# TRIBUNE

CEYLON NEWS REVIEW

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## PASSPORT CURBS UNJUST

### - CIVIL LIBERTIES ENDANGERED

The difficulties that were placed in the way of two citizens of Ceylon in the matter of getting their passports to go abroad is something which cannot be so easily glossed over. Dr. Colvin R. de Silva and Mr. P. Bala Thampoe were issued their passports only after a great deal of trouble and on the most humiliating conditions. Dr. de Silva's passport is valid for a limited period and he is debarred from visiting any country other than those for which he has obtained visas in Colombo.

Mr. P. Bala Thampoe had to sign an undertaking that "he would not embarrass the govern. ment of Ceylon abroad or visit any communist country." It must be remembered that both these persons are citizens of Ceylon by descent and are advocates of the Supreme Court of the Island. It is true that their politics is different from that of the Prime Minister, but in a democratic country like Ceylon is said to be inherent in the system itself.

The decision of the Prime Minister to withold issue of passports to persons "likely to cause embarrassment to the Government or likely to misuse their pass-

ports by going to countries for which their passports are not valid" is a denial of an elementary human right and democratic freedom. A Government which feels that any criticism about its policies is a "cause of embarrassment" has no right to call itself democratic.



withholds passports

To say that a passport has been "misused" because its holder has gone to a country which was not mentioned at the time of issue is ignorance of international practice which entitles a person to obtain an endorsement from a competent authority in any country he may find himself in to go wherever Digitized by Noolaham Foundation.

he is permitted to go. For instance a Ceylon passport holder may obtain an endorsement in Paris from the British Consular Office (which is the competent authority looking after Ceylonese affairs) to go to Mexico, though Mexico was not a country which was endorsed on the passport when it was issued in Colombo.

The deny a person the normal rights of any passport holder is to enforce humiliating and undemocratic conditions on the liberties of an individual.

This decision of the Prime Minister to withhold passports to persons he does not like or whose politics he disapproves is an undoubted threat to our civil liberties. Unless the Government reverses its policy on this matter, this country will soon find itself enveloped by fascism in the manner and technique of Joe McCarthy.

Furthermore, the objection the Prime Minister has to persons going to communist countries goes contrary to the spirit and essence of our foreign policy is said to be neutrality and non-involvement in either power bloc. If persons are to be stopped from going to the countries belonging to one bloc, similar prohibition must be enforced in regard to the other bloc. To allow persons to go to Washington and to refuse them the right to go to any country Washington objects to is illogical and unfair.

# TWO NEW DAILIES

The two daily papers, the Guardian in English and Jatiya in Sinhalese came out on June 1st from the Swadesdi Newspapers Ltd., making journalistic history.

This is the first time in Ceylon that two papers in two different languages were born simultaneously. And that too without a Rotary Press or line machines and all the paraphernalia associated with a modern newspaper.

The two papers are good to look at and prove good reading, even though there isn't much news in them. But it's too early to judge.

In display and make-up they have very little to learn from old rivals. If anything, there is much in these two newspapers that others might imitate. I need not stress this point as Lake House needs no tutor when it comes to copying.

The Jatiya is miles ahead of Janata in its make-up, display and general presentation. The Guardian, being the first English tabloid, it is difficult to assess it. But both papers deserve congratulations.

### Life and Kick

Now that Lake House has another strong contender shall I call the new organisation without offence "Bake House"?

Anyway, there is a good deal of life and kick in both the papers. Mr. Gilbert Perera, who is the head of the organisation, should be proud of what he has achieved.

The two papers have a staff as good as any other. Mr. Lionel Fernando formerly of the Times, Mr. Cyrus W. Surendra, Mr. Dennis Fernando, Mr. Vincent de Silva and a number of other able men.

As far as I am concerned, the more daily papers the better, for journalists, the country and the people.



The Lankadipa welcomed the two new contemporaries according to the best journalistic traditions. Others took no notice.

#### Brief Skirmish

I find there has been a brief uneventful skirmish between the Lankacipa and the Dinamina over the likelihood of increasing the rice ration. It would appear that in February this year the Dinamina gave hope that soon either the ration would be increased or the price reduced or that both might be done simultaneously. The Lankacipa contradicted the story but the Dinamina insisted that they were right and asked the public to the judge by results.

After waiting four months for results which never came, the Dinamina last week published a statement from the Food Minister that there will be no change in the ration or the price! Promptly the Lankadipa reminded readers of what the Dinamina had said earlier and how the Lankadipa had contradicted the news! But the Dinamina though vanquished, is arguing still. All that I know is that we have had no additional ration. And the best proof of the crice) pudding is in the eating!

#### Hulugalle and Party

My reference to the retirement of the former Information Officer last week seems to have hurt Sardonyx of the Daily News who points out that the appointment of Mr. Hulugalle as Envoy to Rome was displayed in all the papers. That was just the point. His retirement was ignored. His new appointment was played up, after my paragraph appeared!

I notice from "Tatler's Diary" that Mr. Hulugalle has been given

a party by his friends and old colleagues. That certainly was a fine gesture in a country so full of pettiness and jealousy. From what I have heard, I gather Lake House was mostly represented by the managerial side of the business not the Editorial!

### On the Shelf

There are a large number of journalists put on the shelf atpresent at Lake House.

No. 1. in this species is Mr. H. D. Jansz, formerly Editor of the Observer. Next comes Mr. Jayanta Padmanabha, formerly Editor of the Daily News. The third is Mr. H. S. Liyanage formerly Editor of the Silumina. The fourth is Mr. Austin de Silva for formerly Chief sub editor of the Daily News.

There are two kinds of journalists at Lake House to all appearances. There are the practising journalists. There are also now preaching journalists. After the birth of Jana, a wise-cracker told me the other day that there has been born a new race of Jana a lists as opposed to journalists!

#### New Acting Editor

Mr. Tori de Souza, Editor of the Times has left for the United States of America on some kind of Rockfellow Foundation Scholarship. I am surprised. I was-under the impression the Times organisation could not be bribed by the American Embassy. Although Lake House has been bribed many times-Messrs. Javantha Padmanabha, Denzil Peiris, and Aubrey Conette,-this is the first time a Times man has accepted such a bribe. Coming immediately after the Times antagonism for American aid this move seems rather ominous.

