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LETTER FROM THE EDITOR

WITH THIS ISSUE, *Tribune* enters its 27th year of publication. The first issue had appeared on May 1, 1954 and the paper has been in continuous publication. For over twenty seven years *Tribune* has provided readers in Sri Lanka and abroad with a mirror of current events with interpretative analyses on the complex developments that have overtaken this island. In this connection, we must pay tribute to the Minister of State, Anadattissa de Alwis, who has striven to raise the quality of journalism in this country in the difficult context where the major units of the media are state-owned. We think that the code of ethics for journalists drawn up under the immediate inspiration of the Minister which will be enshrined under Section 30 of the Press Council law, No. 5 of 1973, will go a long way towards enlarging the boundaries of press freedom and human dignity. For the record, we set down below, the code: "Every journalist shall (a) use all reasonable means within his power to ascertain prior to publication the veracity of the contents of any article written by him for publication: (b) refrain from reporting or causing to be printed or published any matter which he knows or has reason to believe to be false or inaccurate: (c) refrain from distorting the truth by any act of commission or wilful omission: (d) take all possible steps to correct within the shortest possible space of time any inaccuracy or incorrect information any report of article for the writing or publication of which he is responsible and (e) refrain from publishing or causing to be published any matter which may offend public taste or morality or tend to lower the standards of public taste or morality. (2) Every journalist shall use all reasonable means at his command in any report or article he writes or causes to be printed or published, to draw a clear distinction between any statement of fact on the one hand and any expression of opinion or criticism on the other. (3) Every journalist shall observe secrecy regarding any source of information unless the person who gave him such information authorizes the disclosure of identity. (4) Every journalist shall respect the reputation of an individual and refrain from reporting or causing to be printed or published any information or comment regarding an individual's private life unless the publication of the said matter is in the public interest as distinguished for public curiosity. (5) (i) in reporting or causing to be printed or published accounts of crime or criminal cases a journalist shall not (a) name victims of sex crimes; (b) name any young person accused of a criminal offence who to his knowledge is below the age of eighteen and to his knowledge is a person as being a relative of a person accused or convicted of a crime for the sole purpose of informing the reader of the relationship between the person so named and the person charged, unless the public interest would be served by the publication of the said matter; (ii) in reporting or causing to be printed or published accounts of matrimonial cases or actions, a journalist shall refrain from reporting or publishing any offensive details; (6) A journalist shall not commit plagiarism. (7) A journalist shall not present any matter in a manner designed to promote sadism, violence or salacity. (8) A journalist shall not report or cause to be printed or published any matter that is obscene unless the public interest is served by the publication thereof. (9) A journalist shall not report or cause to be printed or published any matter for the purpose of promoting communal or religious discord or violence. (10) Every journalist shall safeguard the dignity of his profession. He shall not accept any bribe in money, kind or service for any matter connected with or incidental to his profession."

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Economy of Sri Lanka-3

In the last two issues we have spotlighted the criticisms levelled at the economic policies of the Government by the Communist Party paper *Forward* which cited extracts from the "Confidential Report" of the World Bank on the economy of Sri Lanka for 1980. This week, and the next we propose to publish excerpts from the statement made in Parliament by the Finance Minister on July 23 on the outcome of the Aid Group talks in Japan on July 1 and 2, which we based on the report of the World Bank and the recommendations thereon by the IMF.

In a preamble, he pointed out that the foreign aid made possible by the World Bank and IMF aid had helped a stagnant economy to move: "I am glad to report that the outcome of the meeting was very satisfactory for Sri Lanka. The 1981 pledges of aid made by donor governments and international aid organisations again set an all time record. I am deeply grateful for the very generous assistance which we have received and continue to receive from the international community. The 1981 meeting of the Sri Lanka Aid Group was the 17th in the series of aid meetings which have been organised annually under the auspices of the World Bank. I have myself so far attended four of these meetings getting increased aid at each of them. These meetings are crucial for Sri Lanka. Without the aid that we have received at these meetings and also from certain other sources like the Saudi Fund, OPEC Fund etc., this Government would not have been able to forge ahead. There would have been no Mahaweli, no housing, no Free Trade Zone, no development in other spheres, no employment in fact nothing. We would have been in the same miserable position as the last government with stagnation, unemployment, scarcities, shortages and queues. ."

