

TRIBUNE

Cement Board

Must Resign

The Board of Directors of the Kankesan Cement Corporation will do well to hand in their resignations honourably before they are removed by the Minister or are compelled to quit owing to the pressure of public opinion. The revelations made by our Special Investigator on the gypsum contracts entered into after the Corporation came into existence and the gunny bags which were purchased to satisfy a Director are only the least among the reasons which can be urged to prove the utter incompetence and inefficiency of this Board to run the Kankesan Cement Works.

The Corporation took over on November 1, 1956, and from that time until today the Board of Directors, apart from long and painful discussions at Board Meetings, have done nothing except to fix their subsistence rate when they run up to KKS for week-end outings. For a long, long time before the Corporation came into existence, all constructive and administrative re-organisation had been postponed to await the Corporation. And when the Corporation was created

and the Board was appointed great things were expected.

Board

The Board had a bad start, with a change of Chairmen and the "sacking" of Walwin de Silva in order to accomodate C.H.Z. Fernando as Director. In the four months of the existence of this body there has been ample proof that the present Chairman and Directors are totally incapable of managing the affairs of the Factory. The Kankesan Cement Works is one of the few industrial assets this country possesses and if the present Board continues to indulge in its present long-distance management control from Colombo with the petty and ineffective administration the Directors seem capable of, the Factory will be a mess which will cause a loss of several million rupees.

The unbounded enthusiasm displayed by the Board in gypsum and gunny bag purchases is in sharp contrast to their half-hearted attempts to solve the more urgent problems facing the factory. Indeed the Directors had taken upon themselves

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certain executive functions and got thoroughly entangled in details which left them practically no time to devote to broad policy matters. The net result of this was the administrative machinery of the Cement Corporation, which until then had been propped up by the Department of Industries, became paralysed. And therein lies the clue to the collapse of the roof and the loss of nearly Rs. 2 million as a result of it.

The Cement factory roof remained intact during the last ten years weathering many storms and cyclones for the simple reason that it was swept clean of all accumulations of dust. Towards the end of November, that is nearly a month after the Corporation took over the factory, one of the men cleaning the factory roof met with a fatal accident. Immediately the men demanded a special risk allowance and refused to go up to the roof until it was granted. As the administrative machinery in the factory had broken down a simple issue of this nature took over a month to settle. In the meanwhile tons and tons of dust settled on the roof causing it to collapse in the end. The Board, therefore, cannot disclaim its own share of responsibility for the collapse of the roof and the consequent loss of nearly Rs. 2 million.

Even the major disaster of the roof collapse appears to have had very little effect on the Directors. Indeed such is their interest in the Cement Factory itself that even now, two months after the collapse of the roof, they have not cared to visit the site.

It is no exaggeration to say that the Board of Directors to-day stand completely discredited in the eyes of

TRIBUNE

CEYLON NEWS REVIEW
COLOMBO, Feb. 23, 1957

Vol. 3 No. 40

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WEEK by WEEK in CEYLON



LANGUAGE



NADESAN



ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE



BASES

The United National Party and the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, as mentioned in this column last week, have proclaimed their intention to seek to establish national unity by ending the present tension on the communal front. But what is significant that neither of these parties have thought fit to set out any concrete plan or proposal. This is a clear indication that the SLFP does not want to be outmanoeuvred by the UNP in the language and minority question in so far as it is an election slogan.

This attitude on the part of the SLFP does not portend much hope for an early and quick solution to the communal problem. Instead of a firm declaration that the communal tension will be solved on the basis of equality and democratic rights, as in all socialist countries, all that the SLFP (and the UNP which has been relatively silent) wants to do (to judge by press reports) is nothing more than pass a pious resolution urging Government to grant "fundamental rights" to the minorities. The resolution, it appears, will also call upon Government to clarify the reasonable use of the Tamil language.

Unless the SLFP sets out what the Fundamental Rights are and how they will constitute a safeguard to all minority interests (racial, religious and even political minorities), and unless it lays down what is meant by a reasonable use of the Tamil language, the present pious endeavour to solve the communal tangle will come to naught.

Senator Nadesan

The only sensible definition about the term reasonable use of Tamil has so far come from Senator Nadesan. In a communication to the Minister of Education, Nadesan according to an *Observer* report outlined a definition in a "nutshell".

This is what the *Observer* report stated:

"Senator Nadesan told the Minister that 'a reasonable use of the Tamil language' should enable a Tamil to transact his business with the Government and its institutions in his own language. The Senator

later gave the *Observer* a few instances of the implications that would flow from his fundamental proposition.

"It would follow, he said, that a Tamil should be able to write to a Government department in his own language and get a reply in that language.

"He should, for example, get his income tax assessment notices in Tamil; if he travels by train he should be able to identify the railway stations in his own language.

"A Tamil should be able to elect one who understands the Tamil language, if he is the best candidate available and that such a candidate should be able to discharge his duties in Parliament which would mean he could speak in Tamil, get speeches in other languages interpreted into Tamil; get the laws translated into Tamil.

"Hitherto, said Senator Nadesan, we have been agitating that under British rule the laws of the land were in English which the majority of the people did not understand.

"Senator Nadesan said a reasonable use of the Tamil language would also mean that the laws were in Tamil, too, so that they could be understood by the Tamil speaking people, that Gazette notifications be given in Tamil as well as Sinhalese.

"These were some of the implications of the reasonable use of Tamil, the Senator explained".

Round Table Conference

In the meantime, the suggestion by the Prime Minister for the convening of a Round Table Conference of all minority interests has drawn reactions from the important sections of the Tamil community. The Federal Party has indicated that whilst it welcomed all efforts to solve the communal tangle it thought that the reasonable use of the Tamil language implied the fullest equality for both languages. Secondly, the leaders of the Federal Party also stressed that they believed that a Federal solution was the only way out of the present im-

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PROTECTION AGAINST LEVERS

We publish this week the memorandum submitted by Ceylonese manufacturers of soap to the Prime Minister and the Minister of Industries and Fisheries: The memorandum sets out the case of local producers very exhaustively. *Tribune* has in past explained the dangers of permitting foreign monopoly combines like LEVERS to operate freely in Ceylon. If the M.E.P. Government is true to its boast it is for the encouragement of local industry it should take immediate action on the lines suggested in the memorandum.

We the undersigned Ceylonese engaged in the manufacture of soap submit this Memorandum on certain vital aspects of the Soap Industry in Ceylon which calls for immediate action by Government.

