

TRIBUNE



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Letter From The Editor

ON THE COVER, this week, we have a picture of a little known statue which is controversial. In Weligama, made famous by Count de Mauny's island paradise, *Taprobane*, and near the ancient temple called *Agrabodhi Vihare*, is a big statue, twelve feet high, carved out on huge boulder which, as indicated by the railway halt facing it, is known in the locality as *Kushtarajagala*. The statue is undoubtedly the work of skilled (but unknown) artist. Its origin, history and purpose (if statuary must be justified with a purpose?) is lost in the mists of time. Nobody really seems to know. It therefore has been the subject of numerous conjectures—all of them interesting and some of them intriguing. Why we have chosen this controversial statue to be on our cover this week is perhaps as indefinable as the total lack of motivation (in the statue) in the artist who did this splendid piece of work. He probably did this work for the sheer heck of it, or because some patron, now as unknown as the artist, had commissioned him to do it. He probably got no more than his food, clothing and a little pocket money for his tot for this work, but the payment is not what matters in a piece of art or any work for that matter. Why *Tribune* picked on this statue to drum out the old year (according to the Sinhala and Tamil calendar) and usher in the New Year (two or three days hence) will remain as much a mystery (even to the Editor) as this statue popularly known as *Kushtarajagala*. What the coming year will bring the country and the people must for the present remain as much a mystery as the statue itself—but as the year progresses, events will unfold themselves to bring into focus history of the most complex character. To come back to the statue, it must be mentioned that it has been made an Archaeological reserve, and it is claimed by the Archaeological Department to be the statue of *Avalokiteswara*, a *Maayana* Bodhisatava carved circa the ninth century. Others assert that it a statue of God *Saman* or *Adi Buddha Samantabhadra*. Another popular legend, however, was set out by *Ernest Haeckel* in writing about Ceylon in 1883: "..... at a turn in the road on a height to the left, stood a handsome Buddhist temple, called *Agrabodhi Gani*, a famous place of pilgrimage from time immemorial; and to the right just beyond, stands a colossal figure carved out of black rock, of a kind of ancient fame, *Cutti Raja*. The niche is shaded by kitool palms, and the prince is represented with a scale armour on his gigantic person and a mitre on his head. He is celebrated in history not as a conqueror but as a benefactor to this island for he is said to have first introduced the culture and use of the cocoa palm." But, there are many more legends. The most popular legend of them all is that the statue was executed on the orders of a royal potentate who had been afflicted with leprosy and had been cured of this dreadful disease while residing in the vicinity of the black rock on which the figure is carved. The most controversial part of this legend is whether the statue is a representation of the royal potentate or of the god who effected the wondrous cure. There is also the story that the figure was of *Rajah* of Malabar who had held this part of the island as his principality, and had caused his image to be carved on this boulder. The *Rajah's* staple diet, it was said, was breadfruit and *godasambol* made of dried fish, chillies, lime and coconut—and in fact, he had covered this area with bread-fruit trees because of his fondness for breadfruit. This particular diet had become the common diet of the people of the area. Unfortunately, the "heaty" nature and the excessive use of this combination of food had given rise to a skin disease commonly known as *kushta* which had spread rapidly. As a result of this the Malabar Prince came to be called *Kushta-rajah* and the image was named after him. There is yet another legend that an Indian *rajah* who had been long suffering from leprosy had come to Lanka on a pilgrimage with his retinue, and at *Agrabodhi Vihara* he had made a vow at the shrine of God *Vishnu* to offer a *dana* of milk rice if he was cured of his disease. The *rajah* had gone back to India, but had returned to fulfil his vow because he had been miraculously cured of the disease. He had brought coconuts with him (probably from Malabar) to prepare milk-rice and having given the *dana* he had caused the excess coconuts to be planted in the area. In memory of this occasion, the *rajah* is said to have paid for the image to be carved on this rock. Another popular legend is that the image was that of a unknown Sinhalese king who was cured of a distressing itch by living solely on the water of the *thambili*—king coconut—for three moons. We refer to all this only to show how many legends grow out of a single incident. With all the advance in the art of recording events (and history) made by man in the last three decades, with the growth of mass media, and everything else connected with setting down events on paper as they occur, legends emerge even about contemporaneous events. History continues to be as baffling as ever.

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CONTENTS

EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK	
—Prime Minister, Jaela	p. 2
SEVENTY FIVE	
—Dr. S. A. Wickremasinghe	p. 5
CHRONICLE	
—Mar. 27 - Apr. 4	p. 7
U.S. LEADERSHIP	
—Without Hegemony	p. 11
LIVESTOCK INDUSTRY	
—In Sri Lanka	p. 13
VILLAGE HOUSE—75	
—More From Kantalai	p. 15
HERE AND THERE	
—On Beggars	p. 17
ETILIWELA MURDER 5	
—Concluded	p. 18
INANIA	
—Food	p. 19
CONFIDENTIALLY	
—Dried Fish	p. 20

EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

* Prime Minister

* Ja-ela

THE PRIME MINISTER, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, had left for Yugoslavia on a state visit on March 14. The official visit was scheduled for 10 days and after that she was expected to stay on for two weeks or so for medical treatment. Reports from Belgrade had indicated that she had extended her stay on medical advice and she is expected to return to the island about April 15. This long stay outside the country has raised many queries in some Opposition quarters. The LSSP paper *Janadina*, with all the venom it now mobilises after the LSSP quit the Government, has been hammering away at the PM from time to time. With foreknowledge, the *Janadina* had announced early in March that the Prime Minister would stay on in Yugoslavia on a private visit for two weeks after the official visit for medical treatment. The *Janadina* was also the first to announce that she would extend her stay until the middle of April.

All this has naturally raised many questions in political circles. Why was the Prime Minister staying away for so long from the country? The UNP papers, following the LSSP, had also wanted to know why the PM was out of the country. But, unlike the LSSP, the UNP was almost deferential and apologetic in the articles and comments about the PM. The (UNP) *Journal* of April 6 had a frontpage splash WHERE IS THE P.M. OF SRI LANKA? and the tone of the article was summed up in the following words: "...we have no personal illwill or grudge against the Prime Minister. However, we have to bear this in mind. The office of the Prime Minister belongs to the people. The Prime Minister is paid from public coffers. All expenditure incurred by the person holding this office—trips abroad, etc., are borne by the state coffers. It is therefore the Prime Minister's duty to inform the people of all her movements and actions undertaken as the Prime Minister of the country. The Parliament has to be kept informed..."

The tone of this article is very different from what appears in the *Janadina*, but the UNP's *The Journal* does not miss a single point to draw the maximum political benefit from this long absence of the Prime Minister from the island. "Almost a month has passed since the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka," said the *Journal*, "left the island on a supposed goodwill mission and for preparatory talks with President Tito on the forthcoming Non-aligned Conference. Apart from the general statement by the press, the people were not informed by the government on the following aspect of her trip. Why did the Prime Minister leave? What is she doing in Yugoslavia? What is keeping her so long away from the country? At the time the Prime Minister left for Yugoslavia, President Tito was in Mexico having gone there on a state visit. Though it was reported that President Tito will have talks with the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka on his return to Yugoslavia no news has reached Sri Lanka of any such talks. And what is further confusing is that President Tito later left for Sweden on a state visit while the Prime Minister of this country was still in Yugoslavia. A report from Belgrade stated that the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka will be in Yugoslavia for three weeks for medical treatment. But the Prime Minister's government has not spoken one word on that. No one knows, however, why the Prime Minister is in Yugoslavia or what she is doing there. It is a mystery. These questions are agitating the minds of the citizens of this country...As regards visits abroad the Prime Minister's record is remarkable indeed. Half the year the Prime Minister appears to be out of the country. Why is she going frequently....."

Such was the strain of the UNP comment.

The UNP, it must be mentioned, has so far never been critical of the Prime Minister, but in view of the pending by-election at Ja-ela on April 23, the UNP seems to have stepped up the tempo of its propaganda against the SLFP (and the PM incidentally). However, it is clear that such carping criticism of the PM is not likely to damage her charisma.

Her personal reputation and political magic still remains high, and if only the Government as a whole can deliver at least part of the promised economic goods, the UNP will find it hard to dislodge her at the next General Elections.

There has been a slight upward swing in some sectors of production and the Government is likely to make capital out of it together with the fact that nationalisation of the sterling estates and agency houses will provide new job opportunities for supporters of the Government. The old hands working in these agencies and estates on a managerial level are likely to be entrenched with termination benefits and new hands politically acceptable to the Janawasama and the Government will be recruited. This will give a new layer of political support for the Government and if the elections come off before the fundamental weaknesses of such political appointments surface, the Gov-

French Law to Punish Users of English Words

Paris,

Frenchmen using Anglicisms in the wrong place will face fines of up to 160 francs (about Rs. 310) each time they slip into "Fanglais" the Government Information Service announced yesterday. An explanatory document, put out by the Service, gave details of a new law which is aimed at stemming the flow of foreign, and particularly English, words into every day vocabulary. The law—to become effective next year—provides for fines of 80 to 160 francs (Rs. 155 to Rs. 310) for first offenders who use foreign words in advertisements, work contracts, job offers, public service documents and such product sales documents as guarantees and operating instructions. French officials explained that the main aim of the measure was to protect consumers and employers who might be misled by words or entire documents not in their mother tongue.

—Reuter

ernment will stand to gain in spite of all the fulminations of the Opposition.

In this context, it is difficult to say what the implications of the Ja-ela by-elections will be, whatever the result. The SLFP, UNP and the LSSP are fighting the election together with a number of Independents. It is assumed by everybody that the contest was essentially between the UNP and the SLFP, and the LSSP candidate was likely to siphon off a small number of votes that otherwise might have gone to the SLFP. Ja-ela has been a traditional UNP seat with a near hundred percent Catholic vote. At one time every Catholic had voted UNP. But, today the SLFP has a very strong Catholic support, whilst the LSSP too has a substantial hardcore of pro-Party Catholic militants.

The UNP is more than confident that it will win the Ja-ela by-election with a very big majority—much bigger than what they had got in 1970. Though this assumption seems to be generally accepted, there are good reasons to believe that the SLFP will poll a much larger number than what the UNP expect. The SLFP, from all accounts, is likely to poll strongly at Ja-ela.

An analysis of the Ja-ela by-election by the LSSP paper *Nation* on March 26 makes most interesting reading. The LSSP seems to hope that that a big poll for the LSSP candidate will show whether the people were interested in a new centre of power under LSSP leadership. In any case the LSSP analysis is worthy of record:

Whatever the result of the Ja-ela by-election, it will not result in bringing down the present SLFP-CP Government. In that sense it is not of great importance by itself. It takes place in a constituency that has remained UNP from as far back as 1960. This has been attributed to the hold which the establishment of the Roman Catholic Church has over the largely Christianised masses of the area and the prevalence of powerful minority-caste family groups dominated by commercial, professional and land-owning vested interests. It had also something to do with the somewhat unique personality of the late Member for Ja-ela, Mr. Paris Perera, whose personal popularity owed itself to a com-

bination of qualities not all of which had political relevance. Even so, the Ja-ela by-election has a certain importance for our immediate political future. Large numbers of our people in different parts of the country will regard it as a run-off for the General Elections that are due in the middle of next year. Perhaps the very political backwardness of Ja-ela, in relation to other constituencies which participated more deliberately in the forward movement that has characterised our politics during the last twenty years makes it an important indicator of the impact of recent events on popular consciousness in the country as a whole. To what extent have the radical changes that have taken place, especially since May 1970, altered social relationships in Ja-ela and generated new aspirations among the people and particularly among the youth? To what extent has the hold of the old conservative institutions on society been perceptibly undermined by these changes?

It is a fact that cannot be ignored that all three political parties contesting the Ja-ela by-election have put forward young men in their early thirties as their candidates. The predominance of young peo-

ple in our population, their higher levels of literacy compared with their elders, the desperation to which they have been reduced as a social group by the cynical and impotent paternalism of successive Governments—all these factors make them the most dynamic lobby in any electorate. The least that any political party could do in such a context is to seek to appease the youth by exhibiting one of their number in its election window. But the circumstance that all contesting parties have acted similarly means that none of them will be judged by this kind of window-dressing alone. It also needs to be remembered that the young men put forward by the UNP and the SLFP were not their original choice, but the result of a sudden change of mind. In the case of both of these parties, the candidates they had originally chosen were not only older men, but they stemmed from more conservative backgrounds and seemed designed to make sure of the traditional social support that had sustained both parties until now. In the case of the UNP the decision to change horses appears to have plunged the party itself into turmoil and large numbers of staunch party supporters are

U.K. PLANS CUT IN PUBLIC SPENDING

London.