Then he drew attention to the difficult financial position of the country: "Honourable members should not forget the realities of our financial position. I cannot overemphasize this. This is why I repeat this so often. Our total revenue, Mr. Speaker, is approximately Rs. 14,000 million. Our total expenditure is running at about Rs. 30,000 million—more than twice our revenue. How do we survive and grow and flourish? Only by this foreign aid that we receive. Without this aid, we would be exactly where the last Government was between 1970 and 1977. This is the significance of these meetings. That is why I go abroad. It is no pleasure. That is why I am making this statement. This Statement is almost as important for our economy as my Budget."

He gave particulars of the structure and the composition of the Aid Group and a little about the

two documents considered by the meeting: "The 1981 Aid Meeting in Tokyo was attended by the representatives of 17 countries, Australia, Austria, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Japan, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, the United Kingdom and the United States participated as full members of the Aid Group. Belgium, India, Italy and Switzerland attended as observers. Finland became a full member of the Aid Group for the first time in 1981. Five International Organisations—The World Bank, the Asian Development Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the Commission of European Communities and the United Nations Development Programme were also represented at the Meeting. The meeting was conducted under the Chairmanship of Mr. David Hopper. The two basic documents prepared for the Aid Group meeting have both highlighted the dramatic improvement in Sri Lanka's economic performance after the present Government introduced its far reaching, almost revolutionary package of economic reforms in 1977. During the three-year period 1978 to 1980 the Gross Domestic product of Sri Lanka grew at an annual average rate of 6.8. per cent in real terms. This rate of growth was nearly four times as high as the average annual rate of growth in the previous eighteen year period from 1960 to 1977. This spectacular improvement, which came after several years of stagnation, was accompanied by a substantial reduction in the level of unemployment and an even more substantial increase in the level of public and private investment. The World Bank Report, while endorsing the success of Sri Lanka's new economic policies, also expressed concern at the serious economic difficulties which the country has faced since 1980 and the grave threat which these problems pose to the continued success of the Government's development strategy.

Then followed a summary of the first part of the long statement set out in the full report about Sri Lanka's fiscal plans for the next few years submitted to the meeting. This is what Mr. Ronnie de Mel told Parliament "In my own statement to the Aid group as leader of the Sri Lanka delegation, I stated that when the new government of his Excellency J. R. Jayawardene came in to office in 1977, it inherited a totally run down and stagnant economy. Unemployment stood at over 20 percent of the work force. The private sector had been demoralized and was hamstrung by a mass of bureaucratic import, exchange and price controls. In a matter of a few years all this had changed. A revolutionary change had taken place in our economy. A vast number of new projects had been undertaken in the public sector, and at the same time, activity in the private sector had rapidly gathered momentum. Total capital investment in the public and private sectors had reached an unprecedented 36 percent of the GDP in 1980 while unemployment had dropped to 15 per cent and was still falling.

"I next referred to the serious economic difficulties which we had encountered in 1980 and which had resulted in large deficits in the Government's budget in our balance of payments. I pointed out that the major causes of the economic deterioration were external factors completely beyond our control. It was a tragedy, I said, that such factors should jeopardise the success of our development programme which were so vital for solving the problems of poverty and unemployment among our people. The Government, I said, was determined to maintain the free economy we had introduced in 1977. The Government also realized fully well that this could be done only if the current budgetary and balance of payments trends were reversed. As a result, the Government had taken a series of difficult and courageous steps to reverse these trends. It had brought the prices of many essential commodities to the level of world market prices—a very unpopular political decision, but one which had to be taken if development and employment were to continue. The Government had also reduced the size of its public investment programme for 1981 and subsequent years.