Briefly stated, Ceylonese manufacturers of soap find themselves in a difficult situation owing to the activities of that world-wide monopoly combine of UNILEVERS operating in Ceylon as LEVER BROS., (Ceylon) Ltd. This firm has succeeded in obtaining a control of over 90% of the soap market in the island (in washing soaps the control must be over 95%), and unless Government affords some measure of immediate protection to Ceylonese Manufacturers, LEVER BROS., are likely to drive more and more of the local producers out of the field as they have done in the past. The list of Ceylonese producers and entrepreneurs who have been eliminated from the field of soap manufacture in the last ten years or more will provide a most interesting insight into the way LEVER BROS has operated in this island.

Unilevers

UNILEVERS is one of the biggest international combines in the world. It controls over 500 different companies in over forty countries. Its activities cover a wide range -soaps, toilet goods of all varieties,

perfumes, oils, fats, cooking synthetics like COVO, detergents and the like. It has recently entered the field of production, manufacture and distribution of tea by buying over the controlling interests of one of the best known tea companies in the world.

In this country, the "branch unit" of UNILEVERS has been registered under the Companies Act as LEVER BROS (Ceylon) Ltd. The share capital of this Company consists of 500,000 shares of Rs. 10/- each, i.e. Rs. 5 million. Of these five lakhs of shares 499,994 shares are held by UNILEVER COMMONWEALTH OVERSEAS LTD-a UNILEVER holding company registered in England. The *six remaining shares* are held by five British nationals (one share each), four of whom are Directors of the local firm, and one single solitary share is held by a Citizen of Ceylon called Shankara Iyer Mahadevan (also a Director, but one who was the Chief Distributor for UNILEVER products even before the local factory was set up).

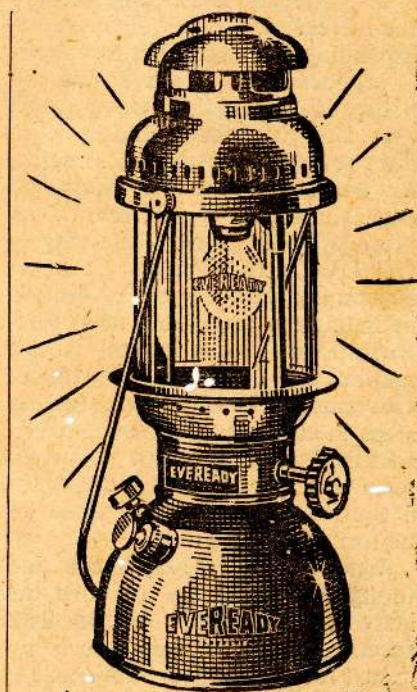
The dynamics of large scale manufacture by international monopoly combines are such that local producers cannot ever hope to compete with them. Apart from the economies effected by the mass production of perfume blend in England (or some other country where it can be done cheap and sent to Ceylon) and by the mass printing and production of cartons, and so on, UNILEVER can hope to undercut any competitor in any "open" market, for it can offset losses say on toilet soap (through under-pricing) by high profits in washing soaps, detergents, cooking oils, and the like. In addition to this, UNILEVERS have unsurpassable resources for advertising, and it is believed that in a small country like Ceylon they spend over a million rupees a year in advertising in order to maintain and expand their monopoly.

Ceylonese manufacturers can never hope to put on the market toilet or washing soaps at the price LEVER BROS can. If LEVERS

are not underselling, they undercut by increasing the size of the soap they sell. As a matter of policy, LEVER BROS have always under sold Ceylonese competitors in the toilet and washing soap fields, and they have succeeded so well that well over 95% of the washing soap and over 90% of the toilet soap consumed in Ceylon are made and produced by this international combine. It must be remembered that it was in the field of toilet and washing soap that Ceylonese manufacturers first ventured, and LEVER BROS have now so circumscribed the field that Ceylonese manufacturers can do nothing more than compete with each other in the manufacture of sandalwood soap. If LEVER BROS should venture into the field of sandalwood soap too, local producers will be even more adversely affected.

It is necessary to recall that Government in the past sought to help local producers by restricting drastically the import of toilet and washing soaps. This restriction assisted local producers for a time but when LEVER BROS started operations in Ceylon, the result

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PROTECTION

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was that the protection meant to help Ceylonese producers was utilised by LEVERS to stabilise itself as the only international combine in sole control of the Ceylon market. Not only was LEVERS able, under the shadow of the protection afforded by the restriction of imports, to eliminate all foreign competition, but also push Ceylonese manufacturers out of production or restrict the strongest among them to operate within a very limited market. In the toilet soaps, Ceylonese manufacturers had the run of sandalwood soap market but in washing soap arena they have been practically wiped out.

Such is the background in which this question must be viewed.

India

A similar situation had existed in India. The Government of India, soon after the country became independent, took steps to protect the local producers. On the footing that a ban to shut out the inflow of further foreign capital to the field of soap manufacturing was totally inadequate to protect local producers (as the rate and margin of profit alone could finance all further expansion), the Indian Government placed a ban on all further expansion by LEVERS BROS (India) Ltd. What the Government did was to freeze the production of LEVERS at a particular level, and reserve the increasing volume of the ever-expanding Indian market to national producers. So effective was the policy of the Indian Government that LEVER BROS (India) Ltd., after some years of heroic struggle, has had to resort to the dodge of endeavouring to shed itself of its "foreign" character by emerging as HINDUSTAN LEVERS LTD., by effecting an alliance with a section of Indian capital. If this new partnership with Indian capital is not real but only nominal, the Indian Government is likely to take further steps to curb the activities of UNILEVERS in India, but it would seem that HINDUSTAN LEVERS is a pact of LEVERS with some of its former competitors.

When a country like India and thought it necessary to curb the activities of LEVER BROS with special regulations, there can be no excuse for the Ceylon Government not to do the same. Several times

in the past, Ceylonese manufacturers of soap had made representations to Government, and in fact there had been discussions of a concrete nature with the last Minister of Industries of the kind of protection which might be extended to local producers to protect them from the impact of LEVER BROS (Ceylon) Ltd. For some reason never publicly disclosed, the last Government would do nothing in the matter. It is probable that to take such action against LEVER BROS would have seemed inconsistent with the Government's frequent and fervent plea for foreign capital.

Action

Although there is a sense of frustration and futility among all Ceylonese manufacturers of soap as a result of the inactivity of Government, we make this appeal for protection once in the hope that the new Government, which claims to represent the national interests of the people, would act without hesitation and delay, to assist local enterprise.

It must be stressed that soap manufacture is not a highly technical industry and any local producer can with reasonable care and diligence produce a good quality soap at competitive prices. Foreign skill, foreign capital and foreign know-how is probably essential in industries of a more complicated and involved character, but where soap is concerned, no foreign assistance is required.

It was in this context that the Minister of Industries in the last Government considered the following ways of affording protection to local producers.