The British Government yesterday announced plans to curb its spending over the next five years and shift national resources into exports and investment at the expense of public services. Pruning of public expenditure is to build up from 1977 until the end of the decade. This would entail reduced programmes for education, roads and transport, environmental services, health and personal social services. By the 1978 financial year, the Government intends to produce a total saving of £3,000 millions on its earlier long-term expenditure plans. Defence budget savings amount to £190 millions, but the Government report on public expenditure said reductions would be in support services, not front-line forces.

"They will not impinge on the essential elements of our contribution to NATO", the report said. Britain's expanding army of civil servants is to be cut back to bring a saving of £140 millions. Informed sources said the man-power economies could affect as many as 35,000 jobs. The curbs will not satisfy the Conservative opposition, which has already predicted that they will be too little and too late. As the Government report was published, a Conservative Party statement blamed growth in public spending under Labour for provoking inflation, reducing profits and weakening the balance of payments and national self-confidence. It said: "What Britain now needs is a dramatic reversal of the long-term decline in profits. This will only come about if Government spending is massively reduced."

—Reuter.

unlikely to go to the polls, while some have already crossed over to the other side. In the case of the SLFP, the decision to switch horses was determined by much more, desperate considerations. The low standing of the present Government and of the SLFP itself in the electorate made it apparent that only a miracle-man could save the Government candidate from a humiliating electoral rout. Hence the hardly-reassuring resort to the device of adopting the very man who, rejected by the SLFP at the 1970 elections, was responsible for defeating the United Front candidate by standing as an Independent and grabbing some 2,000 votes.

"The question is whether the UNP and SLFP act correctly in pinning their hopes of victory so extensively to their choice of candidates. In the case of the UNP, it has been contended, it was necessary to reflect the so-called new image of this party by projecting an entirely new kind of UNP man as its Parliamentary representative. If so, to judge by immediate results alone, the choice has been far from happy. Land Reform, nationalisation and the development of state and co-operative trading may have weakened the old social sinews of the UNP even in places like Ja-ela. Even then, it is surely dangerous for the UNP to alienate its most dependable supporters, who choose the UNP precisely for its commitment to the preservation of property and privilege in society, in the interests of what is nothing more than a demagogic stunt. What fools the UNP must take our people to be if it really believes that they have not as yet learned to distinguish a wolf in sheep's clothing from a genuine sheep!

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.

"As for the SLFP, what a disturbing place the world would be if man could not hope for miracles and guide his political steps in the light of soothsayers' interpretations of planetary movements. But there is surely no intelligible reason why they should reduce their election campaign to little more than a joke. In appreciation of a good joke, some people may vote SLFP. Many others would plump for the personality of their candidate, perhaps. We are, certain, however, that there are many more important considerations in the Ja-ela by-election campaign. The first of these, by any standards, has to be the confidence that the voter can place in the present primarily-SLFP Government. There is the question of the past, which has been far from re-assuring. Even when the LSSP was part of the United Front Government, there was so much incompetence and corruption and dragging of feet that valuable time was wasted, resources mis-spent and spent and money-bag supporters enabled to get in-ordinately rich. The population of the coastal areas was not merely neglected, but reduced to intense privation.

"But much more important than the past, is the big question-mark of the future. With the deliberate breaking-up of the United Front to preserve the property and prospects of the Mudalalis round the Prime Minister, what percentage of people anywhere will trust the SLFP to take care of the future, both of themselves personally and of the country as a whole? This is where the LSSP campaign is so important. Ja-ela has a past that has been experienced in a dual kind of manner. It stuck determinedly to the UNP, despite the change-over to the SLFP that numerous former UNP led areas were making elsewhere in the country. Belatedly, as the 1970 Ja-ela election results indicated, it began to question the correctness of its judgement. Today not only has the UNP been reduced to the mere playing of tricks, its internal rifts have begun to appear most damagingly even in Ja-ela. At the same time, the rejection of the SLFP that is rapidly taking place all over the country cannot make it very attractive in Ja-ela. Will the voters of Ja-ela be the first to display the recognition of the need for a new

centre of political power that is generally developing among our people?"

The UNP's margin of victory will increase with every vote the LSSP gets.

The Prime Minister will return by the April 15 and she is likely to take part in the campaign until the 21st. It will be interesting to see what impact the PM's participation will have on the by-election.

LETTER

* Ramanathan

Sir,

The One Hundred and Twenty Fifth (125th) anniversary of the Birth of Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan of revered memory falls on Friday 16th April 1976 (Good Friday)—Sir Ramanathan was a rare personality. He was one of Sri Lanka's great patriots and was also at the same time a citizen of the world.

During the days when the British were in power in Asia, he rendered yeoman services to the people of the Continent generally and to our Sri Lanka, the land of his birth, in a special manner naturally. In the words of another of our patriots and scholars, the late Sir Dr. Paul E. Peiris Dereniyagala, there were two factors in the national life of the country at that time during a certain period. One was the armed might of the British Empire on which it was said in those days the Sun never set; the other was the doughty figure of Sir Ramanathan in Opposition personifying the soul of Sri Lanka.

It is appropriate that the anniversary of such a distinguished person who had rendered very valuable services to mankind be now celebrated as a token of gratitude to the past and to serve as a source of inspiration to the present and future.

S. Sivasubramaniam

103/2, Hultsdorf Street,
Colombo 12.
1.3.76

* * *

The Early Political Life of Dr. S. A. Wickremasinghe

by T. Duraisingam

Chairman, Central Control Commission of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka, formerly member of the Executive Committee of the Suriya Mal Movement.

DOCTOR SUGISWARA ABEYWARDENE WICKREMASINGHE was one of the founders of the original Lanka Sama Samaja Party which was formed on 18th December 1935. But the origins of this Party can be traced to the activities of the All Ceylon Youth Congress which was inaugurated on 16-5-1931.

The first sessions of the All Ceylon Youth Congress was held at Plaza Theatre, Wellawatte, Colombo, with Valentine S. Perera in the chair, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Mrs. Nehru, Mrs. Indira Gandhi (then Miss Nehru) and Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya attended these sessions as distinguished guests. Dr. S. A. Wickremasinghe who took an active part in these Congress sessions moved the following resolution. "That the Youth of Ceylon respectfully pays its tribute of profound admiration at the supreme courage and tremendous sacrifice manifested by the youth of India in their great struggle for the liberation of their motherland." This resolution was seconded by Terence de Silva and adopted by the Congress.

The "Swaraj" resolution which was moved by Stanley de Zoysa and seconded by S. H. Perinpanayagam read as follows:—"That the youth of Ceylon in Congress assembled do hereby resolve that whereas the people of this country have completely lost faith in British Rule and whereas any further continuance of British Rule is fraught with incalculable detriment to the social, economic, political and cultural life of this country and her people, an intensive campaign be launched for the immediate attainment of Swaraj for Ceylon."

The All Ceylon Youth Congress made a great impact on the progressive youth of those times and youth leagues were formed in various parts of the country. Dr.

Wickremasinghe spoke about the achievements of the first socialist state, the Soviet Union, and introduced the ideas of socialism to members of these youth leagues and to his circle of friends and associates.

Dr. Wickremasinghe was elected to the first State Council in 1931 as the member for Morawaka. At the State Council he spoke about the deplorable conditions of the workers and peasants and the need for legislation to protect them. The voice of the working people began to be heard, for the first time, in the legislative assembly of the country. He made a scientific analysis of the causes for the poverty and backwardness of the Sri Lankan people and exposed the true nature of colonial exploitation in Sri Lanka. He pointed out that the poverty and degradation of the people were directly due to the political and economic domination by British Imperialism.

AN ARTICLE published in a progressive newspaper of that period commenting about Dr. Wickremasinghe's public activities stated:

කම්කරු හොඳිකරු පක්ෂයේ කිසිවෙකුට හෝ දේශපාලනය ගැන පසුගිය අවුරුදුවලදී සැලකිල්ලක් දක්වූ කිසිවෙකුට එතුමාට අමතක කළ නොහැක.

"1931 සිට 1933 වනතෙක් වික්‍රමසිංහ සහෝදරයා පරමවිඤ්ඤාව බෞද්ධ සමාජීය සාමාන්‍යාධිකාරීන්ගෙන් හැටියට ක්‍රියා කළේය. දුබලව අබලව පැවතුන එම බෞද්ධ සමාජීය මගින් පාලනය කරනු ලබන 300 කට අධික පාඨශාලාවලට නව ජීවනයක් ලැබුණේ එතුමාගේය. 1931 දී රාජ්‍යමන්ත්‍රණ සභාව ආරම්භ වූ විට එතුමා මෙරටක ආයතන දිනා ගත්තේය. පළමුවෙනි රාජ්‍යමන්ත්‍රණ සභාවේදී කම්කරු ගොවිකරු ජනයා වෙනුවෙන් යම් හඩක් නැගුවේනම් සහෝදර වික්‍රමසිංහගේ හඩ පමණකි. වැඩ කරන පක්ෂයේ නියම ඉල්ලීම ඉදිරිපත් කරමින් මහජන මුදල් නාස්තිකිරීම ගැන ආමානි මණ්ඩලයට තදින් පරිබව කළේය.

"අධිරාජ්‍යවාදීන්ගේ ගම්පහිකාරීන් වෙනුවෙන්ද මැරිව් රජයට වෙන්වූ පුබ්ලිසි චෝනනවෙන්ද මුදල් වෙන් කිරීමට එතුමා විරුද්ධ වූහ.

"එංගලන්තයේ රජයට වෙන්වූ පක්ෂ-පානකම දක්වීමේ යෝජනාව ඉදිරිපත් වූ අවස්ථාවේදී මන්ත්‍රණ සභාවෙන් නැගීමට පිටවීමට පිටකොන්දේ ප්‍රාන්ත කිවුණේ සහෝදර වික්‍රමසිංහට පමණකි."

In 1931 Dr. Wickremasinghe actively assisted the organisation of the sale of Suriya Mal in Matara. Under the auspices of the Ex-

Servicemen's Association the sale of Suriya Mal was started in 1931 by a few Ceylonese ex-servicemen of the first World War as a protest against the proceeds of the poppy sales on November 11 being sent to England. They wanted the monies collected to be spent among the ex-servicemen and their dependents in Ceylon.

The All Ceylon Youth Congress gave its full support to the "Suriya Mal" campaign. Dr. S. A. Wickremasinghe appealed to the public, through a letter in the daily press, for support. In his letter he stated that he earnestly appealed to the public in general and to the youth in particular to support the worthy cause of the Suriya Flower Campaign. "Our critical financial situation" he stated, "urgently demands the immediate cessation of the drain of money from this country. Also we need an organisation to collect large sums of money to give relief to the various institutions of charity in the country and to maintain the starving men, women, and children. The Suriya Flower campaign with the idealism of youth behind it is unique, as it will serve both these purposes." Among the active workers at Matara was Miss Doreen Young, the then principal of Matara Sangamitta Vidyalaya, who later married Dr. Wickremasinghe.

This idea of the sale of Suriya Mal on Poppy Day was taken over in 1933 by a group of Leftists and the Suriya Mal Movement functioned as an anti-imperialist organisation working for the upliftment of the people. Mrs. Doreen W. Wickremasinghe was elected first President of the Suriya Mal Movement.

Dr. Wickremasinghe, S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike and S. Somasundaram, who acted as trustees for the Suriya Mal Fund, announced through the press that the fund was to form a nucleus to further and promote the cause of National Independence through (1) the establishment of scholarships in industry, agriculture and art (2) the translation of literature into Sinhalese and Tamil and the encouragement of the production of original works in these languages (3) the encouragement of Swadeshi enterprises and other national propaganda. The monies collected by the sale of Suriya Mal was utilized for the above purposes.

During the malaria epidemic of 1934 the members of the Suriya Mal Movement collected monies from the public and helped the villagers, who suffered during this epidemic, by purchasing and distributing among them medicine and food. It was under the direction of Dr. Wickremasinghe that the Suriya Mal volunteers dispensed medicine to the victims of malaria.

WITH THE SECOND STATE COUNCIL elections approaching in 1936 the socialists in the Suriya Mal Movement, who were up to then functioning in an unorganised way, formed themselves in December 1935 into a political party, the Lanka Sama Samaja Party.