"It would be very difficult, I said, to make a further pruning down in our investment programme without cutting into the productive sectors of agriculture and industry, and into the modest investment planned for the social sectors on health and education. While the scope for further cuts in the government's expenditure on its investment programmes was limited, I assured the Group that we would make every endeavour to mobilize additional domestic resources to meet as much as possible of the cost of this programme. Even with our very best efforts, however, a large resource gap would still exist. In order to meet this gap, I strongly urged the donors to give us their continued support. I appealed to them to provide us with the funds necessary to finance the shortfalls in the resources needed for on-going development projects Mahaweli and also to help us with commodity aid to finance essential imports like fertilizers, construction materials, essential foodstuffs, machinery and raw materials...."

Then he referred to the responses and comments of members of the Aid Group: "Mr. Speaker, my statement to the Aid Group was followed by statements from the leaders of the individual delegations. I was deeply gratified by the general tone and content of these statements. Without exception, the donor delegations expressed deep appreciation and continued support for the Government's policies and programmes and sympathised with the economic difficulties which the country now faced. I shall not deal here with the comments made by the leaders of the various delegations on the macro-economic problems in the country, as I have already referred to these problems in dealing with the World Bank's Statement and Report. In addition to their comments on the macro-economic situation, however, the individual

delegates also expressed concern on a number of more specific problems and I would like to refer to these briefly at this stage...."

The greatest concern was shown by the Aid Group about the plantation sector: "Several delegations expressed their concern at the poor performance of the plantation sector. While there had been an increase of 11 per cent in paddy production in 1980, and also a substantial increase in the production of other agricultural field crops, plantation agriculture had fared badly. Tea production fell by 7 per cent in 1980, while rubber production and coconut production each dropped by 15 per cent. The drought was undoubtedly a contributory factor, but it was not the sole cause. The plantation sector in Sri Lanka has been in a state of decline for sometime as a result of the inadequate investments on replanting, rehabilitation and factory modernisation, and also due to the managerial inefficiency which followed the unplanned takeover of the estates by the previous government. The Sri Lanka delegation, while admitting the decline in production in the plantations, explained the various steps which the present government had taken to improve their performance. The subsidies for replanting, rehabilitation and factor modernisation had been greatly increased and major organisational and institutional changes had been made to improve the managerial efficiency of the estates".

Next, there was also general concern about the energy sector: "Another sector regarding which there was general concern was the energy sector in view of the critical shortages of energy which the country is likely to face in the next year or two. Several delegations suggested that the Government should evolve a comprehensive policy and programme regarding energy which would include not only commercial forms of energy, but also non-commercial energy, particularly firewood for domestic consumption. There was concern expressed that the rapid denudation of our forests would lead to a grave shortage of fuel wood, and the need for a rapid programme of re-forestation with quick growing fuelwood trees was emphasised. The Sri Lanka delegation explained that the government was giving this matter its most urgent and immediate attention. The Ministry of Power and Energy was working on detailed long term projections of energy demand, and the World Bank was, at present, engaged on a study of the country's energy needs. The Government will formulate a National Energy Strategy on the basis of these studies. This, Mr. Speaker, is a number one priority for Sri Lanka—a National Energy Strategy."

He then gave Parliament a gist of some apprehension expressed by members of the Aid Group about the impact of the government's policies on the "poorer sections of the population". "There was some concern and criticism expressed on the disproportionately large expenditure being incurred, both

in the private and public sectors, on building construction. We explained that the Government had already taken meaningful steps to curb government's own building programme, and that, in the private sector except for a few urgently needed office complexes, the bulk of the non-residential building activity was concentrated on the construction of tourist hotels which brought quick and substantial returns to the country. Finally, some delegations expressed concern about the possible effects which the Government's new economic policies might have on the poorer and weaker sections of the population. The Sri Lanka delegation replied that the Government was fully conscious of the need to protect the living standards of the poorer sections of the population, and that, in any case, in an active democracy like Sri Lanka, the Government's own self interest would ensure that the vital needs of this silent majority would not be forgotten... We assured the delegates that the poor would be protected and that the Government's expenditure on health, education and other social welfare benefits for the poor would not be curtailed.