1. By the stopping of further expansion of LEVER BROS (Ceylon) Ltd.
2. By controlling the output of LEVER BROS (Ceylon) Ltd by imposing a Quota on its production, and by reserving about 50 to 60 percent of the island's requirements in toilet and washing soaps, to Ceylonese manufacturers so that healthy and competitive rivalry may prevail ensuring a good soap at a fair price for the consumer.
3. By directing that organisations like the CWE, Co-op Stores, Co-op Unions and the Marketing Department should handle and distribute soaps only produced by Ceylonese concerns.

Every one of these methods has its advantages and limitations, but unless all three or a com-

bination of two of them at least are made effective soon, the local producers are likely to suffer badly

The position, it must be emphasised, has deteriorated since our last approach to Government. Some of the manufacturers who went before Government on the last occasion are no longer in the field.

In these circumstances, if the remaining manufacturers of soap are to survive and more particularly if they are to develop and expand, Government must restrict the manufacturing and selling activities of LEVER BROS (Ceylon) Ltd. This company had set up a factory in Ceylon only after the Government had decided to restrict imports, but in capital and character it is 100% foreign. To permit it to flourish as it is doing now is to give LEVER BROS an open invitation to liquidate all local manufacturers. In this connection, Government should also investigate the implications of the indiscriminate import of synthetic detergents on the local soap industry and also the coconut oil industry. The import, manufacture and distribution (through an expensive campaign of advertising) of "synthetic" cooking fats like COVO should also be examined in regard to its possible repercussions on the domestic oil trade.

We take this opportunity to utter a warning that unless Government controls the development and expansion of LEVER BROS (Ceylon) Ltd., it is more than likely that the

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BLUNDERING

Vocational Guidance is now a feature of the educational set up of all progressive countries in the world. In certain countries, it has come into being on account of the fact that it reduced accidents and industrial fatigue. In France, it arose as a result of the necessity to rehabilitate disabled soldiers. In Germany, it was due to the incentive towards increased production. The over supply of manpower in certain trades and professions, shortages in other trades and professions, rising unemployment of school-leavers, rapid social changes and the necessity to increase production of national wealth make Vocational Guidance an absolute necessity in the schools of Ceylon today.

2. We accept the definition of Vocational Guidance as the "process of acquainting the individual with various ways in which he may discover, determine, analyse and understand his interests, aptitudes, limitations, problems, needs, and opportunities, in addition to special training available from any source, so that he may live and make a living to the best advantage to himself and to society."

We recognise five steps in a Vocational Programme:-

- (a) Give the pupil information about himself and about occupation;
- (b) Counselling the pupil to choose his field of occupation;
- (c) Helping the pupil to acquire the basic skills necessary for his field of occupation;
- (d) Placing the pupil in an occupation; and.
- (e) Ascertaining what progress the pupil makes in his occupation.

3. Department's Scheme

We are informed by the Secretary that Vocational Guidance in schools will immediately cover the first three steps mentioned in the preceding paragraph. Classroom-teachers trained in Vocational Guidance will supervise the maintenance by teachers of Cumulative Record Sheets of all pupils. Pupils in the post Primary Classes will have on these sheets considerable information

This is a "final draft" of the Recommendations of a "Committee of Vocational Guidance and Youth Employment Service for School-Leavers" set up by the permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Education, presumably on the instructions of Government. If this is how Government is seeking to approach the employment or the unemployment problem, then further disasters are ahead for this country. Please read COMMENT on page 640.

about themselves, as for example, their personal and social background, their academic and recreational achievements, their mental and physical health, their intelligence quotient or mental, and so on. The Department of Education will make available to the schools and pupils information about occupation through a series of Vocational Guidance Information Sheets.

With the help of this data about pupils and about occupations, the Guidance Master or Mistress, will counsel pupils so as to help them to choose an occupation for which, they are suited by intelligence aptitude and interests. As far as it

is possible, the schools will be encouraged to diversify their curricula so as to help pupils to acquire the basic skills necessary for the occupations. In the light of this information, we decided to deal with Vocational Guidance in detail even though in the letter No. N/VT.1/54 of 21.11.56 from the Permanent Secretary we are asked to "formulate proposals for a Youth Employment and Vocational Guidance Service".

We have confined our attention to the Placement aspect of Vocational Guidance. A Placement Service, however, presupposes sound Vocational Guidance. We are making our recommendations on the assumption that the Department will carry out with vigour a scheme of Vocational Guidance for the whole island as a part of the School System. However, we wish to emphasise four points in regard to Vocational Guidance because they directly affect a Placement Service.

Firstly, in view of the fact that the statutory school age is 14, counselling should start with educational guidance for all pupils and Vocational Guidance should be given to potential school-leavers in their last year at school.

Secondly, we feel that each school should have one or more Guidance

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BLUNDERING

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Misters or Mistresses. In the case of mixed schools, there should be a separate Master for the boys and a Mistress for the girls. In the event of present quota of eligible staff being altered, we recommend that the Guidance Master or Mistress should be provided outside the quota.

Thirdly, an attempt must be made to give adequate training in basic skills to school-leavers, before placement.

Fourthly, the training of Guidance Masters and Mistresses is fundamental to the Scheme. Such training should be comprehensive and thorough, especially in the field of assessment of intelligence, aptitude and temperament. Care should be taken in the maintenance of Cumulative Record Charts. An abstract of this record should be made available to employers omitting, of course, confidential information contained therein. The training in principles and techniques of Vocational Guidance should be a feature in all Training Colleges in the Island. In addition, regular In-Service Training Courses for teachers in schools should also be conducted by the department.

4. We recommend that a scheme of Youth Placement Services should immediately be set up to meet the implications of the fourth and fifth steps of the Vocational Guidance Programme referred to in para (2). We have concerned ourselves with a service for the Municipality of Colombo and Greater Colombo. By greater Colombo we mean the Urban Councils of Wattala, Kotte, Kolannawa and Dehiwela-Mt. Lavinia.

5. The Youth Placement Service for Colombo and Greater Colombo would normally deal with placement within that area. If, however, employers or schools outside this area seek information or assistance from the Officer in charge of this service, he should provide this information and assistance. The percentage of leavers who can be placed in employment would depend on a number of factors. Not all leavers, however, would require placement as some of them will go in for further studies. This scheme will exclude also those who place themselves and those with facilities for self-employment, for example, those who run their own business.