At the first public meeting of the Party held on 21-12-35 at the Lorenz College Hall, Colombo, Dr. S. A. Wickremasinghe spoke on the abolition of social and economic inequality and oppression arising from differences of class, caste, race, creed and sex. "Political subjection meant poverty and that was the problem they had to tackle he said: Today they had in Ceylon the worst poverty and also rich men, which meant that there was economic inequality. The attitude of some of the Buddhist leaders was that some were born rich and some born poor on account of "karma". If there was a cause of poverty there must be a way of removing that poverty and that inequality. That was the problem they had to tackle, the greatest problem that the world was faced with. Continuing he referred to caste inequalities and inequalities resulting from a belief in different creeds. In a socialist society, he said, such inequality was impossible.

He worked untiringly for the Party. He was on its Executive Committee, and one of its most active propagandists and workers.

In the 1936 elections all the leading bourgeois leaders of the time concentrated their efforts in the Morawaka electorate and defeated Dr. Wickremasinghe.

After the elections he continued his work for the upliftment and relief of the oppressed and for strengthening the Party.

On 26th August 1936 he left for England. He stayed there till the end of 1938 where he further developed his connections with the international working class movements of Europe. He was widely

known and respected in the British working class movement. "Doctor Wick" was a well known figure at meetings and conferences. He himself organised a number of conferences, and was responsible for creating in England public indignation at the appalling conditions of estate labour in Sri Lanka.

AN APPRECIATION of Dr. Wickremasinghe's work in England as representative of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party was published in the Samasamajaya of 16-12-1938, which reads as follows:—

වර්ෂ 1936 සභෝදර වික්‍රමසිංහ අප පක්ෂයේ ලන්ඩන් නියෝජිතයා මෙන් ක්‍රියා කිරීමට එංගලන්තයට ගියේය. බ්‍රිතාන්‍ය වැඩ කරන පංතියටද සාමාන්‍ය එංගලන්තවාසීන්ටද මෙරට ඇතිවෙන සිද්ධීන්ගැන හරි අවබෝධයක් ඇති කිරීමට එතුමා යුහුසුලු විය. ඉතාමත් ප්‍රයෝජනවත් මෙම කටයුතුවල යෙදෙමින් ලන්දීව මහජනයාගේ ඉල්ලීම් ගැන කරුණු කීමට රැස්වීම සහ සම්මේලන කීපයක් ඇති කළේය. එංගලන්තයේ සිටින ලංකා ශිෂ්‍යයන්ගේ සිත් තුල අප පක්ෂයේ කටයුතු ගැන ආදරයක් ඇති කලේ සභෝදර වික්‍රමසිංහය. එතුමා එංගලන්තයේ සිටි කාලයේදී වැඩ කරන පංතියේ සම් රැස්වීමක් පවැත්වුණේද එහිදී අප හඬ නැගීමට ක්‍රියා කළේය.

An active role was played by Dr. Wickremasinghe in the conference on "Socialism in India and Ceylon" convened by the Congress Socialist Party of India and the Lanka Sama Samaja Party. This conference was held in London on June 5th and 6th 1937. Its chief organisers were V. K. Krishna Menon, London Representative of the Congress Socialist Party and Dr. S. A. Wickremasinghe, London Representative of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party. Messages of greetings were sent to the Conference by Jawaharlal Nehru, C. R. Attlee, Sir Stafford Cripps, D. N. Pritt and others.

Harry Pollitt, the Secretary of the British Communist Party, in his message stated:

"The importance of your Conference cannot be over estimated. There is an urgent need in the present situation of giving to the working class of this country a full and clear picture of the actual position in India and Ceylon, to expose the degree of the denial of democratic rights and civil liberties, the conditions of labour in factory, mine, plantation and among the peasantry, and to show the force making for mass awakening and

national liberation in these countries."

Dr. Wickremasinghe returned to Sri Lanka on 16th December 1938. All progressive people of this country welcomed his return.

The "Samasamajaya" welcoming him state:

"පසුගිය අවුරුදු තුන අතරතුරේදී අප පක්ෂයේ ලන්ඩන් නියෝජිතයා මෙන් ක්‍රියා කරමින් මෙරටෙහි ඇතිවෙන සිද්ධීන් ගැන එංගලන්තයේ වාසීන්ට රැස්වීම් මගින් සහ වෙනත් මගින් කරුණු කියා දෙමින් ලක්වැසියාට මිල නොකලහැකි මහලු සේවයක් කරපු සභෝදර එස්. ඒ. වික්‍රමසිංහ මෙම මස 16 වෙනි දින "ආනයඳන්" නැමති ප්‍රංශ නැවෙන් ලන්දීවට ගොඩබසින බැව් ප්‍රීතියෙන් මෙහි සඳහන් කරමු.

"තමන් විසින් ආරම්භ කරන ලද වැඩ කරන මනා ජනයාගේ බලවර්ධන ව්‍යාපාරයේ පෙරපිටු ගමන් ඇතිවට නැවත අප අතරට පැමිණෙන සභෝදර වික්‍රමසිංහ අපි සාදරයෙන් පිළිගනිමු."

On his return to the Island Dr. Wickremasinghe resumed his work among the workers and peasants together with the Lanka Sama Samaja Party.

Up to this time the Lanka Sama Samaja Party was spreading the teachings of Marx and Lenin and popularised the achievements of the Soviet Union through its publications and public meetings. In his presidential address at the LSSP 2nd annual conference held on 18th December 1937, Dr. Colvin R. de Silva said that "the place of the USSR in world politics is beyond ordinary importance. It is to her that the international working class movement ultimately looks for the concrete exemplification of the hope that animate it. Every rise in the standard of living in the USSR every victory under her successive five year plans, every little growth in her relative strength, infuse into the oppressed of the world fresh courage to continue the desperate struggle in which they are engaged. For on her every action depends the nearing of the day when a Socialist world, released from the threat of war and want, can bend its energies unhampered to the task of finally making man the master of circumstances."

SIMILAR SENTIMENTS were expressed at the 3rd annual conference held in December 1938.

The anti-Soviet book "Revolution Betrayed" by Leon Trotsky

was first published in English in 1938 and this book was read by some intellectuals in the leadership of the Party and they became imbued with the disruptive ideas of Trotskyism. Though these ideas were still restricted to a few individuals the seeds of disruption had been sown. Even at the time of the 4th annual conference held in December 1939 the Trotskyites inside the LSSP did not feel strong enough to openly condemn the Soviet Union or the communist parties. On the contrary the Party continued to support the Soviet Union and its actions.

At the 4th annual conference the Trotskyites in the Party manoeuvred to get a majority in the executive committee which was amendable to them. At an executive

committee meeting held in February 1940 a resolution condemning the 3rd Communist International was passed by a majority vote. After this the Party organs were filled with a spate of anti-soviet and Trotskyite propaganda.

This major change in Party policy, without consulting the general membership at a conference was opposed by a large number of leading members. The majority in the executive committee replied by expelling four members of the executive committee, namely Dr. S. A. Wickremasinghe, M. G. Mendis, W. Ariyaratne and A. Gunasekera. Thereafter, they expelled a large number of other members among whom were Rev. U. Saranankara, A. Vaidialingam, D. P. Yasodis, T. Duraisingham

and K. Ramanathan.

Dr. Wickremasinghe together with the expelled Communists set up headquarters at the Workers Club, 61, Hultsdorf Street, Colombo. They began to build trade unions, organise Marxist study circles among the workers and issue newspapers and socialist publication. After a few months—in November 1940—they held a conference at Peliyagoda and formed the United Socialist Party, the precursor to the Communist Party of Sri Lanka.

Dr. Wickremasinghe is 75 and is still an active politician. He is the President of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka and member of the State National Assembly for Akuressa.

CHRONICLE

Mar. 27 — Apr. 4

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, MARCH 27: Mr. Y. B. Chavan, India's Minister of External Affairs, tabling the documents of the recent Indo-Sri Lanka agreement regarding the maritime boundary between the two countries in the Indian Parliament said the important aspect of the agreement was in regard to exploration of petroleum, gas, geological and mineral resources: he described the agreement as an important milestone in the strengthening of friendly relations between India and Sri Lanka—CDN. The Lanka Estate Workers' Union, a LSSP backed estate workers union, invited other progressive estate worker unions in the island for a conference on March 31 to jointly forward three demands affecting the workers of the plantation sector: the conference will be presided by the former LSSP Minister, Dr. Colvin R. de Silva—VK. According to the *Daily Mirror* licences of about 60,000 motor vehicles have not been renewed this year though the deadline for licensing has passed—CDM. According to an interim report by the Salaries Anomalies Commission starting salaries of trained teachers will be increased to Rs. 325—DM. Mr. P. B. G. Kalugalle has plans to establish a shore protection service around the island in a bid to stop coral digging and thereby to prevent sea erosion—DM. Two charged bodies were recovered by the Police along the slopes of the Sri Pada mountain after the recent fire there—LD. All suspects produced before a Magistrate in Galle in connexion with the assault on the medical staff at the Galle hospital were

further remanded till the 9th of April—LD. Aththa commenting in its editorial on certain answers by Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, Leader of the UNP, at a Rotary Club seminar said his answers truly revealed his aim if he was returned to power: Aththa referred in its editorial a statement by Mr. Jayewardene where he said that he would do away with the Business Acquisition Act after taking over certain businesses: the paper said this indirectly meant that Mr. Jayewardene will take over the SLFP capitalist's businesses and scrap the Act to enable the UNP capitalist's businesses to function without hindrance. Argentina's new military rulers were reported on Thursday to have arrested two former Presidents among about 2000 people detained after the overthrow of President Maria Estela Peron. US accused the Soviet Government of deliberately organising a campaign of threats against US diplomats in Moscow: US spokesman said America has protested over these threats both to Moscow and to the Embassy in Washington: a bomb threat to US diplomats on Thursday resulted in the evacuation of the first floor of the embassy in Moscow.

SUNDAY, MARCH 28: According to the *Observer* the UNP high command is under mounting pressure to oust Mr. Rukman Senanayake, MP for Dedigama, from the party: the party's Sinhala and English papers have taken an anti-Rukman line in their news reporting. Following the threat of cholera in the city of Colombo and its suburbs the Department of Health has warned the Colombo Municipal Council not to impose a water-cut as this could bring about an outbreak of the dreaded disease—CO. The Ministry of Industries has instructed several leading industrialists in the country that they should as far as possible use the ships of Sri Lanka when importing raw materials for their industries as this would save the country much-wanted foreign exchange—CO. 200 new polyclinics with all facilities will be set up in the plantation areas for the benefit of estate workers: these clinics will function under the Family Health Bureau of the Ministry of Health—TOCSL. According to the *Times*, owing to the importation of several secondhand cars to the island this year, the present exorbitant prices of cars in the secondhand car market is expected to

drop. The Ministry of Public Administration has given two months grace period for all those who possess unlicensed guns to surrender same to the respective Government Agents in each district and get them licensed—SLD. According to the *Janasathia*, a member of the British delegation in the recent talks held over the payment of compensation to sterling company estates had said 'the payment would be transferred into sterling pounds before it was taken out of the country: the paper in its lead headline claimed that its earlier forecast that the compensation would be in sterling pounds has been proved correct: the paper in its editorial said Mr. T. Moy a member of the British delegation has told *Janasathia* about this and the government's claim of paying compensation in rupees was false. According to the *Virakesari* Mr. J. R. Jayewardene's proposal to appoint 50 Ministers for each aspect of the nation's activities in the event of the UNP returning to power at the next general elections has been acclaimed as a good method by several leading men: the paper published interviews with former Minister Mr. M. Thiruchelvam, the former MP for Beruwela, Mr. M. A. Baker Markar, and the General Secretary of the Ceylon Workers' Congress in this regard. Argentine's military junta named Army Commander General Jorge Videla as the country's next President. China accused Soviet Union for secretly siding Israel with manpower by emigrating a large number of Jews to Israel.