'We also stated that during the period 1977 to 1980, the rural sector in Sri Lanka where the majority of the poor live, has enjoyed greater prosperity than before. Income levels have moved in favour of the rural sector vis-a-vis the urban sector. The Government has not been unmindful of the urban sector too. It has given several wage increases to compensate the urban sector. We hope to give such wage increases in the future too, if our resources permit and if too much of our resources are not swallowed up by the development schemes of the various Ministries. There has been a substantial increase in employment which too has benefited the poorer sections of the country. The poor sections of the country are also supported by a food stamp and kerosene stamp scheme. This costs us a great deal of money which could have gone for development; but we will not abandon this scheme though its costs are becoming almost prohibitive. This Government will look after the poor because it is the poor and not the rich that make and unmake governments.'

Mr. de Mel then outlined the aid pledged by the Group: "After this comprehensive and very wide ranging discussions on Sri Lanka's economic performance and policies had been completed, the donor delegations proceeded to announce their aid pledge for 1981. The total aid pledged amounted to 723.44 million SDRs, as compared with 638.2 million SDRs in 1980, an increase of over 13 per cent. It is best, Mr. Speaker, to give these figures in SDR terms because international currencies are so volatile now and change so much. It is difficult to make a comparison of the aid pledges made in 1980 and 1981 in terms of US dollars because of the major changes in currency rates which have occurred

over the past 12 months. The US Dollar has appreciated by 25 to 30 percent against the currency of most of the major donor countries. The only meaningful comparison in dollars would be one made on the basis of constant dollar exchange rates. I have tried to do so. In 1980, the aid pledges totalled 842.1 million US dollars at the exchange rates prevailing last July when the Aid Group meeting was held. This year's pledges, converted at the same exchange rates, would total 948 million US dollars, an increase of 12.5 per cent."

He thereafter, disclosed, the difficulties in obtaining further aid in the coming years: "Mr. Speaker, I am glad to inform this house and through this House the entire country that the aid pledged for 1981 constitutes another all time record. I am particularly gratified by this result because it has occurred at a time of serious economic difficulties in most of the major donor countries. The high aid pledges of 1979, 1980 and 1981 have a large amount of aid pledged for the Accelerated Mahaweli Programme. There will be hardly any pledges for the Accelerated Mahaweli Programme in and after 1982. We have to spend the money we have already obtained for Mahaweli and this will take several years. It is natural, for us, therefore, to expect a rather sharp decline in aid pledges in and after 1982. Disbursements of aid pledges in the last three years are likely to rise in 1982, 1983 and the refutu. Hon. Members must remember that most of the aid pledged in any year is disbursed only over the following years, sometimes going up to 5 years. In and after 1982, we can expect aid only for non-Mahaweli Projects—that is generally speaking—and for balance of payments support. So the aid pledges at future Aid Group meetings are likely to decline. I must fore-warn you. Let them not be overwhelmed by too much self-greed, to make a quick fast buck all the time. Let them realize that from the terrific profits they have made and are still making, they must also contribute their fair share to the mobilisation of local revenue and local resources. Let them also realize that this is a democratic socialist country."

But he ended his statement to Parliament pointing to a rainbow on horizon on which the country could climb to plenty and prosperity in the years to come: "If we preserve our past and our present policies—if we go on the path of more and more development and more and more employment, satisfactory wages and adequate living standards, curbing unnecessary expenditure and waste, pruning our programme to match our resources without over-extending ourselves, in short without running too fast and trying to break our necks, also, curbing inflation as far as possible and ensuring social welfare and social justice and the quality of life for our people, then notwithstanding our present difficulties, our future is extremely good. If, on the other hand, we only make the rich richer and the poor poorer or

TRIBUNE, September 5, 1981

even if the poor remain at the same level, while a few wallow in wealth the writing on the wall is clear for those who care to see.