6. The question was discussed at length as to whether Heads of Schools who join this Placement Service could deal direct with employers and at the same time deal with the Placement Service. It was decided that schools should not be allowed to use the placement and at the same time contact the employers direct. While canvassing an employer or going to him should be prohibited, there should be no objection to a Principal giving a leaver a certificate or a recommendation. The rules and regulations that should apply to schools which join the scheme should be formulated by the Director of Education in consultation with the Advisory Committee — vide para 8

7. ORGANISATION OF THE SERVICE.

We are agreed that this service should be an official organisation set up in the Ministry of Education working in close co-operation with the Minister of Labour. For the success of this scheme there should be an adequate number of officers fully qualified or trained in Vocational Guidance attached to the office. We envisage that each of these specialists will have a number of such schools assigned to him. If a school cannot afford to join the service on account of its numbers or resources, the Department should have a corp of specialists whose services will be made available to these schools.

8. For the successful working of the scheme it is essential that there should be an Advisory Committee. We suggest that this Advisory Committee should consist of:—

(I) The Director of Education (Chairman) (II) Representative or representatives of the Department of Education (III) Representative or Representatives of the Department of Labour (IV) Representative or representatives of Employers (V) Representative or representatives of local authorities included in the area (VI) Principals (say six in number) elected by the schools joining the scheme. (VII) Other person as the Hon. the Minister may be pleased to appoint

9. In view of the fact that Assisted Schools are in a majority in Colombo and Greater Colombo, we suggest that they elect 4 of their number and Government Schools 2. The Municipal Commissioner may be appointed to the Advisory Committee as a representative of the employers as there are employees who are recruited to the Colombo Municipality outside normal recruitment through the L.G. S.C.

10. The Advisory Committee will naturally advise the Director of Education on general principles relating to recruitment and place-

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Week by Week

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passe, and told the Premier that if he had any doubts as to what the Tamil people felt he should hold a plebiscite. This was no doubt in answer to the statement by the Prime Minister that the Tamils did not want Federalism, but had no alternative but to support the Federal Party as the one party that stood up for Tamil rights.

G. G. Ponnambalam and his fast disappearing Tamil Congress seem more anxious to re-establish lost prestige among the Tamils than to solve the increasing disharmony in the country. The futility of Ponnambalam's politics is shown by the violence of his polemics against the Federal Party.

In the meantime, the one-time friend of Ponnambalam, V. Kumaraswamy of Chavakachcheri, set up a new organisation in the North called the of Fundamental Rights Democratic Front. This was hastily got together after Dudley Senanayake re-entered the UNP and is believed to be a shadow front for the UNP in the North. It is not quite clear what Kumaraswamy is up to, because at one moment he declares that his Front is a non-political one, and other makes the most political pronouncements. He has even welcomed the suggestion of a Round Table Conference, and has shown anxiety to be recognised as a leader of Tamil opinion. Kumaraswamy seems to be in a hurry to get back into the arena of active politics through the proposed Round Table Conference even before the UNP is able to stage a come-back. Kumaraswamy's old technique of running with the hare and hunting with the hounds (which paid dividends in the early days of the UNP) may not produce the results he wants.

Kumaraswamy is capable of great deal of noise, but there is one thing which Government must not forget and that is that this one-time stalwart from Chavakachcheri no longer represents Tamil opinion. If Government attempts to hold a Round Table Conference with discredited men like Kumaraswamy, failure will attend all efforts to solve the communal problem.

February 23, 1957

At a meeting last Sunday, Thondaman of the Ceylon Democratic Congress welcomed the suggestion about the Round Table Conference. It was his organisation which has been pressing for such talks for a long time now. No reaction has yet been forthcoming from the Aziz section of the Democratic Congress.

Bases

In the midst of all the hubub about the communal problem, there appeared an item of news in the *Daily News* of February 11, 1957, which if true, is of great significance. According to this report :

"The Royal Ceylon Navy has been asked to be in readiness to move into Trincomalee before the end of this year no sooner the British hand it over to the Ceylon Government.

"It is reliably learned that the Prime Minister Mr. S.W.R.D Bandaranaike has told the Commanding Officer of the Navy, Commodore Royce de Mel, that he was now certain that the British would quit Trincomalee before the end of this year and that the Royal Ceylon Navy should be prepared to take them over.

"The Prime Minister has issued these instructions to the Navy on the basis of a communication he has received from the British Government undertaking to hand over the bases in Ceylon before the end of this year.

"According to the communication, which was received some days ago, the British Government has requested Ceylon to consider the question of giving the British a right to use certain refuelling and supply facilities for a set period which could be decided on after

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talks with representatives of both governments.

"The British Government has pointed out in particular that in Trincomalee it had one of the biggest ammunition and refuelling dumps in Asia and as such it was not possible to remove those supplies from Ceylon in a short period. It has, therefore, asked that British ships be allowed to use those facilities for a certain period of time".

Prince Narodam Sinahouk of Cambodia, who was here on a State Visit last week-end, emphasised that his country refused to have any foreign bases on its territory. He also mentioned that Cambodia received aid and assistance of an economic character "without strings" from the U.S.A. as well as the Communist countries.

If the British do really quit Trincomalee, and if the MEP Government follows a policy of non alignment, Ceylon can very well follow the example of Cambodia in the matter of its relations with countries in both blocs.

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Elsewhere in this issue we have published the full text of a Report prepared by a Committee on Vocational Guidance and Youth Employment Service for School-Leavers. The Committee was set up, we understand, on the initiative of the Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Education, and its personnel consisted of Principals of Colombo Schools, Representatives of the Department of Education and one or two teachers from the Colombo range. We do not know whether the scope of this Committee was merely confined to the Colombo limits, or whether for certain reasons it has so limited itself of its own volition, but as far as we are able to gather no other Committee has foregathered to deliberate on the destiny of school-leavers in other areas besides Colombo.

We believe that the task set by the Permanent Secretary to this Committee was in pursuance of the Minister of Education's pious determination to end unemployment in this country. To tackle this problem this Committee composed of leading "educationists" in the city of Colombo — they were probably the easiest to get together for purposes of discussion — spent much labour and talk. From the recommendations contained in the Report it will be clear that the question has been approached from the "educational" angle of Vocational Guidance, and most of the time of the Committee seems to have been taken up with the problem of formulating a proper Placement Service, a kind of respectable employment service.

Futile

We admit that Vocational Guidance is an excellent thing, but it becomes relevant only when there are different "vocations" and fields of employment for young persons to choose from when it comes to a question of being gainfully employed after school. At present in Ceylon, the number of vocations are so scandalously few and the quantum of possible employment in these fields so restricted that it would mean nothing more than burdening the tax-payer more by creat-

ing posts like Vocational Guidance Masters and Mistresses as suggested in the Report. The educated employed in the country will be only reduced by the number of such Vocational Guidance teachers who are appointed, with consequential increase in the educational vote, but without making the slightest contribution to any increase in the field of national production of wealth.