MONDAY, MARCH 29: Cabinet has approved 'project work' for school children in lands belonging to government agencies near schools: under this scheme students who enter the new grades 10 and 11 will, from May this year, undertake small-scale development projects in areas near their schools—CDN. Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwa, Minister of Agriculture and Lands, at a seminar in Gampola said executives of Agency Houses were receiving salaries of Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 20,000 and that now this money would be used to provide employment to nearly 50,000 unemployed youth: he further said reactionary forces which had obstructed the taking over of lands are now asking him as to why these lands are not distributed to landless people: Mr. Kobbekaduwa said he would gradually take steps to distribute these lands to the landless—CDM. Under the anti-malaria campaign program nearly one million houses in the malaria-infected areas will be sprayed—CDM. Mr. Leslie Goonewardene, former Minister of Transport and MP for Panadura, in a statement on behalf of the LSSP said that voters of Jaela electorate should make the government to understand that progressives of the country, dedicated to the development and economic liberation of the country have no faith in the present government—JD. According to the *Janadina* Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike will not return to the island for another two weeks though she was expected to return this week the reason for her delay was on medical advice. Government will take necessary steps to provide the people with all essential food items during the non-aligned conference in August—LD. According to the *Virakesari*, as a precautionary measure for the Non-aligned conference, Government will order all those youth who were released after trial for their alleged involvement in the April insurgency to report at the nearest Police stations from time to time. The committee appointed by the Minister of Agriculture and Lands to decide on compensation to owners of lands exceeding 50 acres that were taken over will entertain

applications from such owners commencing from this week—DM. The *Aththa* in an editorial requested the Government to officially announce whether compensation for sterling company estates would be in rupees or sterling: the editorial further said people of the country are misled by various news items appearing in newspapers over this question. Twelve children died in Jaffna out of a forty admitted to the Jaffna hospital suspected of diarrhoea—CDN. Egypt has called for the immediate intervention of Arab states in the deteriorating situation in Lebanon and proposed the despatch of joint Arab forces to separate the warring factions. Left wing guerillas have defied Argentina's new military rulers by attacking security forces and Police stations.

TUESDAY, MARCH 30: Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwa, Minister of Agriculture and Lands, yesterday opened the head office of the newly established Janawasama at the former agency house, Carsons Cumberbatch: addressing the gathering after the office was opened Mr. Kobbekaduwa said this event was a milestone in the struggle for economic freedom—CDN. According to the *Daily News Sri Lanka* will receive aid to the tune of £ 8 million sterling from the UK and the aid will be in the form of a grant. Food Commissioner, Mr. M. B. Senanayake, told the *Daily Mirror* consumption of flour dropped by about 8,000 tons per month compared to last year owing to the drop in price of rice. Mr. Anura Bandaranaike, Chief Organiser of the SLFP Youth Leagues, addressing a meeting at Devinuwara challenged the MP for Devinuwara, Mr. Ronnie de Mel, to resign and re-contest the seat: Mr. de Mel won the Devinuwara seat on the SLFP ticket at the last general elections but crossed over to the UNP—CDM. According to the *Virakesari* the second State National Assembly will consist 168 MPs and accordingly the Delimitation Commission will make recommendation to the Government on the creation of seventeen new electorates. A third Criminal Justice Commission will be established soon to expedite cases arising out of the April insurgency: Messrs. Justice Sharvananda, Justice K. Vaithilingam and Justice Wilmot Gunesekera will function as members of this Commission—VK. According to the *Janadina* all formal steps have been taken to establish a branch of the American Bank known as the First National City Bank in Colombo in October this year: the paper said the establishment of a branch of this bank is 'further step in the middlepath policies of the SLFP-CP Government of Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike'. Nearly 100,000 applications have been issued by the Department of Education to prospective applicants for 1400 teaching vacancies to be filled soon—DM. Complaints against several heads of schools have been received by the Education authorities regarding misappropriation of examination fees paid by students—LD. Left-wing gunmen and Palestinian commandos last night captured Beirut's Hilton Hotel, the last rightwing stronghold on the edge of Christian Eastern Beirut. President Anwar Sadat of Egypt left for West Germany yesterday, for a five-nation European tour to increase military and economic assistance to Egypt.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 31: The newly set up Janawasama has made arrangements for the immediate shipment of tea for the London auctions: the Janawasama has also invited quotations from agency houses for handling and storing tea for the Colombo auctions—CDN. People's Bank offered a reward of Rs. 25,000 for

any one giving information that would lead to the arrest of the culprits connected with the Puttur People's Bank robbery where cash and jewellery worth Rs. 600,000 was robbed recently: no one was arrested neither any part of the loot recovered, so far—VK. *Janadina* in an editorial comment referring to the speech by Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, Leader of the Opposition, where the latter said that he would appoint 50 Ministers if the UNP returned to power said this is an absurd idea: the paper further said if Mr. Jayewardene appointed 50 Ministers he may have to appoint deputies for each and this would render the House without any MPs and it may also make him to choose MPs from the Opposition for posts of Deputy Ministers. *Janadina* posed the question whether the Prime Minister's trip abroad is a secret: the paper referred to the black-out of news in regard to her activities abroad and compared this with her earlier trips abroad where so much of publicity was given. *Aththa* editorially referred to the proposal by the Government to take-over all liquor shops and taverns and praised it as a good move: the paper further said the Government should take the same attitude towards cigarette manufactures too. Ministry of Education decided to retrain all trained teachers from May this year in order to prepare them to teach school children according to the Ministry's new educational system—DM. Mr. K. B. Ratnayake, Minister of Transport, instructed the General Manager of Railways, Mr. V. T. Navaratna, to stop issuing railway warrants to government servants whose departments have failed to settle their outstanding amounts—DM. Editor of *Daily News*, Mr. Fred Silva, died yesterday—CDN. Commenting on the Soviet naval presence in the Indian Ocean, US Vice President, Mr. Nelson Rockefeller, said during his current visit to Australia that nothing short of matching the Soviet build-up in the Indian Ocean would preserve stability in the area. British Foreign Secretary, James Callaghan, yesterday won the second ballot in the Labour Party election to choose the next British Prime Minister.

THURSDAY, APRIL 1: A Ministerial sub-committee has recommended to the Government to allow the import of vans, lorries and other electrical goods which are not manufactured locally under the Convertible Rupee Account system: the sub-committee also recommended not to import synthetic textiles under the CRA—CDN. In the Janawasa Bill which will be presented in the National State Assembly shortly by Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwa, Minister of Agriculture and Lands, persons appointed to manage the affairs of Janawasa estates will be jointly and severally responsible for any loss through any acts against the laws laid down—CDM. A fire that broke out at a studio in the Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation last morning damaged equipment worth nearly a lakh of rupees: this is the second fire in the SLBC within a fortnight and Police and the fire brigades are jointly investigating to establish the cause—CDM. The State Film Corporation which took-over the film distribution to various cinemas in the island will restrict the distribution of Sinhala films to Tamil speaking areas and vice-versa—VK. In view of the August Non-aligned conference Government has decided to establish a special police unit to provide security for all foreign diplomatic missions in the country—JD. Workers who were hired during the strike at the Government Press continued to occupy a separate building in the Press premises and they are paid through public funds: they conduct meet-

ings in the new building provided for them and some of them sign a attendance register kept for them and later vanish to work elsewhere: recently they have asked the management to pay them a festival advance too—JD. Dr. Badiuddin Mahmud, Minister of Education, returned from China yesterday after a tour in that country on a Government invitation—DM. According to the *Aththa* the person who was selected for the post of Assistant General Manager (Agriculture) in the Bank of Ceylon whom the paper earlier said as a man without a proper qualification for the post had earlier taking a loan of Rs. 90,000 from the bank and defaulted payment. British Government will make May Day a holiday from 1978 and for this purpose discussions will be held with trade unions. BBC's service to Sri Lanka went off the air from yesterday after 34 years of service: this action had been taken by the British Broadcasting Corporation to cut down on expenditure. Syria stopped its supplies of arms and ammunitions to the Left-wing forces engaged in bloody battles with Right-wing forces in Lebanon in a bid to oust President Sulaiman Franjeigh.

FRIDAY, APRIL 2: Mr. Lakshman Jayakody, Deputy Minister of Defence and Foreign Affairs, told the *Daily News* that volunteer peace units will be setup in various parts of the island to assist the Police to check crime. Controller of Exchange reported to the Acting Minister of Finance that though it was earlier reported that the Commercial Company and its subsidiaries owed the Government only £ 660,000 for teas shipped to the London auctions now it has been found out the actual sum is £ 800,000: over the earlier detection the company was acquired by the Government recently—CDN. Dr. Badiuddin Mahmud, Minister of Education, who returned from the Peoples Republic of China told the *Daily News* that China has shown interest in the proposal by the Sri Lanka Government to set up an agricultural university and it was possible to get assistance from that country for the establishment of this university. Trade Union leaders of the LSSP, CP and SLFP at their meeting of the JCTUO yesterday decided to appeal to the working class to give every possible assistance to make the Non-aligned conference a success—CDM. Department of Health has shown concern over the increase of cholera in the island from January this year: during this period seventy five positive cases have been detected and two had been fatal: Kollonnawa, Ja-ela, Hambantota and Colombo have been the areas affected—CDM. Ministry of Defence and External Affairs recommended to the Government to give preference to people who served in the volunteer services during the insurgency and after that when appointments are made in Government sectors—LD. Mr. George Rajapakse, Minister of Health, told a delegation of Ayurvedic doctors that the Government would soon take steps to pay equal salaries to ayurvedic and western qualified doctors: action is now being taken to raise the standard of the Ayurveda College to that of a University Campus, the Minister said—DM. State Film Corporation made a profit of Rs. 75 lakhs during the year 1975—ATH. Central Agency for university admissions selected 4000 students for admission to various campuses of the university for the next academic year—VK. *Janadina* quoted the *Siya-rata*, a UNP journal, which under a heading "SLFP-UNP Unity" published certain statements from the leader of the UNP, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene: according to

the *Janadina* this news story in the *Siyarata* has confirmed the suspicions of the masses whether there would be a SLFP-UNP unity after the LSSP was removed from the United Front Government. Mr. Hector Kobbe-kaduwa, Minister of Agriculture and Lands, speaking at a meeting in Kandy said since there were some moves to join the MP for Dedigama Mr. Rukman Senanayake, to the SLFP this should not be tolerated: Mr. Kobbe-kaduwa further said UNP is trying to oust Mr. Senanayake and as UNP is the number one enemy of the SLFP people ousted from their party should not be taken into the SLFP—JD. The Kremlin yesterday officially blamed Egypt for discord between them and said Cairo was trying to justify deals with Israel. West German will give Egypt 800 million marks (60m sterling) in credit guarantees: this was disclosed by Egyptian President Anwar Sadat who is currently on a visit to West German.

SATURDAY, APRIL 3: Mr. T. B. Ilangaratne, Minister of Trade, Home Affairs and Public Administration, addressing a meeting of Government Agents and Political Authorities said that in future promotions and scholarships for public servants would be considered on the amount of field work they put in than any other qualification: the Minister said that this course action has been decided because it had been discovered that state officers are more concerned in getting diplomas and other academic qualifications to get promotions—CDN. The Criminal Justice Commission (Exchange Frauds) yesterday sentenced Mr. Charles Vethacan, attorney-at-law and a member of the Colombo Municipal Council, to one year's simple imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 30,250 for his involvement in illegal foreign exchange transactions—CDN. According to the *Daily Mirror* a large number of brand new cars that are being imported to the country for use during the Non-Aligned Conference would be re-exported after the conference. The Marketing Development Board has suffered a loss of Rs. 60 lakhs from the purchases of maize from farmers—LD. There will be 5000 visitors to Sri Lanka for the Non-aligned conference in August this year: this number include the delegates, invitees and members of the Press—LD. Though it has been said the tanks at Kalawewa are full of Mahaweli waters paddy lands of nearly a thousand acres have been parched owing to the drought—JD. According to the *Aththa* several celebrations have been organised for today and tomorrow in Kalawewa to distribute Mahaweli waters to new lands: Acting Prime Minister, Mr. Maithripala Senanayake, will preside at these ceremonies. Deduction of EPF monies continue for state sector employees who joined after January 1972: though the Minister of Finance promised in his last budget that these new recruits would be brought under pensionable service action as still not been taken to stop EPF deductions—ATH. A UN resolution by the Security Council condemned South Africa with aggression against Angola. Lebanon's warring factions on Thursday declared they were ready to halt their bloody fighting and Socialist leader Kamal Junblatt called for a ten-day truce starting at noon yesterday.