“Mr. Speaker, the hump in our expenditure the difficult period when all our expenditure will peak will be 1981, 1982 and 1983. Perhaps this difficult period will go on till 1984. After 1985, when our policies begin to bear fruit, when our present programmes begin to give results, then a Golden Age will surely dawn for our people the like of which we never before been seen in the history of our land. If these policies and these programmes are continued—the policies of growth and distribution, of development and social equity as befitting a truly democratic socialist government and a democratic socialist society, then after 1980, Sri Lanka should be a very different country to live in. The people of this country will then be eternally grateful to President J. R. Jayewardene and those who initiated these policies and these programmes which brought them to the promised land.”



Govt.



Notices

Notice under section 7 of the Land Acquisition Act (Chapter 460) as amended by the Land Acquisition (Amendment) Act No. 28 of 1964.

Reference No. LL/A 7227.

It is intended to acquire the land described in the schedule below for further particulars, please see the Gazette of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, No. 157 (Part III) of 4.9.1981.

SCHEDULE

<i>Name of Land</i>	Hathurugodella, Hathurugedellewatta
<i>Situation</i>	Pussalla village, Uda Pattuwa North, Kuruwita Korale, Kuruwita D.R.O.'s Division, Ratnapura District
<i>Survey Reference</i>	Lot No. 412 In Supplement NO. 9 to F.V.P. 358

Land Branch,
The Kachcheri,
Ratnapura.
14th August 1981.

Gananatha Abeyagunawardene
Assistant Government Agent,
Ratnapura District.

TRIBUNE, September 5, 1981

Notice under section 7 of the Land Acquisition Act (Chapter 440) as amended by the Land Acquisition (Amendment) Act No. 28 of 1964.

Reference No. E/R/8090.

Action has been taken to acquire the lands described in the schedule below. For further particulars please see the Gazette of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka No. 157 (Part III) dated 4.9.1981.

SCHEDULE

<i>Situation</i>	In Maha Jandura Village— F.V.P. 433-Supplement No. 3 in Handunkatuwa Gramase- waka Division in Ambalan- tota D. R. O's Division East Giruwa Pattu of the Ham- bantota District.
<i>Name of Land</i>	Maha Jandura Bedda
<i>Extent</i>	517A. 01 R. 27P.
<i>Survey reference</i>	Lots 11 to 91 in Supl. 3 to F.V.P. 433.

1981.07.10.
The Kachcheri,
Hambantota.

D. W. Abeywickrama,
Additional Government Agent,
Hambantota District.

Notice under section 7 of the Land Acquisition Act (Chapter 460) as amended by the Land Acquisition (Amendment) Act No. 28 of 1964.

Reference No. ATH 1/260.

It is intended to acquire the land described in the schedule below. For further particulars please see the Gazette of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka No. 157 (Part III) of 4.9.1981.

SCHEDULE

<i>D.R.O's Division</i>	Colombo
<i>Situation</i>	Word 31, Kuppiyawatte East, within the M.C. limits of Colombo
<i>Village</i>	Kuppiyawatte
<i>Name of Land</i>	Assmt. Nos. 28, 28/11, 28/21, 28/22, 28/23, 28/24, 28/26, 28/26A, 28/27, 26/9, 26/8, 26 7/28/26A, of Nalanda Place.
<i>Lot No.</i>	01—12
<i>Plan No. P.P.Co.</i>	5380

The Kachcheri,
Colombo.
6th August 1981.