The first thing which Government and its highly over-paid and over-rated Permanent Secretaries must realise is that the unemployment problem must in the first instance be tackled from an "economic" and "political" angle. Vocational Guidance cannot help young people in the stagnant and decaying economic order which now envelops this country. But more than the futility of Vocational Guidance in a country without an expanding economy, the dangers inherent in attempting to solve unemployment in this rather haphazard and piecemeal manner are even greater as has been shown by the Report of this Committee.

For, if there is anything this Committee has attempted to do, it is to indirectly suggest that all the jobs in the city of Colombo be reserved for school-leavers in the Colombo and Greater Colombo area. This is regionalism of the worst kind. This is discrimination on a territorial basis. The Report does not see the implications, nor does it consider them in the report, of this far-reaching recommendation of an disguised attempt to restrict employment in the metropolis of the Island of Ceylon to school-leavers from that area.

Apartheid

The report states that it spent much time on discussing this aspect of the problem, but even after this it would appear that the Committee could not agree on extending the scope of their vision to outside the limits of what they call Greater Colombo.

The members of the Committee may not have realised the full significance of this suggestion they have so foolishly put forward, but it is

necessary to draw attention to the fact that the restrictive principle for employment on a territorial basis contains the germ of *apartheid*. Experience in other countries has shown that regional restrictions leads inevitably to restrictions based on race, religion, caste, colour and the like, and this danger becomes particularly pronounced when certain communities are concentrated in certain localities and regions. Such regional and restrictive tendencies have already shown their ugly head in the body politic of Ceylon. Employment in certain limited fields at first, and now in ever widening fields, is being denied to a community whose only sin has been they have come to this island somewhat later than others from the vast sub-continent of India. Restricted and discriminatory concepts of "citizenship" were devised to give a legal basis for this onslaught on this community in an attempt to solve the unemployment problem in this country. This having failed, as it must, the germ of discrimination is now spreading to territorial regions in a desperate attempt to solve the unemployment problem.

From politicians, dyed deep in chauvinism stemming from a total bankruptcy of ideas and policies, such suggestions about solving the economic crisis would not be shocking. But for a committee of "educationists" under the pretext of Vocational Guidance to "recommend" a kind of *apartheid* in embryo is unforgivable. The stilted language and the officialese (mixed with educational jargon) of the Report makes it painful reading, but we would urge our readers to pay a little attention to it to see how much of "educationists" have to be educated.

The Board of Indigenous Medicine, has been acting with caution and patience as far as the striking Ayurvedha Students are concerned. It has extended the deadline, for the striking students to return, to February 25th.

I understand that the man behind this new policy of the Board of Indigenous Medicine is the new Chairman, Mr. S. Amarasinghe. On his own admission he might know nothing of Ayurvedha, but he certainly knows how to deal with people and difficult people and situations at that.

Towards the students, he has adopted a very fair attitude much against the wishes of the other members of the Board. The students in turn have realised that in Mr. S. Amarasinghe (no relation of Ayur. Dr. C. Amerasinghe who is the bone of contention between the students and the government) they have a fair administrator. Mr. Amarasinghe has spoken plainly to them and informed them that as far as he is concerned he has no voice in getting Dr. Lenora back to the College of Indigenous Medicine and also no standing to ask the government to remove undesirable persons from the Board. The students have realised the situation and are likely to give in temporarily with a view to taking up their case later.

I also understand that the most difficult person on the Board is Dr. C. Amerasinghe. I have reasons for saying so. When the Ayurvedhic practitioners applied to the Chairman, Board of Indigenous Medicine, for the Hall at the College, to hold their Ayurvedhic Congress, the Chairman granted their request, as previously it was the practice to do so. The only violent opponent of move was Ayur. Dr. Amerasinghe who insisted that the Chairman did wrong in granting the request because the Ayurvedhic Congress "at its meeting will abuse the Board and members of the government". The Chairman stood firm and eventually Dr. Amerasinghe quietened down when he realised that the other members of the Board did not give him support. The Chairman took up the position that the

Ayurvedhic Congress was perfectly entitled to criticise the Board, and that they were entitled to the freedom of speech.

While on this question of Ayurvedha I wish to refer to the reply given by the Minister of Health, to her critics, and reported in the *Daily News* on Monday. Among other things she made this statement: "Students are the backbone of this country and if teachers do not take disciplinary action against them when they err it would be a sad day for Ceylon. A recognised book on Ayurvedha, the *Charak Sanhatiya* prescribes the types of persons who should be selected as Ayurvedhic students and according to it such trainees should be above board and disciplined".

The fair Minister has a knack for saying the right things at the wrong time. If she had only applied the principles in the *Charak Sanhatiya*, when she made the disputed appointments to the Board—namely that of Ayur. Dr. C. Amerasinghe and Rev. Buddhakkita Thero — then we would not have had all the troubles that she is having now with the Ayurvedhic students. If only the two members that she appointed were above board and disciplined then this pother would not have been caused.

At the same meeting the Minister is reported to have said that she had not received the report of the Ayurvedha Commission, but had received only Dr. Shiva Sharma's dissent. It is strange that she not received the report, because the *Times* group of newspaper published the report and Dr. Shiva Sharma's rider. I use the word rider advisedly, because I have read the report, and Dr. Shiva Sharma's rider is nothing more than a rider, and by no means a dissent from the main report. In addition, Dr. Shiva Sharma has dealt with only two matters in the main report and by no means did he disagree fundamentally to call his rider a dissent.

The Minister has only to ask the *Times* group of newspapers, and the *Lankadipa* for a copy of the Ayurvedha Commission Report and I am sure the Editors will release

them for publication by the Minister.

The report of the Commission must be made public by the government officially, and published along with Dr. Shiva Sharma's so called dissent.

And let the public judge.

Specialists

The specialists of the General Hospital and provincial hospitals have suddenly begun to be worried about their purses. They have banded themselves into an independent association to open negotiations with the government regarding private practice, and their right to collect fees for such practice.

The *Tribune* supported the Government Medical Officers' Association in its struggle for the abolition of private practice and the readjustment of the salary scale for doctors. When the government finally conceded the principle of abolition of private practice and readjusted their salary scales the *Tribune* welcomed it as an achievement both of the government and the G.M.O.A.

Now, the very specialists who supported the demands of the G.M.O.A. and who associated themselves with the struggle of the Association, are repudiating the conclusions arrived at between the Association and the Government after negotiation. The specialists had their own representatives on the Committee which negotiated with the Government and their representatives approved the conclusions arrived at.