SUNDAY, APRIL 4: Mr. Nihal Jayawickrema, Secretary to the Ministry of Justice, told the *Sunday Observer* all criminal trials against those connected with the April '71 insurgency would be completed by June this year. Armed robbers on bicycles got away with cash Rs. 80,000 from the Bank of Ceylon branch

at Ipalogama, Kekirawa, after allegedly threatening the Manager and his assistant on Friday: Kekirawa Police are investigating—CO. A Bill to amend an Inland Revenue Act to give legal effect to the Budget proposals and changes announced by Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Finance, in his Budget speech of November 5 last year will be gazetted soon—TOCSI. The Workers' Charter which is expected to give many benefits to the working class will be made law from the 1st of May—VK. According to the *Silumina* Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, had talks with political leaders in Yugoslavia over the Non-Aligned conference to be held in Colombo in August and on world politics: she had discussions with Yugoslavan Prime Minister, Mr. Dzemal Bijedic and will soon hold talks with President Tito—SM. Dr. N. M. Perera in a statement to the *Janasathiya* referred to certain statements by Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, leader of the UNP, to the *Siyarata*, the UNP Sinhala publication, over the question of SLFP-UNP coalition: Dr. Perera said Mr. Jayewardene's replies to certain questions indicate there is a likelihood of the formation of a Right Front before the next general elections. Three railway employees were seriously injured and several wagons were damaged when a passenger train and goods train collided at the Kandana railway station on Friday—CO. Mr. P. B. G. Kalugalle, Minister of Shipping, Tourism and Aviation, speaking at an election meeting in Ja-ela told though the UNP is now telling the cost of living had gone up it actually endorsed the steps taken by the Prime Minister as the best one to check the cost of living—CO. Labour MPs of the British ruling party forecast at least a clear 20 votes majority for Foreign Secretary James Callaghan when the election to choose the next Premier takes place on Monday. Japanese Prime Minister Takeo Miki said that his Government would seek the co-operation of the US Government to uncover the truth about allegations that the American CIA had paid out funds to certain Japanese political parties.



REMEMBERING

SIR PONNAMBALAM RAMANATHAN

The 125th birth anniversary of the death of Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan falls on April 16, 1976. The occasion will be fittingly commemorated in Jaffna. At the Jaffna Campus of the University, a meeting is scheduled for 4 pm to be presided over by the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Sri Lanka, Dr. P. P. G. L. Siriwardene. The Vice-Chancellor of the University of Madras, Dr. Malcolm Adisheshiah, will deliver the commemorative lecture on *Higher Education in South Asia*. At Veerasingam Hall there will be a ballet to commemorate the life of Sir Ponnambalam. Mr. S. Pathmanathan will preside at this show and the Chief Justice, Mr. Victor Tennekoon, will be the Chief Guest.

LEADERSHIP WITHOUT
HEGEMONY—2

Major Current Issue
And The U.S. Role

By Marina U. N. Whitman

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THE BROAD QUESTION of how best to construct a durable framework of international economic order is most conveniently divided into four major functional areas: international trade, international investment, the international monetary system, and relations between developed and less developed countries. The views of the United States on each of these differ in significant ways from those of other major countries, and the way in which these divergences are reconciled will be important in shaping the U.S. role in the creation and maintenance of a renewed international economic system.

THE TRADE SYSTEM. The United States' approach to the encouragement of international trade in the postwar period has been grounded in two basic principles reflecting our British heritage of economic liberalism: it should be global and non discriminatory in its application and it should be focused on the reduction of governmental barriers to free-market commercial transactions across national boundaries. The first principle is enshrined in the most favoured-nation clause of the GATT, which provides that any trade concession accorded to one member country by another must simultaneously be extended also to all other member countries. The second is reflected in the structure of the multinational trade negotiations of the postwar period, which have been heavily focused on the gradual and reciprocal reduction of governmental barriers to exports and imports. There can be no doubt that the American approach was effective; certainly the tariff reduction and other trade-liberalizing measures which resulted from the Kennedy Round of trade negotiations in the 1960's were an important factor in the remarkable expansion of world trade.

In recent years, however, a number of developments have challenged the U.S. view and threatened the effectiveness of the GATT. These include the regional (as opposed to global) and the planning (as opposed to market) oriented negotiating stance adopted by the recently enlarged EEC, the difficulties of dealing with non-tariff barriers, and new challenges arising from national policies affecting agriculture, raw materials, and energy which are not amenable to simple reciprocal trade-liberalizing measures.

But if the traditional American approach to trade policy appears to require some modification and supplementation in the light of recent developments, so do rival approaches. The EEC countries recently have run into some unexpected road-blocks in their progress toward further regional economic and monetary integration. One of their early achievements, the Common Agricultural Policy, has clearly cost their consumers dearly in higher food prices, and restrictive agricultural policies are becoming intolerable in a world of global shortages. International commodity agreements which attempted to thwart market forces have worked badly in the past. And last year's scramble among the oil-consuming countries to work out individual special relationships with one or more OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) suppliers was sufficiently frightening to make most participants welcome Secretary Kissinger's efforts to forge some common approach.

In trade policy, as elsewhere, non-discrimination is not a principle to be lightly yielded, and globalism remains the ideal in an ever-shrinking world. Some kind of synthesis between the American view and its challenges is bound to emerge in this latest round of trade negotiations, and the exact nature of the synthesis will have a substantial impact on the outcome of those negotiations and on the shape of the international trading system.

INTERNATIONAL INVESTMENT. Although international investment has grown even faster than trade over the postwar period, there is not even a rudimentary institutional framework to guide the conduct of such transactions, or governmental policies toward them. The OECD Code of Libera-

tion of Capital Movements (1961) was nothing more than a very general statement of intent and, while restrictions must be justified before the Committee on Invisible Transactions, no request for an exemption has yet been denied.

The United States itself maintained three interrelated programs of capital-export restraint over the decade 1963-1973, partly in response to European urgings. Nonetheless, this country has tended on the whole to take the view that the benefits of market integration across international boundaries extend to capital as well as to commodities markets. For this reason, we resisted European urgings in the late 1960's that we try to reduce our chronic payments deficit by imposing more stringent restraints on the export of capital, and we welcomed the opportunity afforded by the move to flexible exchange rates to abolish our capital control programs entirely in January 1974. And we have regarded with skepticism and some concern the recent tendency of a number of countries to try to insulate themselves against "hot money" flows through the imposition of controls on international capital transactions with escalating severity and in increasingly diverse forms.

Policies regarding international investment and capital flows are closely intertwined with those affecting the multinational corporations, the major mechanism of such investment in the postwar period. Together with the Eurodollar market, the multinationals are the primary vehicles of interdependence, and as such carry all the potential for both increased prosperity and increased vulnerability already described. No other economic agent poses such a conspicuous threat to national economic sovereignty, nor is so effective in promoting international economic integration.

One significant obstacle to the formulation of an appropriate international framework for the treatment of international investment and the multinational corporation is sheer ignorance about their economic impact. There is little knowledge, an even less agreement, regarding the effect of inter-

national investment on such economic aggregates as income, employment, exports, imports, and the balance of payments in either parent or host (recipient) countries. A number of major studies now under way will, I hope, encourage both the development of some ground rules regarding the behaviour of multinational corporations themselves and the harmonization of existing national policies regarding investment incentives and restrictions, taxation, anti-trust policies, and jurisdictional issues associated with investment across international boundaries.

THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY SYSTEM. Nowhere is the question of the future role of the United States and the U.S. dollar more central in determining the nature of a reconstructed international economic order than in the monetary sphere. The system embodied in the Articles of Agreement of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) provided for the vesting of substantial discretionary decision making power in the IMF and, after a transition period, for legal symmetry or equality in the rights and obligations of the member countries.

But the actual postwar international monetary arrangements very quickly developed major asymmetries, with the U.S. dollar serving a number of special functions. Because it was backed by the world's largest and strongest economy and because it was, until 1958, the only major currency free of exchange restrictions, the dollar served as the major vehicle currency in private international transactions even those in which no American was involved, as well as the main medium in which private balances of liquid international assets were held.

The dollar also became the *numeraire* of the IMF, in terms of which most other currencies were defined, as well as the major medium of international reserve growth in the postwar period. Finally, because of its special place in the system, the United States played a passive role in the exchange rate adjustment process; other countries from time to time changed the par values of their currencies against the dollar and gold, but the value of the dollar

itself remained fixed in relation to gold, and therefore to other currencies collectively, from 1945 to 1971.

The United States formally terminated the Bretton Woods system in part because both we and other countries had become increasingly dissatisfied with our special role: other nations wanted to curb the United States' freedom to print international money, while the United States wanted the freedom to control its own exchange rate. Reflecting these desires, recent proposals for the reform of the international monetary system provided for symmetrical treatment of the dollar and other currencies, reducing or eliminating much of the special position occupied by the United States under the postwar system. But a careful survey of recent developments suggests the quest for symmetry is likely to prove as chimerical today as it did 30 years ago, and that in any viable international monetary system the dollar and the United States are almost certain to continue to play special roles.

The U.S. dollar has dominated international reserve growth throughout the postwar period, accounting for about 80 per cent since 1950. In recent years there has been some diversification of reserves away from direct claims on the United States, partly into Eurodollars and partly into new reserve currencies, primarily the Deutsche mark. But dollar-denominated assets including Eurodollar (holdings) still accounted for about three-fourths of all foreign exchange reserves at the end of 1974 and for more than half of international reserves in all forms.

The main reason for the continued importance of the dollar in the international monetary system, is as economist Richard Cooper put it, that "there is at present no clear, feasible alternative." No other medium of exchange possesses the advantages the dollar derives from the economic size of the United States, the depth, breadth, and resiliency of our domestic capital markets, and the absence of trade and exchange controls.

To foresee continuing special functions for the dollar is by no means to suggest a return to the Bretton Woods system. A more

effective adjustment mechanism, probably in the form of managed exchange rate flexibility with rules for intervention, is essential. Consultations among major countries and agreement of the IMF play a larger role in reconciling nations' external objectives than they did under the Bretton Woods system. As the relative importance of other countries in the world economy grows, it is logical that their currencies should acquire some international role. And SDRs must become the major form of official reserve growth if the participants in the international monetary system are to have some degree of control over the rate at which such reserves are created. But when all this has been said, there remains no acceptable alternative to the dollar in all its special functions, and efforts to achieve symmetry of rights and obligations in the reformed international monetary system should not be pushed so far as to deprive the world of the benefits of an international money.

RELATIONS WITH LDCs. Cutting across all three areas already described—trade, investment, and the international monetary system—are U.S. relations with and policies toward LDCs. These relations have undergone substantial changes in recent years, stemming in part from the changing framework of our foreign policy.

From an historical perspective, the United States should have a natural advantage in establishing constructive relationships with the nations of the developing world; indeed, the struggle for independence from a colonial power which we are currently celebrating served as a model for the postwar independence movements in many developing nations. Further, our own evolution into an industrialized nation behind protective tariff walls in the first half of the nineteenth century is also frequently taken as a prototype for development. Alexander Hamilton's "Report on Manufactures" of 1813 represents the classic statement of the infant-industry tariff argument, so often cited by today's developing countries as the basis for their own protectionist policies.

Despite these historical advantages, relations between the United States and the LDCs have

tended to deteriorate in recent years. In addition to the decline in our foreign aid commitments, we were late among the major industrial countries in endorsing the concept of granting preferential tariff treatment to imports from the developing countries, and the last to give legislative authorization to such generalized tariff preferences. And we continue to be the only industrialized nation which overly opposes the institutionalization of some form of link between future issues of SDRs and development assistance in a reformed international monetary system.

In neither case is our opposition frivolous or unthinking. The concept of tariff preferences runs counter to our global, non-discriminatory view of international trade and trade liberalization. And we oppose an SDR-aid link both because we fear it might undermine the acceptance of SDRs as international money and because we are skeptical that it would stimulate a net increase in the transfer of real resources from developed to developing countries. But our opposition, however well founded, places on us a special responsibility to find other measures to assist the development process and create better relations between industrialized and developing countries.

LEADERSHIP WITHOUT HEGEMONY. The dangers of a power vacuum are particularly great for a world in transition from an old economic order to a new. Filling that vacuum will, of course, make great demands on all participants. Those nations of the developing world which moved almost overnight from dependence on charity to the possession of enormous economic power will have to exercise that power in ways which not only serve their own interests but also reinforce rather than undermine the health of the international economy. Europe and Japan will have to recognize that they cannot afford the luxury of undermining U.S. economic leadership without being willing to share those leadership burdens themselves.