H. C. Gunawardene,
District Land Officer and
Acquiring Officer Of Colombo
District.

DOG LICENCE

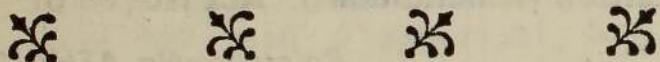
Sir

On the 6th January this year when I paid my dog licence fee at the Urban Council in Moratuwa, I was surprised to note that only a receipt was issued to me. When I inquired about the licence (which is a metal tag that is hung round the neck of the dog) I was informed that it was not ready. On the following month when I called over at this office to collect same, I was told that it was still not ready. Month after month I paid visits to this office and the excuse the authorities gave was the same.

In the meantime, the dog catchers have made vigorous efforts and seized many of these animals. There is a great risk of licenced dogs (without the tags) being destroyed along with the others.

Do the authorities expect the dog owners to tie the receipt round the neck of these animals? It is a bad policy of the government to charge licence fees from dog owners when they are not issuing them.

46/13, 2nd Lane,
Uyana Road,
Moratuwa.
12.8.1981

H. J. Fernando.**FOREIGN SERVICE**

Sir,

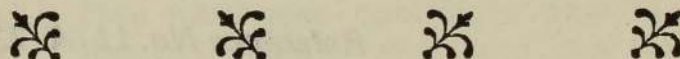
I should like to refer to Mr. G. K. de Mel's letter on the Foreign Service (*Tribune* 13/6/81) wherein he makes the point that the embassies have become observation posts while reducing the Ambassadors to messenger boys. Of course, we have set-back diplomacy by 500 years. Prior to the 15th century, kings and princess did business with one another by elaborate personal visits and then by special envoys. But in 1455 an Italian city state first established a permanent DPL mission in a foreign sovereign state and that practice was soon universally adopted. Diplomatic practice all over the world has now reverted to the pre-fifteenth century pattern. All important business is transacted by direct visits of the President or Prime Minister or Foreign Minister. Accompanying these dignitaries is a restless retinue of press and television reporters to record their achievements. Showbiz diplomacy has notable limitations in that it destroys the scope

for quite and suitable manoeuvre. It is not surprising that the chancelleries of the world have reacted to all this with a nervous mix of belly laughter and disbelief. No doubt if we continue to practice our modern version of medieval diplomacy as Showbiz while our permanent DPL establishment atrophies from desuetude we can make foreign policy more entertaining.

In these days of hot lines, it is true that heads of states speak directly to one another but usually they rang one another up only for mutual comfort and support. We would be curious to know what they are saying on the micro-wave but we would be more worried if they weren't talking at all. Of course, for cabinet ministers it is a geographical escape from domestic problems. When you come to think of it, most of the serious work is still done in writing by the heads of DPL missions through official channels.

One word about Non-alignment. As one political analyst commented the other day, it is a negative concept. It is only based on fear but is a device for deliberately creating and perpetuating fear. The third world leaders have to hate in order to maintain the status quo and fear is a good mechanism for inducing hate. It is good to remember the famous answer of the founder of the Christian religion to a tricky question on involvement which is more in the vein of Machiavelli that we should render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's.

36/1 Thimbirigasyaya Road,
Colombo 6.
18th July 1981.

William K. C. Amerasinghe**ETHNIC SNEÉR**

Sir,

Mr. D. B. I. P. Siriwardhana, one of our most publicised public servants, has, in an article in the **Sunday Observer** about a train journey to Kandy written: "Raucously competing with changing bells and swishing engines, there was the Eelamite sending us off: 'Trayne from number wun platform leaving at six thutty five for Kandy and Vadullai'". Such ethnic sneers, by any person, at any time, are to be depreciated. Coming from a senior Secretary of the Government they are frightening. Is the government going to let him get away with it?

Kollupitiya,
22nd July 1981

Costain de Vos.