Despite the fact that the specialists had formed an independent association and broken away from the G.M.O.A., the Government is going ahead with its plans for implementing the decisions arrived at, and is completely ignoring the specialists. *That is as it should be. The specialists who perhaps now feel the pinch of the loss of private practice, are now attempting to restore the status quo and introduce the pernicious systems that were got rid of.*

CEMENT BOARD

continued from first page

the workers of the Cement Factory. The only honourable course open for the Directors, even at this late hour, is to tender their resignation and not place the Minister of Industries in an embarrassing position.

Chairman

The Chairman, C. Coomaraswamy, may be a man of the highest integrity, but that alone is not sufficient to qualify him for the post. In four months he has shown himself to be a weak, ineffective person, unable to make decisions, who is brow-beaten into signing contracts for gypsum (in spite of the protests of the one Director on the Board who has stood against all hanky-panky) and also being persuaded to buy totally useless gunny bags. More than this, Coomaraswamy does not seem to have the foggiest idea of what should be done to make the Kan-Kesan Cement Works a business proposition and a first rate industrial undertaking. We will not say more about the Chairman at this stage because we feel that he will realise his own limitations and tender his resignation and

spend his days of retirement in sitting on Industrial Courts and the like for which he is more eminently qualified.

But if the Chairman and the other Directors continue to function, we will publish a detailed record of the happenings of the four months which will prove the utter incapability of the Chairman and the Board to manage the affairs of the Cement Factory. We will also call upon the Minister to release to the public the minutes of the meetings of the Board which will reveal that this collection of miscellaneous gentlemen cannot run the factory.

We will not say more about the other Directors at this stage, except to state that we are now convinced on the basis of documents available that only one Director has been involved in the gypsum and gunny purchases, and that this person has in the absence out of the island of another Director endeavoured to tar his colleague with the same soot which he had accumulated by handling gypsum and gunny bags. It is also necessary to draw attention to the fact that another Director, who has an obsession about Financial Regulations, has developed ambitions about being the General Manager

of the Factory. There is evidence that the present administrative muddle is mainly due to this Director already assuming some of the functions of the General Manager.

Another pertinent matter is that the Board, or some Directors therein including the Chairman, have been anxious to appoint Arudpiragasam, who retired from the Civil Service a few weeks ago as the Secretary of the Board. Arudpiragasam, who fixed the election dates to suit the UNP last April, may be able to fix some matters in the Cement Factory, but he too will be wise if he withdraws his application for the post as Secretary. *If there is one thing which must not happen to the Factory it is that it must not become a Home for the Aged (Retired) Civil Servants.*

What next at Cement Factory, if this Board resigns or is thrown out? Tribune has always doubted the usefulness of "Corporations" (as envisaged in our Corporation Act) to run State Undertakings, and what is happening today at the Cement Works and the other State Factories (these will be examined in future articles) makes it abundantly clear that this UNP devise of Cor-

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MOUNTBATTEN

What is even more unfortunate is that Sri Menon chose this of all occasions to praise Britain, causing the British delegate Sir Pierson Dixon, to express his thanks for the "generous remarks" made by the representatives of Pakistan and India about the role played by the British Government and many Britons in the period of travail that gave birth to India and Pakistan.

Sri Krishna Menon has not been alone, of course, in his encomiums. Only the other day in his presidential address at Indore, Sri Dhebar declared: 'Fortunately for the world the United States of America and other UNO countries stood firm and the world was saved from a catastrophe.' In his misguided enthusiasm for the Western Powers, he even remarked that Nehru's "recent discussion with the leaders of the Western countries, especially with the great leader of the United States of America, prompt hopes that the world will witness in the coming months and years greater efforts to harness the forces of peace all over the world."

Past Nine Years

And it is well-known how Sri Nehru himself boosted the United States during and after his visit to that country. He said in New York on December 20, that it was a "gross exaggeration" for anyone to declare that great and vital differences existed between the USA and India. He lauded the "moral leadership of the USA in West Asia." Now that he is "deeply pained" at the resolution of the Security Council, one wonders what Sri Nehru and the leaders of the Congress Party would have to say.

Let us now have a fleeting glance at the past nine years.

The invasion of Kashmir in October 1947 by the so-called Azad Kashmir forces was organised and led by the British military officers. Sir George Cunningham, then Governor of the Frontier Province and Sir Francis Mudy, Governor of Western Punjab, took a leading part in recruiting the tribesmen. British military officers trained the latter in the use of modern weapons. Lord Mountbatten who was then

the Governor-General of India told the Indian Cabinet that "it would be a height of folly to send troops to a neutral State....." (From *Mission with Mountbatten* by Allen Campbell-Johnson, Lord Mountbatten's Press-Attache). However, Mountbatten did not succeed in dissuading the Indian Government and Indian troops arrived in Srinagar on October 27. But he appeared in the role of inter-Dominions peace-maker and managed to get the Indian Army not to advance beyond the Uri line. If the offensive was extended beyond the Uri line as originally contemplated and proposed by the Army Command, military operations would have perhaps taken an infinitely more favourable course. Here the Government bowed to the advice of Mountbatten.

It was Mountbatten again who proposed a "plebiscite under the United Nations Organisation auspices" (*Mission with Mountbatten*.) Even when Srinagar remained threatened, Prime Minister Nehru accepted Mountbatten's advice and declared in a broadcast on November 2, 1947: "We are prepared when peace and law and order been

This is the second and concluding part of an article by the leading Indian Communist, Bupesh Gupta. It provides the background to US - UK intrigues about Kashmir.

established to have a referendum held under international auspices like the United Nations. I can imagine no fairer and juster offer."

So, within a few days of the invasion and even before clearing the vicinity of Srinagar of the invaders, a serious commitment was made which was to prove highly advantageous to the imperialists and threw the floodgates open for their intrigues. Mountbatten clearly aimed at achieving through the U.N. intervention what seemed difficult of realisation through the tribal invasion which his friends on the other side had organised.

Mountbatten's Advice

Let it be remembered that it was on Lord Mountbatten's advice that Sri Nehru's Government referred the Kashmir issue to the Security Council on December 31, 1947.

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Kashmir

continued from page 643

That is how the UNO came into the Kashmir picture. We have already paid heavily for that ill-starred decision and there is no knowing what more we will have still to pay to clear up the mess which the Government of India's position has created.

The very first session of the Security Council in January-February 1948, showed up the mailed fist of imperialism. The debates left no room for doubt that Britain and the United States were interested not in helping the solution of the problem but in establishing their own administration in Kashmir on the pretext of supervising a so-called "impartial plebiscite."

India was treated so shabbily in the Security Council that the leader of the Indian delegation the late Sri Gopaldaswamy Iyengar, complained on the floor of the Council itself that "my country has not been treated with the dignity to which it is entitled."