Mr. F. Gunawardena is perhaps the luckiest man in Ceylon journalism. A Reporter a few years ago, he worked as News

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# EINSTEIN ON FREEDOM &

On March 13, in Princeton, New Jersey, U.S.A. some 200 hundred educationists, ministers, writers, and scientists gathered in a conference to honour Albert Einstein's 75th birthday. The famed scientist himself did not attend the conference but he submitted his written answers to five questions relating to academic freedom and political inquisitions.

In them he reiterated his advice to intellectuals "to refuse to co.operate in any undertaking that violates the constitutional rights of the individual" and suggested a fund to provide legal counsel and other assistance to those who risk their livelihood in defying witch-hunting investigations.

Dr. Corliss Lamont warned the conference: "We must disagree drastically and forever with those who would limit civil liberties only to those who agree with them. Civil liberties are Indivisible."

Dr. Einstein declined a proposal that a delegation bring flowers to him and was quoted as saying;" You may bring flowers to my door when the last witch-hunter is silenced, but not before."

Following are his answers to the five questions:

WHAT IS THE ESSENTIAL NATURE OF ACADEMIC FREEDOM AND WHY IS IT NECESSARY FOR THE PURSUIT OF TRUTH?

"By academic freedom I understand the right to search for truth and to publish and teach what one holds to be true. This right also implies a duty: one must not conceal any part of what one has recognised to be true. It is evident that any restriction of academic freedom acts in such a way as to hamper the dissemination of knowledge among the people and thereby impedes rational judgement and action."

2. WHAT THREATS TO A CADEMIC FREEDOM DO YOU SEE AT THIS TIME?

"The threat to academic freedom in our time must be seen
in the fact that, because of the
alleged external danger to our
country, freedom of teaching,
mutual exchange of opinions, and
freedom of press and other media
of communication are encroached
upon or obstructed. This is done
by creating a situation in which
people feel their economic positions endangered. Consequently

# WITCH-HUNTING

more and more people a void expressing their opinion freely, even in their private social life. This is a state of affairs which a democratic government cannot survive in the long run."

3. What in your view are the particular responsibilities of a citizen at this time in the defense of our traditional freedoms as expressed in our Bill of Rights?

"The strength of the Constitution lies entirely in the determination of each citizen to defend it. Only if every single citizen feels duty bound to do his share in this defense are the constitutional rights secure. Thus, a duty is imposed on everyone which no one must evade, notwichstanding the risks and dangers for him and his family."

4. What in your opinion are the special obligations of an intellectual in a democratic society?

"In principle, everybody is equally involved in defending the constitutional rights. The intellectuals in the widest sense of the word are, however, in a special position since they have, thanks to their special training, a particularly strong influence on the formation of public opinion. This is the reason why those who are about to lead us toward an authoritarian government are particularly concerned intimidating and muzzling that group. It is, therefore, in the

present situation especially important for the intellectuals to do their duty. I see this duty in refusing to co-operate in any undertaking that violates the constitutional rights of the individual. This holds in particular for all inquisitions that are concerned with the private life and the political affiliations of the citizens. Whoever co-operates in such a case becomes an accessory to acts of violation or invalidation of the Constitution."

5. What in your opinion is the BEST WAY TO HELP THE VICTIMS OF POLITICAL INQUISITIONS?

"It is important for the defence of civil liberties that assistance be given to the victims of this defense who in the above-mentioned inquisitions have refused to testify, and beyond that to all those who through these inquisitions have suffered material loss in any way. In particular, it will be necessary to provide legal counsel and to find work for them.

"This requires money, the collection and use of which should be put into the hands of a small organisation under the supervision of persons known to be trustworthy. This organisation should be in contact with all groups concerned with the preservation of civil rights. In this way it should be possible to solve this important problem without setting up another expensive fund-raising machinery."



By Courtesy: Shankar's Weekly.



### DXTBND

### SERVICE

The amazing degree to which Banks in the developed industrial countries have competed to attract even the smallest deposit customer shows the extent to which mature bankers price quantity. rather than quality in the matter of current accounts. A very large number of small deposits provide the soundest, steadiest and broadest basis on which to grant accomodation to their borrowing clients. Quality is the watchword for overdrafts and loans, but quantity for deposits.

### Deposits

But active competition for depo-'sits is a weakening feature in a . bank's development only when there are no more potential deposits remaining outside the whole banking system.

In Ceylon that stage is not yet on the remotest banking horizon.

And at the present stage in Ceylon, the stage when banking habits are just creeping beyond a strictly upper middle class clientele, there is not, and cannot be, any competition among banks for quantity in deposits. On the contrary, the more the banks actively seek the deposits, the more rapidly will the deposits come in. This rapidity will yield benefit not only to each of and all the banks participating in the drive for deposits, but also to the entire borrowing community of entrepreneurs,

It is said that in the expansion towards a national banking deposit service every extension of banking facilities breeds the demand for more to the people.

### Cheques Facilitate

Thus the retail trader who finds that some of his customers would like to pay by cheque, and that some of his wholesale suppliers prefer to receive payment by cheque will himself find a banking account increasingly desirable. And he in turn will eventually persuade his other customers and his other wholesalers to deal by cheque.

Again the landlord who receives one or two monthly rent cheques and who finds that rates and taxes are also payable by cheque will appreciate the advantages of deposit banking. After opening his account at the nearest bank he will prefer his other tenants to pay their rent in cheque form. And if most of his tenants are clerks, they too will wish to receive their salaries by cheque or bank transfer to enable them to deposit their income in the bank and settle their debts by

- by RUPEE

Thus in a heavily populated area the opening of a new bank will make that area a happy breeding ground for a second or even a third bank. It will also spread the desire for banking service to its hinterland and to the next marketing centre along the road.

#### Extension

cheque,

When banking facilities were first introduced to Kalutara, these very facilities increased the demand and necessity for banking service in Mathugama. By way of reaction the opening of a branch bank there would give a further fillip to the banking habit in Kalutara. And from the point of view of the Kalutara Bank it would make no difference which bank it was who extended banking to Mathugama. And if either of these banks were to go a little further and open up shop in Aluthgama, both would again benefit by the reaction while the new branch took in the benefit of the pioneering by the others.

The well known principle of adolescent banking development enunciated above can thus be further elucidated as follows. Every extension in banking facilities provided by any one bank will breed the demand for service and the availability of deposits for all the other banks.