But the greatest challenge is to the United States: to find the political will to modify our own short-term economic interests to the requirements

of an international economic order which we no longer control, and in which many other participants now share power even if they do not always share responsibility. Paradoxically, our own increased vulnerability to external disturbances may make our leadership more acceptable to other nations, because it increases our own stake in the maintenance of a well-functioning international economic system. Still, the replacement of leadership based on hegemony with leadership based on persuasion and compromise will be difficult, perhaps impossible. But this nation was born of an "impossible" undertaking: and today, as two centuries ago, there is no acceptable alternative.



THE INDIAN LOAN

And The Livestock Industry Of Sri Lanka

By R. Kahawita

ACCORDING to a reports in the Press, concord has been reached between the Indian Government and that of Sri Lanka to grant the latter a loan of fifty million Indian rupees on "soft terms"; repayable in fifteen years. The Loan is to enable Sri Lanka to purchase capital goods of Indian origin and to develop Sri Lanka's Agriculture, Industry and Trade. Trade may include payment of dues to repatriates of workers of Indian origin.

The assistance to be given in Agriculture is to establish an animal husbandry industry with Indian expertise and livestock from Indian sources. This time—we have had schemes of this nature earlier)—the animals to be imported are "Gir" heifers, bulls, and "Surti" buffaloes and two breeds of Indian sheep for meat production.

Our own history of developing a livestock industry goes back to the Nineteen thirties during the Agricultural Ministry of late Mr. D. S. Senanayake. This man with the vision of a perspective planner laid the foundations for an integrated programme of Agriculture, Animal Husbandry and Dairy Development at the very inception of

his Ministry during the State Council days. If his long-term plans were continued with vigour and foresight by the successive Governments, we would have been self-sufficient in dairy produce, meat draught animals etc., and who knows, may have been exporting these products. To push through his scheme to establish a sound animal husbandry industry he established several animal breeding and multiplication centres and introduced new livestock blood to these centres from various countries. The plan was to upgrade the indigenous breeds and also to study the acclimatization characteristics of exotic breeds of cattle, poultry, sheep, goats, buffaloes, even turkeys and ducks.

He scattered, over the Island, many of these centres according to the needs of each area, depending on weather and climatic zones. To spearhead his projects—he appointed as his lieutenant, Late Mr. Edmund Rodrigo of the now defunct Ceylon Civil Service as his Director of Agriculture. Under Mr. Rodrigo's direction the officers of the Department went all out to carry out his (Mr. D. S. Senanayake) Policies. Often the two did not see eye to eye in many things, but as an old-school administrator and loyal to his "boss", the schemes his Minister wanted him to put through were implemented with great care and in great detail. The centres that were started then were:—*Ambawela* and *Bopatalawa* for European cattle, pigs and turkeys, *Polonnaruwa* for Indian Breeds, *Nikaweratiya* for Indian draught cattle and goats, *Killinochchi* and *Murungan* for similar breeds, *Ambepussa* for mid-country cattle, poultry and pigs, *Kandeketiya* and *Ridiyagama* for Indian and local buffaloes, *Labuduwa* for poultry and cattle, *Inginiyagala* and *Samanthurai* for dual purpose cattle, *Chenkaladi* for goats, *Kottukachchiya* for goats, *Maha Illupalana* for a similar purpose. *Kundasale* for general livestock and as an animal husbandry training centre for Dairing, Poultry, Pigs, Cattle and Sheep, *Walpita* for local crosses and as a training centre, *Lunuwila* for upgrading Sinhala cattle and a host of other minor demonstration and "in service training" centres.

These stations were stocked with several breeds of cattle from India, England, Australia and New Zealand. They included such breeds as Red Sindhi, Taraparka, Ongles, Killaries, Shawali, Harianas, Jerseys, Short horns, Red Pols Aryshire, Murraha and Surti Buffaloes. In poultry: R.I.R., Leghorns, Light Sussex, Minorcas, Ducks such as Indian Runners, Khaki Cambells, Muscovie, Pigs included the light and heavy breeds.

IT WAS A LONG-TERM PLAN designed to set up a first class livestock industry. This was to be supported by well planned training schemes for Veterinarians, Vet. technicians, Laboratory assistants down to practical herdsmen. Every detail had been worked out meticulously and implemented with the assistance of foreign experts supported by a keen and hardworking band of officers of the Department of Agriculture.

Looking back today, it is amazing to note that the Department was able to surface so many nationally conscious and keen workers then compared to what we experience today. We have retrogressed centuries back in this spirit of serving one's own country. What happened to this sense of service to one's country and the enthusiasm to move forward in one's own training, should make an interesting study. It is politics, coupled with quick destruction of an establishment labelled as reactionary and capitalist, to hack a road through to socialism? Or just want of leadership? Whatever it may be, the country has lost a project so minutely planned to free our people from economic bondage. Now we are back to where we started forty years ago; the people are being asked to bear the burden of another loan, to rebuild what was destroyed in the name of "socialism" or "communism."

It is not possible to pin point when the quick destruction of this national venture started, but it is certain that with the changing of Governments, the rot set in as, it is the avowed policy of each political party to destroy what the previous Government did.

Even today we hear our politicians claiming credit for what was done earlier or condemning what was done then, according to their political mood.

Those who conceived and executed such nation building works, have not so far claimed any credit; for they did in the interest of their motherland and service to their people. This is the approach we lack today—be it a politician, high executive or an insignificant Government employee. So we are slipping backwards faster than we can arrest the decay. After forty eight years of shedding colonialism etc. etc. and having had a glorious opportunity to rebuild ourselves as a free, independent and prosperous nation, we are still classed as a backward nation with others who never had a chance to move out of the rut they were in when they gained independence.

GOING BACK to our subject (curse be our policies) with the change of each Government the livestock industry, which was built up over decades, and for which we are raising loans again to rebuild, was progressively closed down or abandoned as it suited the 'politician. No one knows what happened to the animals imported to stock the various centres and their progeny—the explanation may be as naive as was trotted out at the Inginiyagala centre around 1965—"The animals died and the centre was closed down." "What happened to the progeny equipments, utensils, laboratory fittings, incubators etc.? They must be in the inventory and may be somewhere in the stores."

This being the history of our national effort in this particular field of Agriculture, it would be useful for the present day planners to initiate a commission of inquiry to investigate into the working of our livestock ventures since 1935—the year they were started. It will provide the guidelines as to what should be done, what should not be done and save this country the expense of starting the projects all over again at enormous expense to the country—I almost said tax-payers with socialisation there are no tax-payers but "State-labour."

The difference in financing then and now is, when D. S. started the projects they were

paid for in cash out of normal revenue of the Treasury; today it is financed by loans for purchase of stock and to air-freight as was reported recently for the import of Jersey cows from Denmark and New Zealand. This unholly haste, may be, that we have no patience to wait three four years to bring a cow to maturity or to wait a few months if freighted by sea as was done then.

However, all this would have been unnecessary if we had the successive Governments to serve the people rather than to destroy what was done before them; we would have been a "super nation" in this region. Instead what has happened? We have slipped back into poverty and have become international beggars—this loan from India for the Livestock Industry is one such item in our begging bowl.

EVEN WHAT the private sector undertook to do in the field of Animal Industry was destroyed with the Land Reform policy. The reformers did not understand the needs of animal husbandry and the land areas required to maintain a herd of milch or beef cattle. They got electrified with the takeover of others' land, in order to take the country on the road to socialism, they did not have the time to give any thought to diversity of soils, climatic conditions that govern crop production, nor time to think of the Government's own five year plan for Agriculture which was boosted up over the years in an expensive propaganda project. Looking back now on the results of the land reforms, the main objective was to destroy an independent and self-respecting starta of society whose existence was considered a threat to communism. This is what happened in countries that followed this path, so it cannot be different in Sri Lanka.

With this legislative denial of the right of the people to own and pursue an independent living, the livestock industry in the private sector too was destroyed. Large and expensive herds of cattle were driven to the slaughter house. The same thing is happening today in the up country districts which had a very large milch cattle population built up over the years from the upcountry centres esta-

blished years ago. As a result of this destruction the price of milch cattle is progressively rising. Today it is between Rs. 2,000/- to Rs. 3,000/- per head much beyond the reach of the peasant who will never be able to purchase an animal at this price.

That part of the five year plan dealing with the livestock industry may as well be erased off now. With this sequence of events arising from Governmental policies which are, at all times, at cross purposes between economic planners and policy makers, the import of livestock on a loan seems absurd to say the least. We may be in a hurry to cover up the misdeeds or questionable policies of the past, but this is no warrant to push the country deeper into debt.

In our hurry to re-establish what was destroyed, have we estimated what it is going to cost the country to maintain the imported animals and in a condition maintain the production performance claimed by the suppliers of animals? Or are we importing them on an off chance and abandoned them as it happened in the past, as feeding the people is much more important today, than feeding the animals. If animals perish we can import some more as we are doing now, but if our people die of starvation no one is safe.

We mention this because once the bureaucrats of the Treasury did request the Department to put the animals on half rations as there was no funds to purchase the full ration. We still have this same kind of bureaucratic thinking and the same system of Budgeting and spending, so there is no reason why it cannot be repeated. In this context, man must come first and till their needs are satisfied there may not be a place for animal husbandry, therefore should we not do some rethinking before we use the loan to import animals. We see this happening in those countries which we have selected as models to follow blindly.

This is one aspect of the Agricultural Industry for which a sound policy was enunciated in the nineteen thirties and the foundation laid to give the former a chance to move forward and be

an independent and self-respecting member of society. The desire of our Policy makers then was to make the farmer independent and an asset to the economy of our country, to-day the policy is to destroy that and make him a vassal of the State and be a permanent liability to the state. This seems to be the only way we can dangle the red carrot to lead him to Communism.

* * *

BUILDING A VILLAGE HOUSE—75

An Altogether New Year—1

By Herbert Keuneman

For a whole month now my interest (and, I hope, yours) has been preoccupied with the adventures and fortunes of my precious *duvas* Ukkuwa and Biso and their 'cousin-sister' in their courageously self-chosen exile to fulfil their vocation—it is not much less than that—in their home-from-home at Kantalai, and my interest (and, I hope, yours) will continue to be thus engaged from time to time. But I must get back to my own self-appointed vocation: of chronicling Ehetuwewa's more immediate, if short and simple, annals; and this and next week's will be the last batch of the 'Kantalai Letters' I shall present for some while.

In doing so, I have adopted for this time a slightly more 'edited' method than before, for the available 'copy' is now too voluminous to reproduce in full. I have selected only the more newsworthy passages. But I have sometimes given each girl's account of the same news; because the varying accounts interestingly illuminate the characters of the girls themselves. This often interrupts their chronological order, of course, but I think that does not much matter. What I do want is to leave you with a picture of the girls as vivid as they themselves can provide, as the Old Year which has wrought so profound a change in their lives draws to end and they must face a New Year in a new milieu adopting new values to suit a totally new kind of community, a wholly un-

accustomed egalitarian, co-operative and catholic one, with only their old fortitude to sustain them. Meanwhile the village preserves the individualistic standards the girls must renounce: an unassailable 'pecking-order', personal privileges jealously guarded even though possibly burdensome.....

UKKU MENIKA to MUTU MENIKA (7.3)

Akka, that Rs. 50 I sent home (EACH OF THE GIRLS DID, WITH GREAT PRIDE, OUT OF THEIR FIRST PAY) don't misunderstand my having done so. We haven't yet a particularly safe place in which to keep money; and besides, I sent the money out of my first earnings just like all the other girls have done and it seemed a good thing for me also to do so.

Mutu Menika is Ukku Menika's elder sister (both are daughters of Pinhamy's elder brother) and for two years now has been the only girl able to help out the family finances: she is a 'Science Teacher', a profession of great village respect. She is in fact a thoroughly sweet and good-natured girl, though reserved and a little school-marmish, but her pretty nose seems to have been put somewhat out of joint by her younger sister's unasked-for contribution toward the domestic exchequer! Nor would her mortification appear to have been appeased by a note of protest addressed to her sister alone; she seems to have issued a couple to Pinhamy's girls as well, even if she rationalized this asperity as a justifiable annoyance at an un-sisterly neglect in writing to her. You may find Ukku Amma & Biso's reaction surprisingly apologetic. But I must explain that an elder brother's household always maintains a certain ascendancy over a younger's; an ascendancy in this case increased by a greater preponderance of 'employed' children—and Government-employed, at that—as well as by diverse status-orientated marriage connexions.