Soon, even Sri Nehru was heard to grumble that the "nations of the world sitting in the Security Council got lost in power politics." It was not all the Powers in the Security Council which thus behaved, for the Soviet Union was stubbornly defending India's position. It was Britain and the USA which were insulting India and unfolding their four tricks.

Sri Nehru might have easily named them, but he did not. That was because he and his Government relied on the Anglo-U.S. bloc particularly Britain, the Commonwealth partner. Indeed, the early years of India's participation in the Security Council had been all through marked by such unworthy reliance on imperialism's good sense. That highly compromised India's case and offered advantages and opportunities to the imperialist Powers.

We must remember this when it is now commonly admitted that India's handling of the Kashmir issue in the U.N. was not efficient. There was no dearth of forensic ability at the time. We lacked a firm, forthright and consistent policy.

The United Nations Commission on India and Pakistan (UNCIP) was so constituted as to make it an agency of American imperialism.

The Indian delegation agreed to that composition, and it was left to the Soviet delegate to expose the real character of the Commission. This was immediately followed by the decision to hold a plebiscite under international control, i.e., under Anglo-American domination.

The Jammu and Kashmir National Conference came out in a just and powerful opposition to this decision and called upon the Kashmir Government "to warn the entire people and to take immediate steps to mobilise the entire nation" against any interference. It was a heroic stand worthy of a fighting people but the Government of India advised the Kashmiri leadership against any opposition.

When the Security Council announced the visit of a Commission to our sub-continent to push its nefarious ends, the Government of India rushed to welcome it and Sri Nehru hurriedly sent a telegram to the Commission saying, "My Government note that the Commission is coming to the Indian sub-continent with the most sincere desire to be of real service to them as well as to the Pakistan Government for the settlement of the situation in Kashmir" (June 26, 1948).

The leaders of the Kashmir National Conference and indeed all democratic forces there, expressed their strong resentment against the arrival of the Commission. But here again, they were pulled up by the Indian Government. "Sheikh Abdullah's supporters," gleefully wrote the *London Times* of July 11, 1948, "were sternly told to abstain from hostile demonstrations."

U. N. Commission On The Scene

The is how the Commission entered the scene to start its operation on our own soil against the people of India and Pakistan. It is well-known how in the wake of the Commission imperialist military observers, began to stream in mostly from the USA. The Government of India saw nothing wrong in all this infiltration.

Moreover it waived the jurisdiction of the Kashmir Government over the highly strategic Gilgit area and thus virtually made a present of that to the USA and Britain. Many in Kashmir regarded it was a breach of faith with the Kashmiri people, apart from being highly dangerous.

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KASHMIR . . .

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With the cease-fire on January 1, 1949, the imperialist conspiracy entered a new phase. The U.N. Plebiscite Administration had already been made a vital part of the cease-fire proposals. On March 22, Admiral Chester Nimitz of the U.S. Armed Forces was appointed as the Plebiscite Administrator of Kashmir.

A few months later, all of a sudden, a proposal for arbitration over the Kashmir issue was made by the U.S. member of the Commission and Nimitz was appointed arbitrator. Nimitz drew up an arbitration memorandum, copies of which were secretly and without authority supplied to President Truman and Premier Attlee. On the basis of that information, these two heads of the U.S. and British Governments unashamedly poked their nose into the Kashmir affair and addressed letters to Pandit Nehru and Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan, urging unreserved acceptance of the arbitration.

Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed described the Truman-Attlee letters as a "serious intervention in the Kashmir dispute". The Government of India did not fortunately submit to this "public interventionary pressure".

Even after the imperialists had thus shown their hands, the Government of India allowed them to carry on their pursuits.

The UNCIP was dissolved in 1950 but when its report came to be debated before the Security Council, the Indian representatives,

though already in possession of piles of materials about imperialist intrigues over Kashmir, did not expose the Anglo-American game. The Czechoslovak representative had submitted a dissenting report as a member of the Commission exposing some of the Anglo-American manoeuvres. He pinpointed external interference and observed that the failure of the Commission was due to its own activities.

The Indian representative completely ignored this report and did not even make a passing reference to it, let alone use it. Here again, the Government of India lost a great opportunity to assert its case and expose the Anglo-American doings. But then those were the palmy days of befriending the imperialists!

Dixon's Monstrous Plan

The Commission was substituted by a one-man representative and this was done with the manifest object of eliminating representatives of Socialist countries like Czechoslovakia. The Australian jurist, Mr. Dixon, was appointed as the U.N. representative. The Government of India submitted to this trickery.

Dixon came out with his monstrous plan for partition, limited plebiscite by areas and U.N. control of the Kashmir Valley. Instead of showing the door to him, the Government of India offered Dixon cooperation and informed him that "they would be prepared to discuss a settlement of the Kashmir dispute on the basis of certain principles".

It is well-known that many of the proposals of Dixon, including the limited plebiscite and partition of Kashmir were acceptable to the Government of India, although the Kashmir National Conference came out with full-throated condemnation of the whole Dixon plan. Incidentally, it was after the Dixon plan that the decision to convene the Constituent Assembly was taken.

Full-Blooded American

Dixon was succeeded by a new U.N. representative — this time, a full-blooded American — Dr. Frank Graham. He was welcomed to India with open arms by the Government of India, although the Soviet delegate to the Security Council had objected to the appointment of an American imperialist to that position.

With the advent of Graham, espionage work in Kashmir was intensified. He wanted to raise the U.N. military observers to 800 officers and 600 men to be equipped with necessary jeeps, helicopters and communication equipment. Graham openly advocated the introduction of foreign troops into Kashmir.

The Government of India virtually kept mum over Graham's misdeeds and it was left to the Soviet delegate, M. Malik to expose the Graham Report in the Security Council in January 1952. Referring to the Graham plan, he said:

"These plans stand for United States and British interference in the internal affairs of Kashmir, for prolonging the dispute between India and Pakistan on the Kashmir question, for converting Kashmir into a trust territory of the United States and Great Britain on the pretext of rendering help through the United Nations". The Indian representative missed this vital aspect of the Graham report, and argued legalistically on mere technical points.

The Dulles Visit

Then came the U.S. Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles to India in 1953. He too had a plan up his sleeve and that was for partitioning Jammu and Kashmir, with the Kashmir Valley being made into an independent State. The Government of India gave him also quarter and entered into discussion.

Following Dulles' visit, the *New York Times* of July 5, 1953, published a map of Kashmir showing the new plan for partition and for an independent Kashmir valley. The U.S. agents had already contacted Sheikh Abdullah and won him over to their plan. The Government of India allowed Buchman and his MRA gang all facilities to move about in India and even park themselves in Kashmir. They abused the hospitality by carrying out American assignments about Kashmir.