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# THE HISTORICAL

### BACKGROUND

The 'Indian' question is undoubtedly one of the most pressing problems in Ceylon today. It is a political question with a great deal of economic significance. To enable our readers to have an objective picture of the problem, we propose to publish the views and opinions of persons and parties who matter. As widely divergent views are being held on this subject at the moment, the first step is for everybody to know what others think.

''Tribune'' starts this open forum on the ''Indian'' question with the statement made by the Premier, Sir John Kotelawala, in the House of Representatives on March 1st 1954.

Articles and comment from our readers on this problem are welcome.

- Editor

The proposals agreed to between The Prime Minister of India and the Prime Minister of Ceylon at the discussions they had recently at Delhi regarding a settlement of certain outstanding matters between the two Governments are now tabled before Parliament. These proposals were accepted by the Cabinet at, a meeting held on January 28th, 1954. It might be added that the discussion that took place between the two Prime Ministers was conducted in an atmosphere of the utmost friendliness and goodwill.

### History

It might not be without pertinence to this occasion if the history of the Indian question were set out, though briefly, from the beginning. The Indian question may be said to have started for Ceylon with the opening of plantations or estates in the territory of the former Kandyan Kingdom by British capital in in the third decade of the last century. The local population, which was Sinhalese by race and

language and Buddhist by religion, occupied and owned the paddy lands in the valleys of this territory while it used the hills, which were covered with jungle or patna, for the pasturing of cattle, the gathering of firewood and timber and the cutivation of chenas. The British treated these unoccupied hills as Crown lands and disposed of them at nominal rates to capitalists who were prepared to cultivate coffee (and, after the failure of coffee, tea and rubber).

### Indian Labour

Labour was imported from South India and housed on the estates. It was imported by foreign capitalists, with the assistance of the foreign Government then in power. It was accorded special privileges, some of them by statute, and labourers were given facilities of travelling up and down between Ceylon and their homes in India. In course of time the Sinhalese population in the Kandyan villages multiplied without having room for expansion, for it was penned into its narrow valleys

by the estates. Thus one finds today in the valleys, cultivating their ancestral lands, the Kandyans, who observe their ancient traditions. while on the hillsides between those valleys is a migrant population of South Indian wageearners, who observe the social traditions of South India. These two sections of the population do not mix, for they are differrent in religion, language, social tradition and occupation. In most countries a migrant population can be absorbed into the indigenous population in one generation. In Ceylon it is still Indian" after three generations.

### Migrant

The term "migrant" is, however, used in three senses. In the first place the population has been imported within the last 100 years. In the second place, a large part of that population is still domiciled in South India. Many of the families in Ceylon maintain contact with their relatives in India and visit their ancestral villages every year. Even families which have been long resident in Ceylon maintain contact with India so that, for instance, the young men marry wives from within the appropriate social groups in India. In the third place, population is migrant in that it is not attached to the soil but moves about from estate to estate as employment offers. For this reason, even his identification is often a matter of considerable difficulty. Within the same province, the same district and even the same village area, there are thus two distinct communities, unable to speak each other's language, having no social or economic relations with each other, and having in fact nothing in common save geographical propinquity. This is the picture so far as the Indian population resident the estates is concerned. This population constitutes by far the largest proportion of the Indian population in

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## DESAI,

## Sir John & Ceylon's PRO.

Though many politically intitiated Ceylon Indians in their present agonised mood might have been harbouring a feeling of being immaturedly treated by India's envoy in Ceylon, C. C. Desai, and though many in Cevlon might consider him as trying to soft-pedal Sir John Kotelawala, but knowing as I do the sincerity of Desai, my feeling is that he has all along been honestly trying to have the completest faith in his Cambridge friend, and if that friendship is now slackened the fault is not so much his as it is that of Sir John, whom. many political observers in New Delhi now consider to be a man who is - likely to be influenced by shallow local considerations.

### Not Discreet

Envoy Desai's faith in Premier Sir John was unhappily misplaced, but it was not quite incorrect; for a diplomat, as the famous columnist Walter Lippman once said, cannot afford to start his premises by misbelieving the other's bonafides. It is, this astute American foreign expert feels, a view with which many are likely to agree, better to lose being correctly diplomatic than being abruptly undiplomatic.

To have relied too much upon slippery Sir John was not perhaps discreet for Desai, but then observers here feel nothing has been lost by taking the "first step" in enacting the Delhi Pact for nothing has been conceded there. if Ceylon has nothing to offer in return. A Pact is after all a two-way traffic and when it is broken, as it has undoubtedly been, it is easier to pinpoint diplomatic actions, which if necessary, must here be peaceful but none the less, as everybody in New Delhi confirm, iron-firm and straight from the shoulder.

#### Action Needed

A wise professor once said that if a tornado approached his home he would not pass resolutions regretting it, but would close the shutters, baten everything down, and get under cover until it blew past. A feeling is growing now deep in India that the Ceylon Democratic Congress could take an appropriate cue from the said professor's axiom. Resolutions they have had but only too many. It is now apparent from their present bearing that their period of political adolescence is over and that it was time to sit up and be active.

Though Sir John has long been known in Ceylon for "acting without ever bothering to think," India has had of late too many bumpings from the Ceylon Premier which supports the epithet. Sir John has the irritating knack of dropping political bricks at the least suspected of places. His government's latest brainwave to decitizenise "registered citizens who are found guilty of anti-state activities" smacks not only of "McCarthyism" as is put by A. Aziz, the former President of the Ceylon Democratic Congress, but it shows too clearly a sinister link-up.

Sir John is being suspected here of relying unduly on support from Governments which are notoriously unfriendly to India. The Ceylon Premier may feel flattered with these distant government's constant wooings, but surely Sir John and his supporters in the Government cannot be blind to facts which bind the small brave island of Ceylon to the sprawling big neighbour which has had centuries of unbroken ties of friendship.

STREET, STREET

May 29, 1954

### Ceylon House

At the risk of giving a handle to interested parties in Ceylon, I would share with my readers the scandals that are now prevalent in the office of the Ceylon High Commissioner in New Delhi.

The internal trouble in the High Commission begins with, I am told, the Public Relations Officer, one Yogendra Doraiswamy. His dislike for the first Secretary of his Mission is so acute that, unwilling to work under him during the High Commissioner's recent absence from India, he left for Madras and never turned up to show his face till the return of the envoy. Though it is a fact that Doraiswamy has the least knowledge of what public relations is, his pompous attitude with friendly journalists in the Capital makes him a laughing stock and so journalists with whom he is supposed to be keeping good relations have ceased calling on him.

