good lesson. One evening when she had just returned to the ferry by boat and when the other village maidens too were present Robert came fully drunk to the ferry. He began to praise her melodious Seepada and made certain remarks. Charleshamy jumped at the semi-blind man just in the manner of an enraged Lioness, took him by the hip and flung him into the rushing stream. Everybody present was petrified. The garrulous Robert began to grapple with the rushes in the stream. A pitiful sight it was. Charleshamy looked at the poor "blind" lover and at once jumped into the river and saved him again. Amidst loud shouts and hooting she ran home sobbing and was not seen for days. Her boat trips came to an end. Later her parents gave her in marriage to a rich mudalali and she did not have to weave mats to eke out a living.

Sudu Aiya is still living by the Bridge. He had been a clever swimmer. He is also an inveterate gambler. No police party could easily raid his gambling booth under the Bakmee Tree on the Bank of the stream. One day a Police Inspector jumped into the stream to arrest Suduwa who had already dived in the cool waters of the stream. Everybody who watched the scene seemed to believe that the clever officer would arrest the inveterate gambler. Sudu Aiya dived and the inspector too dived. In an instant the police Officer emerged with a piercing yell. He had been bitten by a crocodile. A huge scar still remains on his thigh but Sudu Aiya escaped without harm.

Today the new Bridge has replaced the old one and the new road is like a Great High Way built by the Ancient Romans.

## REMEMBERING

### Agatha Christie

by Jayantha Somasundaram

SOME FAMILIES are brought up on Shakespeare, others on Dickens, still others on Byron. Our family had the good fortune to be brought up on Agatha Christie. We have read her for generations and have given her pride of place in our library. Intellectual snobs would take this as a display of mundane taste. But I for one had an unblushing Love affair with Agatha Christie ever since I picked up *Mrs. McGintys Dead* twelve years ago. Since then I have made my way through something like eighty of her books. And I am more convinced than ever before that she is the Queen of Crime.

Agatha Christie began writing detective fiction soon after the First World War. *The Mysterious Affair at Styles* saw the birth of her most famous character Hercule Poirot. From then until her death last month—a period of fifty-six years—Agatha Christie never put down her pen. With an energy and an imagination that defies description she turned out story after story, novel after novel and play after play. But the faster she wrote, the more rapidly did her demanding readership devour her works.

Hercule Poirot is the best loved detective of fiction. The man who solved a case merely by resorting to "order and method" while the poor Police were baffled no end. The conceited little Belgian would inevitably be accompanied by his side-kick Capt. Hastings, who chronicled his adventures much like Dr. Watson. While he was fond of Hastings, Poirot never credited him with much intelligence. As Tommy Beresford one of Agatha Christie's later characters put it, "once the idiot friend always the idiot." When the villain in *The Big Four* tried to kill the two of them Poirot exclaimed "but for my quick eyes, the eyes of a cat, Hercule Poirot might now be crushed out of existence—a terrible calamity for the world. And you, too, *mon ami*—though that would not be such a national catastrophe."

Poirot was so un-English. He wore patent leather shoes, drank chocolate instead of beer, grew vegetable marrows instead of roses and got sea sick on the cross-Channel ferry.

Agatha Christie's adorable Jane Marple was on the other hand every bit of the English country spinster. She solved her crimes by using analogies which she drew from her own village St. Mary Mead and the characters there. The moral being: human behaviour is the same everywhere if you discount the superficial trappings.

Agatha Christie, somewhat like Jane Austen, restricted her stage to one that had a limited social boundary. Invariably the crime would take place in a closed arena consisting of a country family with butlers, footmen, kitchen maids—the works.

Agatha Christie dispensed poison *ad lib*. There would be arsenic in the tea, cyanide in the champagne an strychnine in the cough mixture. Motives and opportunity were also freely available. But there would be few who could guess the identity of the murderer until Poirot would dramatically reveal him in the last chapter.

In addition to the novels, Agatha Christie's plays have become box-office hits. The best known are *Mousetrap* and *Witness for the Prosecution*. Many of her books have now been made into films, beginning with *4.50 from Paddington* screened as *Murder She Said*.

Agatha Christie had a commendable habit of lacing her crime thrillers with humour and romance. Woven into most stories would be the sub-plot, a love affair. And sentimental old fuddy duddies like us went for them as we did for the suspense.

Agatha Christie travelled a lot in the Middle East on expeditions with her husband, an archaeologist. She knew enough about ancient Egypt to set one of her stories in a Nile settlement 4,000 years ago. In this book she shows that human passions were just the same in ancient Egypt as in St. Mary Mead. And life has one common factor. Thus she titled this book *Death Comes as the End*.

For Agatha Christie however, and for the characters she created, death is far from being the end. Though her pen is still, Agatha Christie lives on in the hearts of her worldwide fan club—her characters also live on in the pages of her books, a legacy of crime fiction.