BIS to MUTU MENIKA (10.3)-

First of all, I am terribly sorry that I haven't been able to write to you news of our doings and health here though I seem to have

written to so many others of my dearest village friends. I am afraid I didn't lay much store by the omission because Punci Akka writes regularly to you and we read your letters to her and all each one's letters are to everybody, aren't they? Still, I realize how much you could have missed hearing from us direct and can imagine how neglected you could feel and how lonely you must be. What to do! Life is like that. We are born in one place, spend our lives in another and die in some place else. Really, I sometimes wonder what this life of ours is! Even now, as soon as we fall asleep we are back in the village; and as it is as soon as we open our eyes that the thought again assails us, 'What am I doing here?' Still, since there are three of us together it isn't bad. We three now occupy three different dormitories; but they are interconnected, and it is only to actually sleep that we separate: till then we keep together.

Bis sidesteps sheer abjectness by a typical excursion into quasi-philosophical speculation. But Ukkuwaa has a better resource, the not-by-any-villager-to-be-alienated right of simple primogeniture. Gently, tactfully, lovingly—but with devastating effect though leaving no wound—she pulls her rank as senior. Here is conciliation at its cleverest!

UKKU AMMA to MUTU MENIKA (11.3)

Dearest Nangi—You are probably wondering whose this unfamiliar handwriting can be. But you do have someone at Kantalai who calls you Nangi, remember? I haven't omitted to write to you all this time because I have forgotten you; even though I may not have written to you individually and by name, the remembrance of you has been in my mind in every letter I have sent home. I parted from you that day with pain I will not try to describe; you must have felt the same. But though, with time, the pain may become gradually dulled, the thought of you springs in my memory every moment of every day.

Is there something catching in this prickly concern with who owes whom a letter? or is it, perhaps, that the new status earned by the Kantalai pioneers has stirred a kind of

querulousness amongst those whose family (and village) status was already established, as well as those who still had none but wished they had? For even little Podi (Podi Menika, 14, Ukku Amma & Basis's younger sister, one-but-youngest of the family daughters and therefore possessed of almost no status at all) seems to have expressed a dissatisfaction with the attention accorded her as an entitled letter-receiver! Poor little Podi's protest, however, seems to have cut no ice but only drawn forth a reproachful and rather stern reprimand. Bis, in fact, turns the tables:

'Big fleas have little fleas upon their backs, to bite 'em; And little fleas have lesser fleas; and so ad infinitum

BIS to PODI MENIKA (18.3)

It is now a month and a half since we parted from you and came all these leagues away. Yet we have not had a single letter nor so much as a direct message from you. Why do you think of us so, Nangi? You must imagine that we don't love you, that we don't think of you! Don't think that, Nangi. We love all of you alike, it is a great disappointment to feel you don't realize this. Although we have addressed no letter to you by name, or sometimes sent you no special message in our letters, don't feel we are careless of you or make a difference toward you. You must now develop a mature judgement and do what is your duty; consider well and fulfil your responsibilities; when you have opportunity, write us a letter and give us all the news; we, too, shall write to you personally when to do so is opportune. I suspect you imagine we are changed towards you. Do you remember: when we were sewing our outfits to come here I sewed some clothes especially for you? That was because we feared you would feel left out: it was because I had no thought of illfeeling or unconcern that I sewed those things for you although I had a thousand other tasks to do; I am sad you have been unable to realize that.....

And now from these cut-and-dry priorities and the practised problems of adjustment within the small, familial com-

munity they must adjust with in a community of a hundred equals. The Kantalai Girl's solution to their problem of who should spend the actual New Year's holiday at home was proof reassuring enough of the practical good sense and sense of equitability they brought—entirely by their own device and decision—to bear. But even more reassuring was the cheerfulness and willingness with which the inevitably disappointed majority seem to have accepted their disappointment. I believe I have already (last week) quoted Bis' animadversion concerning this! Here are Ukku Amma's (and she had even more cause for personal disappointment). She had to adjust on two levels, that of the commune and that of the family. I don't want to sound like 'IF—'; but when you can yield to a large group yet sacrifice an advantage that group has allowed you, out of loyalty to a smaller group, it seems to me you are pretty well on the way to being a better-than-average citizen. Of course there waa (let us not be starry-eyed) the practical difficulty of requiring an escort.

UKKU AMMA to THE FAMILY (11.3)

It is on the 3rd of April we shall have our turn to come home. But we shan't be able to be there for the Day itself. We have to be back here on the 10th. We are horribly sad about that. However, there is nothing can be done: we have our turn a group at a time. The dates were apportioned by lot. I myself drew a lot allowing me to be home for the occasion; but since the two Nangis hadn't the same luck I gave my 'chance' (SIC) to a friend: all three of us want to come together.

This was no small sacrifice; after all, she could have begged a brother to come for her. But our girls are nothing if not thoughtful. Frugal, too, perhaps? *Ibid.*

Since we shall be coming home soon, I think none of you should put yourselves out to come and see us until after we return: it would be an unjustifiable expense, would it not? Come afterwards. But should you come you can now come quite easily. You can now come to Kantalai and catch a bus

to Allai Ferry; from there to our place is only about a mile (ACTUALLY, I UNDERSTAND, NEARER 3) and one could easily walk it. But don't come. But oh! I do long to see you. Mother and Father, and Brothers, and Sisters, and we are counting on our fingers till the 3rd.

It brings a lump to my throat that not even the so near prospect of home assuages the sheer undiminished longing for it so bravely controlled.

Ibid.

Even though we should not ask to see you all just immediately it is a great comfort to have a nice newsy letter; and at noon every day but Sunday we are on constant watch for the post.

And Bis:

BIS to THE FAMILY (8.3)

Last night I dreamed of Sumana (their little sister.) She was in the house, looking in, and crying and crying; and when I woke I was crying too. It was nearly 4 o' clock and I sat down with my tears to write this letter.....

Still, the girls do not sit around feeling sorry for themselves: they work.

UKKU AMMA to THE FAMILY (22.3)

We have finished the reaping: about 75-80 acres. We shall be paid for this, as I wrote earlier, but we have not received the money yet. Yesterday about a hundred of our cattle were brought here, in 17 lorries. Now we shall really begin to have our work cut out, cutting grass for them and attending to their other needs. But since we all share the labour no one feels any hardship.

I am quite satisfied in my own mind that in this atmosphere of shared productive labour and equitably shared rewards a genuine spirit of camaraderie amongst the hundred girls from diverse homes in diverse climates both sociological and meteorological (!) had grown up. There may be little of the sentimental and tender home affection involved; instead, there is a kind of quizzical, indulgent friendliness which it seems to me is just right and which I am idealist enough to be wholly delighted by; as witness, Ukkuwa, below.

UKKU AMMA to THE FAMILY (11.3)

When we return (TO HEEN GANGA) we shall have to bring some kavum back to our friends; please save some sugar for them. There is no escaping these girls; they are already ordering us 'Bring this', 'Bring that'!

And very right, too. I shall certainly make my own willing contribution of 2 lb. of sugar—jaggery, if I can get it, in the name of authentic cookery—which should work out about 3 oz. per Kantalai Girl, and welcome to it she will be!

To be (temporarily) concluded

* * *

HERE AND THERE

BY DOPEY

On Beggars

There was in the *Ceylon Daily News* of 3rd March, 1976 headline news item, "HOUSE DISCUSSES BEGGARS." During the discussion one member said he was a beggar before he came to the House, another member retorted—"There are many who became beggars in trying to get into The House."

Whether this kind of bantering in the House, said jocularly or otherwise, the voters of Sri Lanka who have been led to believe "The House is supreme", must take note of it. It may be that the voters elect beggars to the House to get rid of them from the Villages or, we suck them dry so that they may never be foolhardy to attempt something they are not fit for. In either case the members of the house should be thoroughly screened as proposed under the Emergency to screen loiters and if what was said in the House was true, we the voters do not wish to see our representatives to be begging in the House and be charged for bribery.

The others who became beggars should be sent before a panel of psychiatrists to investigate their mental balance. For no fool is going to believe that two birds in the bush is worth more than the one in hand. Unless the one in the hand can be multiplied once in the House.

THE HOUSE discussed the question of rounding up the beggars in the city and sending them to Riddiyagama. To our knowledge Riddiyagama was known for its buffaloes and curd. Are we going to treat the beggars like buffaloes? Today beggars are everywhere. Where there are two or three gathered together there are the beggars of all sorts also. There are the maimed and the disabled, there are children and women with babes in arms, and in rags. There are sarong and shirt guys, there are the MEP-costumed and the cloth and jacket, and sareed women, there are the trousered Johnnies in various forms. This invasion of Colombo and many of the urban and rural areas by beggars is a recent development climaxing on the eve of the Non-aligned Conference.

The common denominator to all beggars, where ever you encounter them is the uniformity of their request—"Money to buy a piece of bread"—at current prices what they expect is 50 cents for half a pound of bread. It used to be five cents for a cup of tea. Today five cents will take you nowhere. The request for bread underlines the shortage of employment opportunities and high cost of food all over the country. This is an experience during the last few years. Have our socialist policies so disrupted our old social structure, that what once was an obligation in social justice is no longer so, because of the general impoverishment our people who once were able to practice charity through the temple, dhansala, religious observances in honouring and remembering the departed ones cannot do so now. This may be one cause. Then there was, both social and religious, obligations of feeding and caring for the elders—may be close relatives, parents, or unemployed members of a family.

In either case, what it amounts to is our people are becoming poorer and poorer daily. Under our economic system, they are no longer in a position to practice what our religion has taught us to do or follow traditional customs because cost of living has skyrocketed and even if money is available, basic food is difficult to come by. Everyone has to fend for himself or herself so they take to the high road begging and generally they go in search of places

where there are number of people. So Colombo has become one of the meeting points. Under these circumstances, sending the beggars to Riddiyagama is not the solution. It may be, till the Non Aligned Conference is over. We can hide our economic bankruptcy from the eyes of our visitors. It is not a permanent solution. We who live in Ceylon despair of our economy and also of the extent our policies have reduced our people to beggary. It will take us a century more to wean our people from beggary and the garbage can if follow our misguided policies—By then none of us will be there nor our "socialist roaders" to see whether a street garbage can is the battleground to wrest a morsel of Food or not. As Premier Wilson of England has admitted, there is no place for socialism without production and the mere name of socialism cannot ensure greater production. Hard work is essential.



MURDER AT ETILIEWEWA—5

The Verdict

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

I got six of the best.

Three on the left hand and three on the right,—hard, heavy strokes with the weapon I mentioned earlier as punishment for absence from class-room without permission. That evening when I was still smarting under the pain, sulking in the dormitory and thinking most unkindly of women especially those who were Principals of schools, I was sent for by the Head. My boarding mate, John Rupasinghe, who took a particular delight in tormenting those in distress assured me that the second instalment of the punishment was to follow. I was too small to muse on the aphorism:—

*First God made man and rested.
After that, He made woman. From that time, neither God nor man has rested.*

was pleasantly surprised when I entered the great Lady's room. She smiled her sweetest, asked me to sit down and handed me a luscious apple—A Cox Pippin at

that and a slab of Cadbury's Nestles chocolate. What is more, there was the picture of my favourite cricketer, Jack Hobbs, in the inside cover! That was the class of Heads of Educational Institutions in those days—very firm, efficient but yet so merciful.

TO COME BACK TO KANDY, there was the same grandeur and the aura of dignity that enveloped the entire Court premises with a cloak of Decorum.

Viewed in retrospect and now conscious of the fact that religion was one of the sources of Law, it was with a sanctified shock of admonition that I comprehended the wisdom of Oliver Goldsmith's verdict on Ceremony:— "To divest either Politics or Religion of Ceremony, is the most certain method of bringing either into contempt—the weak must have their inducements to admiration as well as the wise? and it is the business of a sensible Government to impress all ranks with a sense of subordination, whether this be effected with a diamond buckle, a virtuous Edict, a sumptuary law, or a glass necklace."

THE ACCUSED'S DEFENCE.

Our country, like other progressive ones, has, in its magnanimity provided for Free Legal assistance as an integral part of its Legal System. The services of Lawyers are available to indigent persons arraigned for serious offences. In Great Britain, the Government has entrusted the Law Societies of England and Scotland (which are the Governing Bodies of Solicitors) with the responsibility of administering Legal Aid and Advice under the provisions of the Legal Aid and Advice Act of 1949. In the United States, there is a comprehensive network of Autonomous Legal Aid Societies organised and financed through voluntary effort.