The scandal about this PRO is that he has started a Ceylonese organization in New Delhi in which not all Ceylonese have a place. Though to put up only a show to Sir John during his visit here this organization was formed, many Ceylonese here are justifiably piqued at the high-handed way in which the PRO tried to manoeuvre his way through.

I am told by an unimpeachable source that the PRO let out his official residence for an inflated consideration to the First Secretary of the Royal Thai Embassy, one Iswarbakti, and continued drawing his housing allowance while he managed to stay at the High Commissioner's own residence.

Shibdas Banerii

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# PAKISTAN DECLARES WAR



ON DEMOCRACY

Pakistan has stolen the headlines again in so far as South East Asia is concerned. Whilst the Geneva talks on Asia a re proceeding satisfactorily, Pakistan about ten days ago signed its Aid and Arms Pact with U.S.; and at the time of writing has distinguished itself by sacking a popularly elected Government in East Pakistan simply because it did not see eye to eye with the Central Cabinet consisting of men who have never faced a popular poll in recent times.

### U. S. Prompting

It does not need any special political knowledge to know that there is an intimate connection between the Pact with the U.S. and the action taken against the East Pakistan Government. For one thing, the Central Cabinet without a ny popular support would never have dared to take the action it has but for active encouragement from bloodhounds from Washington.

Everything is being done in the best McCarthyian style. Ali seeks to justify his undemocratic and highly deplorable actions by raising the red herring of communism from the muddy stream of

h is bankrupt politics. The riots in East Bengal which have led to the loss of many lives, which independent observers believe were started by agents provocateurs of the U.S.—Ali caucus, the Pakistan Premier attributes to "communists".

### Goering

Frank Moraes, Editor ef the Times of India was in Karachi when the U.S. Aid Pact was signed. This is how he opened his first article:

"WHEN the late Marshal Goering took unto himself Frau Emmy Sonneman as his wife their nuptials were signalised by the execution of two Communists, Epstein and Ziegler. Many Nazis saw in this a symbolic blood sacrifice to propitiate the god of fertility.

"On the day before the signing of the Pak-U.S. military aid pact, Section 144 prohibiting the assembly of more than five persons and the taking out of processions was promulgated in Karachi city. Almost simultaneously six communist leaders were arrested under

the Security of Pakistan Act and are likely to be detained for a year. Many Pakistanis saw in this a propitious prologue to the pact with America. But others were heard to describe it as the first burnt offerings of Karachi to Washington. Propitiation takes many forms.'

In this context, the Daccariots seem to be a repetition of the famous Reichstag Fire which Grering staged as a prelude to enable the Nazis to take over dictatorial power.

### Imperium in Imperio

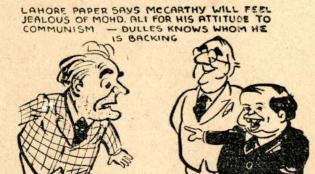
Mr. Moraes in his two articles analyses the U.S. aid Pact and declares: "This document is draped with more strings than a grocer's parcel of merchandise."

He goes on to state:

"If as article 4 of the pact provides, the entire U. S. personnel working the agree ment (including even temporarily assigned personnel) are to operate not under the direction and control of the Pakistan Government but under the direction and control of the American Ambassador in Karachi, then the centre of political gravity must sooner or later shift from the Governor General and Prime Minister to the American Ambassador. Alongside Karachi Washington will exercise in Pakistan an imperium in imperio.

"The conclusion is fortified by a further proviso under the same article. This extends diplomatic immunity and privileges to the entire U.S. personnel, including the se temporarily assigned. In effect this means the resur-

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By Courtesy: Shankar's Weekly.

# THE



# GUARDIAN

### The appearance this week

of two new dailies, the Guardian and the Jatiya, is one of the most refreshing events in this country for a long while. Particularly at this time when every prospect seems so bleak, barren and depressing, independent journals can do a great deal to persuade the public and the powers that be to follow more enlightened policies which are likely to produce fruitful results.

"We have no vested interest in concealing or distorting facts and opinions," says the Guardian in its first editorial. If this paper will live up to this ideal, it will go a long way towards bringing sanity and balance into the muddled and confused state of politics in this Island to day.

### Central Bank

The Ceylon Observer did well to bring up the question about the Central Bank and its reported desire to concentrate all Government deposits in its own vaults, thus depriving the Bank of Ceylon of funds for its manifold activities.

There is no doubt that the Central Bank should be the hub of the economic and financial activity in this Island, but it is necessary to make clear to those in charge of the destinies of the Central Bank that they should not follow policies which are blatantly detrimental to the national interests. We do not as yet know the reasons why the Central Bank is seeking to weaken the Bank Ceylon, but we cannot think of any reason good enough for doing this. It is to be hoped that the Observer will persist in its support for the Bank of Ceylon and continue its campaign to restrain the Central Bank from initiating anti-national policies. Too often have the public witnessed the spectacle of Lake House papers suddenly dropping a good cause, with the result that the man in the street looks upon anything advocated by Lake House with doubt and scepticism.

#### Rail Fares

All the daily papers announced in great big headlines that the Government had decided to cut rail fares from July. But when one read beyond the headlines, one discovered that this cut in rail fares was confined to train travel within twenty five miles of Colombo. Undoubtedly, this will bring some measure of relief to a certain class of travellers, but there is no reason for Government to discriminate in favour of travellers in and around Colombo and to ignore the equally just claims of train travellers in other parts of the Island.

It is unfortunate that Government has not realised that the Railway will begin to pay its own way only, when it is re-organised on modern lines and that the method of raising fares to meet losses is on par with the antics of the gentleman who cut his nose to spite his face.

#### Suicide

The Sunday Times spotlighted the increasing number of suicides in the island. Unemployment, frustrated romance, starvation and hunger seem to be the main causes for this increase in the suicide rate. It is, no doubt, the experience of many countries that suicides increase during trade depressions and times of economic crisis. That Ceylon is now right in the midst of an economic malaestrom is a matter about which there can be no doubt.

And, though there is some doubt as to how far this depression is due to the narrow policies of our government and how far it is result of international forces beyond our control, nobody will deny that the Government seems

supremely unconcerned about this state of affairs. Government seems more anxious to combat abstract and often mythical dangers arising from a paranoic obsession against "communism" rather than consider and adopt measures to relieve the sufferings of the people.