# Confidentially

## Schools Textbooks Muddle

IS IT NOT A FACT that in the excitement stemming from the No-Confidence Motion against Mr. Felix R. Dias Bandaranaike and the Token Strike of February 20 there has been a tendency to forget the crying scandal about the school textbooks fiasco? That it will be remembered that during the latter part of 1975 the public was inundated with a spate of official press releases and SLBC announcements (hundreds of them) that the Educational Publications Department would have all necessary school textbooks available to students before the "end of the year"? That the "end of the year" meant 1975, and not 1976 or 1977? That with these assurances students and their parents believed that they would have no problem about textbooks for the school year beginning in January 1976? That the realities about school textbooks are far different from the promises (solemn official promises) made? That even today, nearly eight weeks after have the schools have re-opened for 1976, hundreds of thousands of students have been left stranded without the requisite textbooks? That there is no knowing as to how long they will be compelled to attend school in this handicapped manner? That at a historic press conference, the Minister of Information and Broadcasting, Mr. R. S. Perera, had revealed that many of the textbooks had not been (even) printed because the manuscripts had not been yet made ready for printing? That it has been made clear that students were being penalised for the inefficiency of the bureaucracy which had taken over the entire burden of primary, secondary and university education? That it is well to remember that this mess of school textbook has gone from bad to worse ever since the Educational Publications Department and the public sector took over the printing and publishing of textbooks? That it will also be remembered that there was an outcry (now in retrospect it seems an inspired outcry) against the private trade

which earlier had a monopoly of the schools' textbooks' business? That it was said that huge profits were being made by private capitalistic interests? That these interests were putting out shoddy and low quality books because they did not want to pay authors a fair price for their efforts? That in this hue and cry against the private sector a halo was cast over the public sector enterprise as constituting a saviour from the rapacity of private trade? That the experience of parents and students is that ever since the public sector took over the textbooks' publication business, there was been a phenomenal increase in the price of textbooks far in excess of the known increases in the price of paper and other printing materials? That the overheads of the Educational Publications Department and other "official" expenses incurred in this business have pushed up the costs beyond all reasonable limits? That one of the main reasons which has been put forward to "nationalise" the school textbooks trade was that it was necessary to offer students (and their hard-pressed parents) cheaper (but better quality) textbooks? That it is yet doubtful whether the quality of the new textbooks are any better than in the past, but there is not the slightest doubt that the prices are three and four times higher—far higher, as we have mentioned, than warranted by the actual increase in costs?

IS IT NOT A FACT that parents and the public are much beholden to Mr. R. S. Perera for having laid bare one of the root causes for this chaotic situation in his statement at a Press Conference on January 25, 1976? That after this there has been complete silence on the part of the Educational Publications Department which had indulged in a great deal of self-propagandising right through 1975? That the Minister of Education took the easy way out by appointing a Committee of Inquiry to produce a report within a month about the textbooks Scandal? That the month is now very nearly over and it is to be hoped that the Report would lay bare the bureaucratic inefficiency responsible for the mess and not seek to whitewash a so-far favoured branch of officialdom? That Minister R. S. Perera's statement had made it abundantly clear that both the Government

Press and the State Printing Corporation were in no way to blame for this monstrous mess? That the muddle in the textbooks was essentially that of the Department of Educational Publications? That it is known that the Department of Educational Publications is riddled with conflicting vested interests of a bureaucratic nature? (That the public sector was asked to take over to end private vested interests but in reality worse vested interests have been created)? That it is a fact that there are high-ups in the Educational Publications hierarchy who are vitally interested in working for other organisations in Sri Lanka and abroad? That many officials are keen about pushing their own translations and publications than in their official responsibilities of providing textbooks for school children? That the Government should take note of the fact that a training course in Book Production held at the foreign-financed Sri Lanka Foundation, under the auspices of the Asian Culture Centre for UNESCO, sited in Tokyo, was conducted by officials of the Educational Publications Department? That it is a joke among the knowledgeable in town that officials who had made a mess of publications should have conducted training courses in publications? That it will be surprising if these trainees will derive any benefits from courses conducted by officials whose inefficiency and bureaucratism have become universally known in Sri Lanka? That the question being asked is how much the officials of the Educational Publications Department, who participated in this training course, were paid by the sponsors? That, apart from this, parents and teachers (and students) have already become aware of the shortcomings of the textbooks already published by the Educational Publications Department? That many of these books seem to be out of touch with modern developments as far as language, vocabulary and style were concerned? That one of the biggest rackets which the Committee of Inquiry "might" stumble on is about the racket about "selecting" authors at the whims and fancies of the officials of the Department? That there will be much more to be said once the Report of the Committee of Inquiry is published?



for the housewife  
who wants to beat  
the cost of living

**LAKMAL**

**Bar Soap**

**NEWLITE**

**Washing Soap**

—High Quality Soap At  
Reasonable Prices—

***Ruwan Sons Industries,***

*49, St. Mary's Road,*

*Mt Lavinia.*

For All Your  
Printing Requirements

please contact

**The Tamil Writers' Co-operative  
Publishing Society Ltd.**

— Regd. No. 2529 —

Distributors For The National Paper Corporation

51/9, HUDSON ROAD,  
COLOMBO-3,  
'Phone 33157