The Counsel assigned for the defence of the accused did an excellent job. He canvassed the plea of grave and sudden provocation relying on the meaning of provocation enunciated by His Lordship Chief Justice Bertram, in Rex Vs. Panchirala, 25 New Law Report page 458, where the learned C.J. has held that "Provocation is something which a reasonable man is entitled to resent."

Counsel for the Defence relied on English reported cases where it had been held that the whole

doctrine of provocation depends on the fact that the sudden loss of self control negatives the presence of intention on the part of the accused. He most emphatically urged in particular Viscount Simon's reference to a case of actual finding of a spouse in adultery.

He, however, made one mistake. Addressing the Jury, he said that the life of the accused was in their hands. "Stop" cried out the irate Judge. "This type of advocacy will not cut any ice with me". He went to explain that the counsel was attempting to intimidate the jury. The life of the prisoner was not in their hands.

The late Mr. L. B. T. PREMARATNE, who later functioned most admirably as Attorney-General, was a young Crown Counsel at that time. In his own quiet way, he met the arguments adduced by the Counsel for the Accused and referred to two salient facts. One was that the accused was armed with a sharp cutting instrument and that the other was the evidence of the blacksmith that the accused had warned him to keep away from his woman. The learned Justice's charge to the Jury was not only a treat in the masterly use of the English language, analysis of the evidence but an essay on brilliant juristic logic.

JURY DECIDES. The members of the Jury did not take a long time for their deliberations. The Accused was found guilty of Culpable Homicide not amounting to murder and was sentenced to six years' rigorous imprisonment. There was a strange, mysterious, enigmatic smile on his face as he was led away from the Dock. I tried very hard to read his mind. It was a most futile attempt. Was he thinking of "D"—the Deceased? "D", the alphabet can stand for Dingiri Menika, Daisy, the Devil, the temptress Delilah, the ruin of the Strong Samson, etc. Was he ruefully ruminating on the words of the song which I have taken the liberty to alter slightly to suit the present case:—

*"I wish I had never met DAI'SI"
And Daisy had never met me;
For SIX long years I'll regret it
For I'm in the Jail House, you see!"*

As for Daisy, who died by tempting her lover boy and tasting the ruit of stolen love, the elders—especially the self-righteous Prudes—had no sympathy for her. It was

Poor Get Poorer !

good riddance of bad rubbish. They were agreed on that point. I cannot blame them. They seemed, however, to ignore the fact that the old man loved her passionately in spite of her couquettish 'deviations' with a love that was so insanely possessive and unquenchable that drove to him to kill. "It is not by the gray of the hair that one knows the age of the heart."

As for the arch villain who disrupted the "even tenor" of the little hamlet of Etilliwewa, the residents hounded him out. He was almost 'carred and feathered'. A heart breaker is bad enough. A home-breaker is worse, they all pontificated. They did not want such vermin to corrupt the morals of the younger generation.

As for Mr. M.B., the carpenter—he was certainly saved from his own noose, first by the Village Headman and later even from that of the official hangman. And so ends the sad story. Would anyone know what thoughts flashed in that old carpenter's mind when he wended his way into the jungle with the rope to be his own Executioner?

Was he debating, like Hamlet, "whether it was nobler in the mind to suffer the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune", or to "end the heartache and the thousand natural shocks that flesh is heir to"? Or, like Othello, who "loved not wisely but too well but being wrought perplexed in the extreme like the base Indian, threw a pearl away richer than all his tribe but was resolute in "Self-Murder, that infernal crime which all the Gods level their thunder at."

For my part, I am not interested in the dissertations of self-styled social reformers, pedantic pundits and their ilk. Their probalism can make good material for text books. As an ordinary fellow citizen, I will give anything to know precisely what was foremost in his mind when he decided to end it all. It is anybody's guess!

(Concluded)



Inania of this, that and the other

Food And The Village

By INNA

What happened to our soya beans?

A recurring question. Large quantities of high class proteins such as fish meal and oil-seed cakes, are at present fed to livestock in the wealthy countries. Many pets in affluent countries and in affluent towns of Third world countries (they are of the same brand, you know) have a better diet than do most of our people.

And yet, when the same thread is passed round at a *pirith* ceremony, it is a sign of equality; the same Communion is received at the same Table, is a sign of equality; the same *prasadam* received by Hindu devotees, is a sign of unity; the shroud wrapping the Muslim for his joyful burial is a sign of equality before one and the same Allah "before whom all are equal."

But, talk of food, and you'll see shrimps gracing expensive tables of ordinary folk in first world countries and of extraordinary folk in Third world countries. Of course the existence of First, Second and Third World is already a sad indictment on UN "equality". That a man could be on one side of the gun—the cocky side of it—and another could be at the barrel-end of it, even as cannon fodder, shows the basic inequality that money can bring.

Food is life and purports to continue life. Stop food and you turn genocidal. Dump Tea at Boston or Margarine elsewhere to keep up prices and you become a murderer, without feeling it.

Chillies are 22/- a pound in Batticaloa (8th February). Who cares for chillies? The Dietetics booklet says: **Chillies contain a pungent substance which is highly irritant. They also contain vitamin C. They are eaten in many parts of India and Ceylon. The chilli is of South American origin and was introduced to the East by the Portuguese. It is one of the most harmful of the condi-**

ments" (p. 72, Ananda Nimala-suriya: Dietetics) Some conditions are more harmful than others. Excessive indulgence in them causes irritation and catarrh of the lining membranes of mouth, throat and stomach. The liver is more susceptible to injury when the diet is deficient in proteins (the aminoacid methionine).

Tons of vegetables and protein-forming foods leave Uva for the Colombo hotels and there is bla-bla-bla about saving the Kandyan peasantry!!! Come and see for yourself and then you'll know how he who pays the piper regarding hotels and tourism, calls the tune!

The adult male over 20 years must take 70 gms of protein. Is he getting it in the villages, which are expected to be the source of a good many foodstuffs taken in by the city-dweller, if only to gauge by the number of *mudalali's* lorries leaving through Beragla: sometimes, fifty in one hour, to fatten the city-dweller and his tart visitor from lands that may have once ruined our economy; you never know.

Then again, one may see in the villages where there are chena lands in N. Uva for example, in places like Ekiriyankumbura, roadside children with running noses. And yet Vitamin C is available for the asking: *jambola*, *jamanarong* (tangerines), lemons, limes, oranges abound. They are packed and carted away for the flimsiest reason. The *mudalali* gets his enormous share because he has the means of transport. Food or medicine, it is the same thing: the villager has a dog's chance. "Aralu-bulu-neelli", the triple royal medicine of rural areas has got a death blow. Aralu (Gall-nut) is being used for fast-colour batik dyeing and tourists too whisk away those gaily coloured shirts. In N. Uva Aralu is sold by the cwt, large quantities of it. The village young man is paid 50/- per cwt. The *mudalali* gets about 125-150 Rs. per cwt in Colombo. The batik shirt maker gets much more: an unnameable figure. And the poor get poorer.....



Confidentially

Dried Fish?

IS IT NOT A FACT that the Opposition papers are spotlighting matters connected with the activities of the all-in-all of the Finance Ministry who had figured so prominently in the No Confidence motion against Mr. Felix R. Dias Bandaranaike? That the *Janadina* of March 13 had a stirring story under the headline YET ANOTHER "RELIEF" FOR THE MINISTER'S BROTHER-IN-LAW? That the gist of the story was as follows? That (usually) all dried fish, declared "unfit for human consumption", were sent to the Oils and Fats Corporation for the manufacture of poultry (and animal) foods? That contrary to this practice, the *Janadina* had reported that a stock of such dried fish had been sold from the CWE depot at Welisara to two private individuals? That one of the persons who had been able to buy such dried fish was Mr. Gamini B. Wickremanayake whom the *Janadina* stated was "presently holding several posts under the Ministry of Finance.. and who is also the brother-in-law of the Minister of Finance"? That the other person who was able to buy such dried fish was a well-known lawyer from Moratuwa Mr. Eardley Perera? That the main reason that Government had ordained many years ago that such dried fish be sold to the Oils and Fats Corporation was to prevent such dried fish finding its way back into the open market? That it was also to prevent corrupt officials from certifying good dried fish as "unfit for human consumption" in order to sell the staff to private traders who dabbled in the black market? That in spite of this Governmental ruling, stated the *Janadina*, these two individuals were able to buy nearly 20 tons of such dried fish in January and February of this year? That the price was something less than about 7 cents a pound? That governmental rules had further prescribed that if the Oils and Fats Corporation was not able to take excessive stocks of such dried fish, the CWE was authorised, with the permission of the Ministry of Industries, to sell such stock to registered manufacturers of animal feed in the private

sector? That the *Janadina* has asserted that these two individuals concerned—Mr. G. B. Wickremanayake and Mr. Eardley Perera—are not registered manufacturers of animal feed? That *Janadina* hints that CWE employees' gossip was that there was no guarantee that stocks purchased by the two individuals would not have found their way back to the black market? That this implies a further allegation that the stock (or part of it at any rate) was "fit" for human consumption? That there is no way of finding out now whether the stock was really "unfit for human consumption" or not? That if such deals, which are contrary to normal governmental practice, take place gossip, innuendos and even libellous talk become inevitable? That the *Janadina* has given details of the sales effected? That Mr. G. B. Wickremanayake's purchases were tabled as follows: on 5.1.76 he had bought 160 bundles weighing 132 cwt-98 lbs for Rs. 996.57; on 21.1.76, it was 26 cwt-42 lbs for Rs. 197.82; on 16.2.76, it was 128 bundles weighing 76 cwt-98 lbs for Rs. 576.75; and on 19.2.76, it was 120 bundles weighing 84 cwt for Rs. 635.65? That Mr. Eardley Perera's purchases had been as follows: on 19.1.76 it was 59 bundles weighing 50 cwt-14 lbs for Rs. 375.94; and on 16.2.76 it was 83 bundles weighing 49 cwt-92 lbs for Rs. 370.32? That in both cases, each hundred weight of this dried fish had been sold Rs. 7.50? That the total purchases made by Mr. G. B. Wickremanayake had been 35,938 lbs (16 tons and 98 lbs) for Rs. 2406.59? That the purchases by Mr. Eardley Perera had totalled 11,144 lbs (4 tons, 19 cwt and 56 lbs) for a sum of Rs. 746.26? That this *Janadina* story has been used by UNP papers as well? That stories like this is manna to the Opposition Parties preparing the ground for the 1977 General Elections? That up to the time of writing this column there has been no official contradiction or denial either by the CWE or the individuals concerned that this *Janadina* story was factually incorrect or that it had been slanted for political reasons?

That the *Lake House* papers and the *Times* papers which have recently made a noise about "corruption" in certain quarters have been silent about these sales of dried fish to two private individuals contrary to all the governmental rules?

That with this kind of suppression of hot news the credibility gap which has begun to surround all pro-governmental papers has begun to increase? That the comments we have received regarding the revelations about *Lake House* in this column last week about the booze parties and spending sprees of *Lake House* elite indicates that there is widespread concern about happenings in *Lake House*? That a number of correspondents have informed us that we had missed an important point: that the Anuradhapura booze was on the occasion of a state visit by the Directors of *Lake House* and their entourage on account of some festivities in connection with the lighting of the Mihintale shrine from the funds of *Lake House*—a task which had originally been undertaken by the previous owners? That these correspondents point out that booze and such lavish expenditure on the occasion of a visit to a place of religious significance had come as a shock to the public, especially the buddhist public? That it was equally distressing that the new elite in *Lake House* should patronise 5-star hotels like the Oberoi for a farewell dinner to a retiring Director? That such hotels were only meant for FECCs-rich tourists and visitors to the island laden with foreign exchange? That information has poured into the *Tribune* office on how the customary petty cash chits of reporters and cameramen on assignments were being dealt with—in contrast to the free-spending bonanzas of the top notch? That the staff of *Lake House* was being constantly increased—in spite of the limited number of pages of its newspapers—and that very soon there would be a greater ratio of excess staff in *Lake House* than in the CTB?

THE NEXT ISSUE of *Tribune*

will be on April 24, 1976. There will be no issue of *Tribune* on April 17, 1976 in view of a long stretch of holidays next week. *Tribune* takes this opportunity to wish all its readers a happy New Year and all the best for the coming year.

for the housewife
who wants to beat
the cost of living



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CHOICE

of the

PLAYERS

and my

FAVOURITE