One such simple expedient which countries like India and Egypt have resorted to at this time with success is to increase trade with the Soviet group of countries and Peoples China. Such trade does not mean political alignment, but such trade will not be possible if leaders of our Government have no other pastime than to make carping criticisms of the governments and the way of life in the socialist countries.

Our Government must also realise that aid from another country in the form of subsidies or consumers goods, even without apparent strings, has not led to happy results. Aid to develop industries is rarely given because the industrial giants of the Western Democracies do not as yet believe in creating rivals and competitors.

### Philanthropic

The chief of the United States Information Services was in Colombo this week and he made some refreshingly frank statements about the scope and purpose of the organisation he heads. It was not a "philanthropic" set up, he stated, when questioned about some of the activities of tht U.S.I.S. in Cevlon. This should come as an unpleasant jolt to many who have tended to believe that Washington is motivated by the highest ideals of altruism and philanthropy in running the U.S.-I.S. This gentleman, moreover, stated that one of the main aims of the U.S.I.S. was "anti-comm-unism". How does this fit in with the decisions of the Colombo Conference of Asian Premiers? It was announced that "external communist" and "anti-communist" agencies would be kept out of Asia. What of the U.S.I S.?

was a secon

### TAPPING



### TELEPHONES

A reader has pointed out to me, in regard to my remarks last week about the tapping of a telephone, that phones have been tapped in the past and are being tapped just now-and that it is perfectly legal to do so.

He draws my attention to section 3 of Postal Ordinance of 1909 which he claims empowers the authorities to tap phones. He sent me a cutting from a local newspaper in support of his view. This news cutting quotes section 3.

I have read through with great care section 3 as reproduced in this newspaper, and I cannot see how this section gives any power to anybody to tap telephones. The section empowers in times of "public emergency" or in the "interests of public safety" to intercept or detain messages for tetegraphic transmission. This section refers only to telegraphic transmission, and I do not see how it covers telephone conversations unless of course there is weighty legal opinion to say that telephones telegraphic transmission m an the same thing

Anyway, it is heart rending to see the democratic government of a free Sri Lanka dependent on a law enacted by a colonial regime to interefere with the individual's right of free speech.

### Misuse

Even if it is argued that for reasons of public security and safety tapping phones is necessary, there can be no excuse for the number of phones that are said to be tapped these days. It is not only the phones of communists, samasamjists, s.l.f. pers and other Opposition stalwarts which are being tapped. It may surprise many to know that it is alleged that phones of good staunch U.N.P. chieftains are also

tapped. Every U.N. Per who was on the wrong side in the Premier Stakes tussle No. 1 and No. 2 is said to be suspect. Every one in the U.N.P. who is believed to have a hand in the forthcoming Premier Stakes No. 3 is also said to be subject to tapping of his or her phone.

What may surprise -readers even more is that those in charge of tapping spend more time in keeping under observation phones belonging to participants in the past and forthcoming Premier Stakes than the "subversive" elements. Moreover there is no emergency in the generally accepted sense even to invoke section 3 of the Postal Ordinance. But, I suppose the term "public safety" covers many sins.

I am not a lawyer to be able to find out just what this Postal Ordinance of 1909 really is, but I wish somebody would do so.

### Wire-recording

True to our best Ceylonese traditions, the phone tappers are quite open and brazen about the whole matter. The wire-recorders which seem to be fixed to certain telephones give the show away to the parties by the peculiar noise of the wire-recording. If the idea is to catch "subversives" these wire-recorders (supplied I am told by a helpful foreign diplomatic agency) will defeat the purpose.

Apart from this, the gentlemen in charge of operations are only human, and like to brag a little about the highly mysterious and secretive work they do. Some of them tell tit bits of their day's work to their best friend" under oath of secrecy, and the best friend in turn confides in his best friend, and soon the whole town knows.

Anyway, if you ask me how I

know all this, I must confess I saw it all in a dream.

### Army

Last Sunday's Times made a heroic front page tale of what the Officer Commanding the Ceylon Army had told the Public Accounts Committee as to why the Army had refused to disclose its numbers to the Auditor-General.

"The Ceylon Army is so small that the island's lack of forces should not be known nor its numbers put in to newspaper headlines because "they are so small that they night be tempting to somebody who might covet this island."

The next day, the Ceylon Observer had a news item on page three (without screaming headlines to tempt anybody) that "the army cantonment scheme at Panagoda, to 'accomodate over 3000 troops, has been revised in view of the stringent financial restrictions....."

Will somebody take action against the Observer for disclosing information that may tempt somebody who might covet this island.'?

#### C. W. E.

A former Director of Medical Services has been appointed to look into the allegations of corruption and bribery in the C. W. E. It must be remembered that the C. W. E. is a favoured organisation. Parliament even granted it special protection from criticism and placed it on the same footing as a private commercial firm in regard to its administration and working. With the result that questions and criticisms even in Parliament were restricted.

If informed rumour is correct, Dr. Wickremasinghe, the investigator would be able to unravel the most startling disclosures about corruption, if only he will get down to the bottom of things. Secret Commissions reserved for higher ups in the C. W. E. by suppliers in Malaya, presents of refrigerators and drawing room suites, and stock-juggling in Pettah will be some of the items that might come up.

### PAKISTAN DECLARES WAR ON DEMOCRACY

Continued from Page 7

tection of the old Chinese system of extra territorial jurisdiction applicable to certain favoured foreigners admittedly on a restricted basis. Behind the shield of diplomatic immunity the ordinary processes of Pakistani law will not apply to these persons. In other words, the writ of Pakistan's police, magistracy and judiciary will perforce have to stop at certain sacred frontiers which are declared inviolate.

With this clause in the Agreement, Pakistan is reduced to the position of a vassal state.

Mr. Moraes indicates in his articles that Pakistan public opinion is highly disturbed about the Agreement. And that, the U.S. authorities were even more disturbed about the "precarious political situation, particularly following the East Pakistan elections."

The show of strength in East Pakistan is undoubtedly the U.S.- Ali answer to the opposition to the Ali Government and the U.S.-Pact. The next few weeks will show whether this action will not boomerang.

Mr. Moraes wrote his articles before Ali sacked the Huq Govrnment, but even then he was pessimistic about the future of U.S. popularity ir Pakistan.