The Kashmir issue used to be discussed by the Commonwealth Prime Ministers and it is now revealed by Sri Krishna Menon that Prime Minister Nehru once landed in the bedroom of the Australian Prime Minister — Mr. Menzies — in his London hotel to discuss it. Such is how the interloping by the imperialists and their agents was permitted and encouraged.

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It was only after the U.S.-Pak Pact of 1954 was known that the Government of India began to publicly recognise that the imperialist Powers, particularly the USA, were not all so impartial. Even then Sri Nehru would have us believe that the U.S. does not intend that American arms would be used against India. Speaking at a public meeting in Delhi, as late as April 13, 1956, Sri Nehru said:

"I agree that it is not the intention of the U.S. that U.S. military aid to Pakistan should be used against India". Incidentally, it was only after the U.S.-Pak Pact that the long-standing Communist de-

mand for expulsion of the U.N. Observers from Kashmir was partially conceded, the American observers being asked to quit.

Lessons that Have to be Drawn

In reply to the debate on a resolution regarding Kashmir, Prime Minister Nehru said in the Lok Sabha on August 7, 1952. "It has been an amazing education for many of us these five years over this Kashmir question — education if I may say so, in world politics; education in how great countries get distorted visions and cannot see straight in the simplest matter when it so suits them. ..."

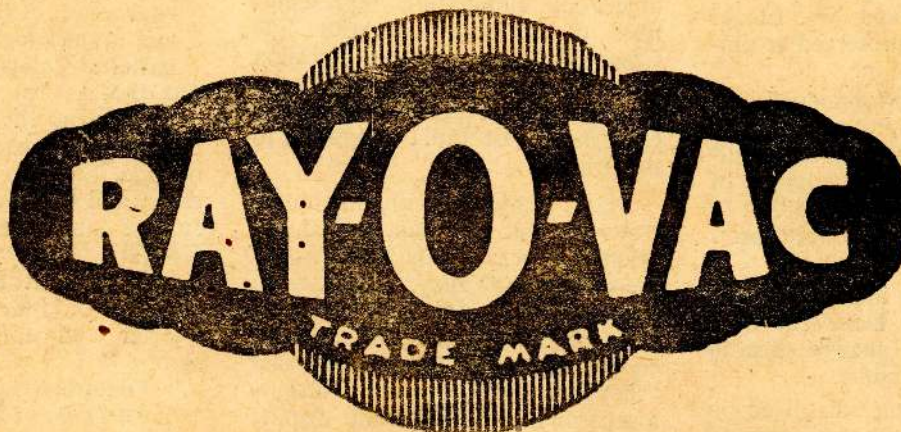
We ask today: Have all the lessons been correctly drawn? However, in order precisely to draw the lessons and not for any acrimony

we have referred above to some of the policies and actions of the Government in regard to Kashmir.

The moral of all that we have experienced is that India can never settle amicably the outstanding problem over Kashmir with Pakistan without vigorously fighting the Anglo-American manoeuvres, in whatever form they are made. On the basis of this common fight, every effort has got to be made to develop and strengthen the friendly relations between the peoples of Pakistan and India. This is of decisive importance today.

This is what the Communist Party has been advocating ever since the Kashmir problem arose and the Communist standpoint has been fully corroborated by experience and history.

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International UNILEVERS will spread its octopus clutches over a large number of other consumer products industries in this country and that other Ceylonese manufacturers will meet the same fate as those who had spent money and energy in the soap industry. What is more is that if UNILEVERS is not curbed, other international combines are likely to descend on Ceylon in the same manner as LEVER BROS (Ceylon) Ltd., and crush all local enterprise. Already instances can be quoted of such activity. The fate of a local shoe manufacturing firm which was swallowed up by BATAS (which was allowed to come in after the local factory was set up) is too well known for repetition.

We would, therefore, request Government, besides taking immediate steps to extend protection to local soap manufacturers, to outline a concrete policy in regard to international combines with local factories competing with Ceylonese enterprises. It would be easy enough to prevent new combines into coming in Ceylon, but unless something is done about those already

in our midst, industries like soap and shoes will definitely be overwhelmingly controlled by foreign interests.

We trust, Sir, that you will consider what we have submitted with due care and attention, and we shall be grateful if you will be pleased to receive a deputation from us to urge our cause in person.

BLUNDERING

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ment. The Advisory Committee knowing how the whole system works. Therefore the nature of a Placement Service is such as to warrant the Advisory Committee should be appraised of the number of placements and should have full access to information regarding such placements.

11. We urge that this scheme should be started as quickly as possible with whatever cumulative records or other information is available in the schools at present. The problem of finding employment for school-leavers in this area is so urgent that we recommend that the Government should immediately provide adequate funds and personnel to start the scheme.

Cement Board

continued from page 642

poration Rule is a failure. A high-powered managerial secretariat consisting of technical officers of the Department can easily manage the affairs of the Cement Factory during an interregnum. But, Government must immediately make up its mind as to how it proposes to run its already nationalised state undertakings. If this Government is unable or unwilling to formulate proper management control it should hand over the cement works at least to a private business concern to run the factory on strictly capitalistic lines — at least this will ensure efficiency, increasing production, and the conservation of a national asset.

Tribune will publish a series of articles in coming weeks about what should be done with Corporations. In the meantime it looks forward to the resignation of the Board of Directors of the Kankesan Cement Corporation. A little reflection will convince the Chairman and Directors that they have neither the time, nor the inclination, nor the necessary managerial qualities to function efficiently.

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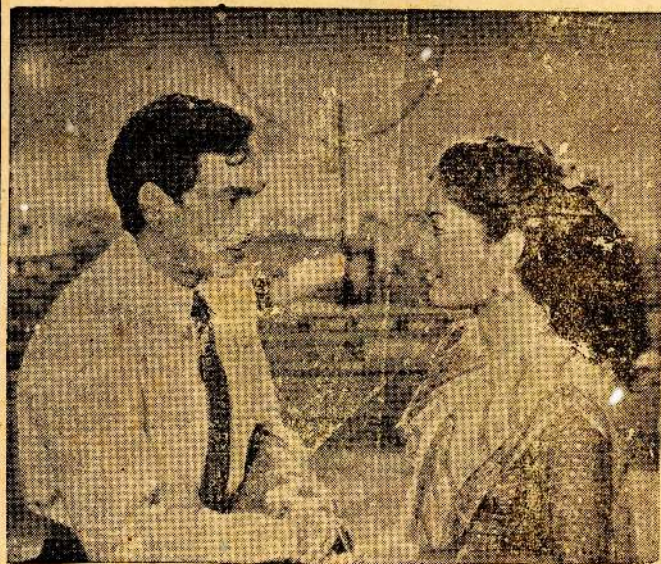
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