> "This writer would venture one prediction. By a strange paradox, not altogether inexplicable, the flow of U. S. military a i d to European Britain. countries, notably France and Italy, has been followed by a diminution rather than increase of 'American prestige and popularity. Unless Washington handpicks its personnel and briefs them thoroughly in the complexities of Asian susceptibilities, this trend will repeat itself in Pakistan. Within a year it would not surprise this writer if U.S. popularity in Pakistan rates even lower than in India."

Now, with the action against East Pakistan, which constitutes the bigger and more populous part of the State, opposition to Ali will grow apace.

No doubt, Ali will proceed to set up a fascist dictatorship with the U.S. arms he has got. But fascism thrives only when the would-be fuehrer is able to dope a considerable section of the population to follow him, Hitler organised his cohorts on a racial cry against Jews and a mass hysteria against "communists."

The A!i Government does not enjoy popular support even in Western Pakistan which has not known an election after 1937 during the time it was part of undivided India.

Events of great significance are bound to keep the spotlight focussed on Pakistan in the coming weeks. Dulles and company seem determined to declare war on the democratic peoples of Pakistan as a prelude to a war against democratic forces in Asia with a view to ensuring U.S. hegemony.

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SCARVES

### STATE OF THE NATION

### Unemployed, so he tried suicide

Matara, Tuesday

"You are a well built young man and there is no reason why you cannot earn a living" said Mr. P. S. W. Abeywardena, Matara Magistrate, to a young man named P. A. Ariyasena of Gurubebile, in Weligama, who appeared on a charge of attempting to commit suicide by lying across the railway track when a train was approaching.

Ariyasena was alleged to have attempted to take his life as he was unable to maintain himself.

He rleaded guilty and the Magistrate ordered him to enter into a bond in Rs. 100 to be of good behaviour for a period of six months.

Ceylon Observer, 26. 5. 54

### Abandoned child in rail carriage

Panadura, Wednesday

The faint cries of a child inside a railway compartment drew the attention of a minor employee at the Panadura Railway Station yesterday evening and resulted in the finding of a three-weeks-old baby girl.

The Station Master got the infant removed to his office and dater contacted the Panadura Police who entrusted the baby to the care of the Panadura Civil Hospital.

The D. M. O. (Dr. C. Ratnavale) and his staff of nurses are all giving the child every attention.

The Police are on the look-out for the child's mother.

Ceylon Observer, 26. 5. 54.

### 400 children 'lost' yearly

Police yesterday expressed concern over the number of missing children in Ceylon. About four hundred children are lost each year.

Most of the children are between 9 and 12.

Often when found they are working as servants for people who have found them in their homes and in tea kiosks and boutiques.

Most children reported missing have run away of their own accord from unhappy homes.

The police say that where a photograph can be given by the child's parents, the task of tracing a child is not usually difficult

Ceylon Daily News, 28. 5. 54-

### Mother didn't like romance: suicide attempt

Matara, Tuesday

Because his mother had objected to his paying attentions to a young girl with whom he was in love, a youth named, M. A. Somapala of Palalla, in Weligama is alleged to have attempted to commit suicide by drinking copper sulphate.

He appeared in Court today and pleaded guilty to a charge of attempting to commit suicide.

The Magistrate, Mr. P. S. W. Abeywardena, ordered him to enter into a bond in Rs. 100 to be of good behaviour for six months.

Ceylon Observer, 26. 5. 54.

\*.

### One midwife for 5000

Mannar town with a population of over 5,000 has only one midwife. At least two more midwives are required.

It is understood that the Local Town Council is unable to appoint

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its own midwives as it has not got enough money.

Representations are to be made to the Town Council and the Medical Officer of Health, Mannar urging for immediate action towards the appointment of additional midwives.

Ceylon Observer, 19.5.54

### Bribes included in route upkeep costs

Kandy, Friday.

An item appearing as "Route Maintenance" in the balance sheet of a bus company included bribes to police officers and motor car examiners, said a former General Manager of a bus company in the course of his evidence before the Commission today.

Times of Ceylon, 29. 5. 54

### Govt. Doctor's Fee Queried

A Government doctor in Colombo was called in by the Police to examine a lady in Balangoda, who was concerned in a proceeding in lunacy.

For three visits the doctor charged Rs. 1,500.

Commenting on this instance which is recorded in the report of the Auditor General for 1951-52 the Public Accounts Committee states in its report to Parliament: "Your Committee desire to express surprise that a fee of this magnitude should have been necessary in order to secure the evidence of a Government doctor utilized for the purposes of a case instituted by a Government Department.

"They recommend that the rules and practice under which this fee came to be paid should be examined and necessary steps taken to see that there will be no recurrence in future of similar payments".

Sunday Observer, 30, 5, 54

### THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Continued from page 5

Ceylon, but outside the estate areas, and more specially in the towns, there is a not an inconsiderable section of Indians who are just as migrant as the others and whose presence is of no less significance to economic conditions where Ceylon's own nationals are concerned.

#### Franchise

Coming now to the political developments, under the Donoughmore Constituion of 1931 about half the adults among the Indian population of Ceylon Lad votes as "British subjects". In order that discussions over the franchise might not delay the attainment of independence, the first elections under the Constitution of 1946 were held on the 1931 franchise, but power was given to the new Parliament to regulate the matter.

The elections showed how close were the communal ties among the Indians. Where they had a majority they elected a member of their communal organization and thereby virtually disfranchised the Kandyans in seven constituencies. Where they were not in a majority they obeyed the instructions of their communal organization to vote for a particular Ceylonese candidate. It is believed that in 13 or 14 constituencies they secured by these means the election of a candidate who had only minority support among the Ceylonese voters. Thus a communal organization exclusively representing Indians affected the result in one fifth of all the constituencies of Ceylon, and communal segregation of Kandyans and Indians had led to a very difficult and serious problem in the Kandvan Provinces.

### Concession

When the indian problem was under discussion between 1929 and 1947 it was thought of almost entirely as a problem of the franchise, since all the Ceylonese and nearly all the Indians were "British subjects". Indeed, the definition of "British subjects" was made wider in Ceylon in order to include the subjects of Indian States, who were not "British subjects" in undivided India. In 1941, agreement was reached between delegations

representing the Governments of India and Ceylon, but that agreement was not ratified by the Government of India. In 1948 the now Government of Ceylon made further concession to the new Government of India, but still agreement could not be reached although there was the fullest consultation between the two Governments. The legislation enacted in 1948 and 1949, namely, the Citizenship Act, No. 18 of 1948, and the Indian and Pakistani Residents (Citizenship) Act, No 3 of 1949, represented the utmost concession that the Government of Ceylon was willing to make. That concession went far beyond the views of many supporters of the Government, especially in the Kandyan Provinces.

### Citizenship

The long drawn out "Indian question" was thought to be settled at last by the enactment of the Indian and Pakistan Residents (Citizenship) Act, No. 3 of 1949, as a result of the talks and consultations which the late Mr. D. S. Senanavake had with the Prime Minister of India. The subject that had been under discussion was that of citizenship in Cevlon for Indian residents. and the new Act prescribed the conditions that must be satisfied before an Indian (or Pakistani) resident could be registered as a Ceylon citizen. Indian residents would thus be divided into those who acquired Ceylon citizenship and these who did not. This was clearly the most reasonable settlement that could been expected of the "host country.

In April 1953 Indian Government again reverted to the question of Indian resients in Ceylon. On this occasion they took up the question of the balance of Indian residents that would be left after registration under the Indian and Pakistani Residents Citizenship Act had been completed.

#### London Talks

Negotiations took place in Ceylon between the High Commissioners for India and the former Prime Minister, Mr. Dudley Senanayake, and these were continued in London in June 1953 between the Prime Minister of India and Mr. Senanayake (both of whom had gone there for the Queen's Coronation'. The following points constituted the basis of the discussions between the two Prime Ministers:—

- (a) Four hundred thousand (400,000) Indians now resident in Ceylon were expected to be registered as Ceylon citizens. This figure was not a guaranteed figure but an estimate, the actual figure depending on the results of the impartial administration of the Citizenship Act:
- · (b) The number of citizens
  registered under the Act
  plus the number of persons granted Permanent
  Residence Permits should
  be six hundred and fifty
  thousand (650,000). This
  was not be a minimum
  figure but a maximum:
  - (c) Persons granted Permanent Residence Permits would have their future status determind at the end of ten years, during which period, if any of them desired to to go back to India and take up citizenship of that country, the Government of India was not to object to their proposal;
  - (d) The balance of Indian residents in Ceylon, approximately three hundred thousand (300,000) or more, were to be accepted as Indian citizens by the Government of India and to be compulsorily repatriated, the operation being phased over a definite period of years;
  - (e) All these steps were to be a part of a single scheme of settlement of the Indo Ceylon problem. There was to be no question of settling any one point without at the same time coming to an arrangement with regard to the others.

[The concluding part dealing with Indo-Ceylon Agreement will be published next week].

# TWO RUPEES

Seethevi was a nalava woman.

Nalavas were untouchables. They were originally serfs tied to the land and they specialised in climbing palm trees to tap toddy. They are legally free today, but social equality is still a distant dream.

Seethevi's husband was an agricultural labourer. His earnings were not enough to keep their body and soul together, and she had to supplement the family income by hawking vegetables on market days and by making laggery from sweet toddy. Life was hard, but what was harder was the fact they hadn't a child. Seethevi wasn't barren, but the children she had borne had not lived for more than a few hours. Four times it had happened thus, and her despair knew no bounds.

After each confinement her husband had consulted a parvaikaran (one who 'sees'), an astrologercum medicine man-cum-black magician, to find out why Fate was so unkind to them. He had consu-Ited a great many of them. Some had said that Saturn was annoved with something Seethevi had done in her past birth, others said the stars were not particularly auspicious for them at that time, and yet others that enemies had done sooniam, black magic, against them. The remedy, however, was always the same, a devil-driving ceremony with some black magic rites.

When Seethevi was expecting her fifth she went about asking everybody for advice, and got ple nty of it. "It's all Fate, your Karma," they told her. "There's nothing you can do about it. Human beings are mortals and are powerless. Pray hard that your luck be better this time."

Only Ponni told her something different. "Go to hospital for your confinement," she had said. Ponni was her neighbour's daughter married to a man who worked as a sweeper in the Electrical Power

Station in Jaffna town. She had come to her village on a visit and Seethevi had gone to her for advice.

"To hospital?," she asked surprised.

"Yes," Ponni said emphatically. She was a town dweller and wanted to impress others that she knew a great many new things.

"To hospital for a childbirth? Isn't our kothi (the traditional village midwife) good enough? She's the best for miles around."

"She may be all right, but in hospital they do things better."

"Better? What is it our kothi doesn't do properly?."

"Everything is different in hospital. They put you in nice clean clothes. The midwives, nurses and doctors are all in white. They boil everything they use..."

"Why all this? Why use such clean clothes for this dirty business?" Foolish waste is n't it? Kothi wears her dirtiest when she goes for a confinement."

The set of the set of

"Not even a little bit?"

"No."

"That's strange. I've never heard of a case of childbirth without fever. After so much pain how can the body be without fever?."

"I don't know, but hardly anybody who goes to hospital gets this childbirth fever. What is more the babies rarely die..."

"What? Really!" Can it be true?" Digitized by Noolaham Foundation. noolaham.org | aavanaham.org "Yes, absolutely true. I live close to the hospital, and my husband's friend Soori works as a seavenger cooly there."

"It's hard to believe. Most children who are born die, only few survive. Why, my own mother had sixteen cr seventeen babies but only three lived. That's so with everybody. Nature is like...."

"But I tell you it's different in hospital."

This made Seethevi think, She was silent for a while. Then she asked: "Is it expensive to be in hospital for childbirth.?"

"No, in the Government Hospital it's free for poor people. Rich people have a nicer time, but we can make things comfortable for ourselves. If you know some attendants or give them small presents, things will be really pleasant. I'll help you." Ponni was happy she had found at least one person in the village to listen to the wonders that happen in town.

Seethevi was determined to have her next baby in hospital.

\* \* \* ...

It was difficult persuading her husband about hospital. The kothi was his aunt, and he was proud of her professional skill. But in the end Seethevi had ner way, and he promised to take her to the Hospital.

Soon everybody knew she was going to hospital for her next baby. It became the talk of the place.

The old kothi heard of it, and she was furious. "Why do you want to go to hospital? Am I not good enough? Even the good caste people still call me for their childbirths. In old days everybody did, but now new-fangled folks go to hospital for a

Continued on page 14

### TWO RUPEES

Continued from Page 13

simple thing like a childbirth. What is it they do there I don t do? Hospital is no place for child-births. They cut and chop people to pieces there. Hundreds die there everyday. That foolish girl Ponni has turned your head...."

Others said similar things but Seethevi was not to be shaken from her resolve.

And one day while making jaggery she began to feel out of sorts. She knew the pains would come on soon. Her husband was away. With an aunt she set out by bus to Jaffna town 12 miles away. She went straight to Ponni who helped her to enter hospital.

Everything there was strange, but soon after arrival, pains started in real earnest and she hadn't time for anything else. It was a difficult case. Instruments were used and chloroform administered, and a normal healthy baby safely delivered.

When Seethevi regained consciousness, she found herself in a large room on a very high bed with a nurse beside her. Weakly she asked:

"How is the baby?."

"Fine. It's a boy."

"Is he alive?."

"Oh yes! It's a nice baby, seven pounds."

"Thank God for it. Are you sure it Il live?."

"Yes. Don't worry."

She surveyed the room. Everything was white, spotlessly clean. She herself was lying between pure white sheets trussed up in bandages and binders.

"Don't I go for a bath now?," she asked the nurse. The kothi had always given her a bath a few minutes after delivery.

"Nonsense We've made (everything clear. You must lie like this for a week at least. After

that you can bathe if you're fit......'

"Must I lie here for a week? What for? Who is to look after baby? My husband needs me at home. I must cook his food. I m strong and healthy and if I don't get high fever, I'm usually up the third day. Even fever isn't a great thing. I'm used to it. I've plenty of work at home. We who work needn't lie like this for a week, only rich lazy people have to......

"Stop jabbering. You'll tire yourself."

Then suddenly it dawned on her that her saree wasn't on her. Anxiously she asked: "Where is my saree?."

"In the basket in the corner. It's dirty. We'll give it to you as soon as it has been washed.

"I want my saree. It's the best one I have....."

"Don't worry. It's quite safe. Don't talk anymore please. Rest quietly." But she couldn't.

\* \* \*

After some time, the nurse went out. She was away only a few minutes; but when she came back she found the patient by the dirty linen basket untying a knot in a corner of her saree.

The nurse was shocked and angry. How did this woman climb down unaided from that high bed in her condition? This was one of the most serious and difficult confinement cases they had in that hospital for a long time, and the doctor had given strict orders that the patient was not to move at all for many hours. Was not this woman mad, thought the nurse, to risk her lite like this? She shouted at her: "Why did you get down? Didn t I tell you not to move? Do you want to kill yourself? You're a foot......"

"Don't scold me, nachiar," she pleaded. Only when the nurse heard the word nachiar did she realise who this patient really was. It was not often one heard the

term nowadays. Only in the more backward villages did untouchables still use these honorific titles to address their superiors. Seethevi shivered as the nurse glowered at her. "I didn't mean any harm good lady," she whim-pered. "I didn't want to disobeyyou, but I had some money in this knot in my saree and I was afraid to lose it. You see this is all the money I have in the world. I saved it for this day specially. It's to buy something for the baby in case he should need anything......" There were tears in her eyes as, she held atwo rupee note in her .hand .. "Pardon me good lady, pardon me. I won't do it again.

Dumb-founded the nurse didn't know what to say. As she led Seethevi back to her bed she murmured; "Why didn't you tell me? I would've got it for you..."

Tears welled in the nurse's eyes.

S. P. Amarasingam

The views and comments expressed by our contributors and correspondents are not necessarly those of the paper.

Articles and contributions are welcome, but a stamped addressed envelope should be sent for return of Mss. not used for publication.

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# WALLES SADDLES FIVE WINNERS ed as one of the most influential members of the "inner circle," had

by RIDING BOY

Sending out five winners in succession the Walles training establishment—father G. N. G. and his son Clement—stole the limelight of the final day's races of the May Monsoon Meeting.

Two decades ago, such an achievement would have been a matter of course to grand old man Walles. With the finest string in his charge and the best jockeys as retainers, he literally swept the board practically every race day then.

But with age creeping on, G.N.G. is unable to put energies, he once possessed, into his training yard to-day. His feat last week-end is therefore the more creditable, and deserves the plaudits of all followers of the Ceylon Turf.

Turning to the days races, punters had an even share of the exchanges, with many form horses finishing in the money, "Although the going was on the heavy side, there were no big "surprises" except for Fredan, on whom even his owner, Mr. M. Subbiah, regard-

ed as one of the most influential members of the "inner circle," had I understand a small wager. Mr. Subbiah, a member of tho Chettiar community, is a shrewd punter as much as he is in business. Those close to him say that he was blaming himself sorely for carrying his prudence to extremes last weekend.



A fortune awaited him but this eventually went to a "group" who are reported to have spread the treble, consisting of Fredan, Schwe and Anware Paradise, on some of some of the bookies.

In my last notes, I corfidently tipped Kalam as a certain winner next time out, and so it proved to be in the Padukka Plate over the one mile course. But Kalam veered out in the run home and was relegated to third position on an objection by Dantean who thus became the winner.

Improving with every run, Palladium finished a very impressivsecond in the Narammala Plate Division one, the concluding event of the day's card. This one will soon pay for his oats.

Consistent Peter Pan put in a sustained run when finishing behind Red Master in the 7 furlong Nalanda Plate. Have him on your right side over a longer course. Other creditable performers were Hilal Zagharit, Linia, Salmut Mahmud and Na mat Babil.

### Two New Dailies

Continued from Page 2
Editor and became Chief Assistant Editor without ever sitting at a sub-editor's desk or writing an editorial, I am told.

He must be the most brilliant journalist Ceylon has produced if what I hear is correct. That he is comparatively unknown as a writer or a journalist except in journalistic circles there is no doubt. In addition to being a pious Catholic, Mr. Gunawardena has a knack of getting round any superior even though those under him do not quite adore him, says another who knows him well.

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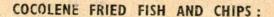
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### Method :-

Coat each fillet of fish separately in the following batter, and fry till nicely browned balance **COCOLENE**. Place on plate together with chips. Serve with tomato sauce.

### Batter for frying fish :-

4 ozs, flour

1 teaspoon salt

1 egg

about 1 pint milk, or coconut milk.

#### Method :--

Seive flour and salt into a bowl, add egg, next milk gradually. Mix till smooth and creamy, use as required.

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