Three Masters Of English Prose

Selected: By Dr. H. D. Wallbeoff Jansz

As a philosopher, Francis Bacon summed up the twofold function of science in two words—luciferous and fructiferous—the shedding of light and the bearing of fruit. Knowledge, he said, must be sought for the practical results that would benefit mankind. The oft-quoted phrase, 'Knowledge is power', was his. The following passage taken from his philosophical treatise, **The Advancement of Learning**, eloquently expresses his utilitarian point of view. Listen now :

'Men have entered into a desire of learning or knowledge, sometimes upon a natural curiosity and inquisitive appetite; sometimes to entertain their minds with variety and delight; sometimes for ornament and reputation; sometimes to enable them to victory of wit and contradiction; and most times for lucre and profession; but seldom sincerely to give a true account of their gift of reason, for the benefit and use of men; as if there were sought in knowledge a couch whereon to rest a searching and restless spirit; or a terrace for a wandering and variable mind to walk up and down with a fair prospect; or a tower of state for a proud mind to raise itself upon; or a fort or commanding ground for strife and contention; or a shop for profit or sale; and not a rich storehouse for the glory of the Creator and the relief of man's estate''.

As a writer, Bacon is best known for his **Essays** which are models of conciseness. The following sentences taken from his essay **On Studies** have been selected in order to illustrate his terse and crisp phrasing:

- (1) Studies serve for delight, for ornament, and for ability.
- (2) Crafty men contemn studies, simple men admire them, and wise men use them.
- (3) Read not to contradict and confute, not to believe and take for granted, nor to find talk and discourse, but to weigh and consider.
- (4) Reading maketh a full man, conference a ready man and writing an exact man.

We next present a sample of the prose of a superlative artist, Lord Macaulay. What follows is a description of the middle position which the Church of England occupied between the two extremes of the Church of Rome on the one hand and the Protestant Churches of Switzerland, France

and Scotland on the other. Listen now to two successive paragraphs taken from Macaulay's History of England:

"Among the Presbyterians, the conduct of public worship is, to great extent, left to the minister. Their prayers, therefore, are not exactly the same in any two assemblies on the same day, or on any two days in the same assembly. In one parish they are fervent, eloquent and full of meaning. In the next parish they may be languid or absurd. The priests of the Roman Catholic Church, on the other hand, have, during many generations, daily chanted the same ancient confessions, supplications and thanksgivings, in India and Lithuania, in Ireland and Peru. The service, being in a dead language, is intelligible only to the learned; and the great majority of the congregation may be said to assist as spectators rather than as auditors. The Church of England took a middle course. She copied the Roman Catholic forms of prayer, but translated them from the original Latin into the native tongue, and invited the illiterate multitude to join its voice to that of the minister.

"In every part of her system the same policy may be traced. Utterly rejecting the doctrine of transubstantiation and condemning as idolatrous all adoration paid to the sacramental bread and wine, she yet, to the disgust of the Puritan, required her children to receive the memorials of divine love, meekly kneeling upon their knees. Discarding many rich vestments which surrounded the altars of the ancient faith, she yet retained to the horror of weak minds, a robe of white linen, typical of the purity which belonged to her as the mystical spouse of Christ. Discarding a crowd of pantomimic gestures which, in the Roman Catholic worship, are substituted for intelligible words, she yet shocked many rigid Protestants by marking the infant just sprinkled from the font with the sign of the cross. The Roman Catholic addressed his prayers to a multitude of saints, among whom were numbered many men of doubtful, and some of hateful, character. The Puritan refused the addition of the term Saint even to Paul, the apostle of the Gentiles, and to John, the disciple whom Jesus loved. The Church of England, though she asked for the intercession of no created being, still set apart days for the commemoration of some who had done and suffered great things for the faith. She retained confirmation and ordination as edifying rites, but she degraded them from the rank of sacraments. Shrift was no part of her system. Yet she gently invited the dying penitent to confess his sins to a priest, and empowered her ministers to soothe the departing soul by an absolution which breathes the very spirit of the old religion. In general it may be said that she appeals more to the understanding, and less to the senses and imagination, than the Church of Rome, and that she appeals less to the understand-

ding and more to the senses and imagination, than the Protestant Churches of Scotland, France and Switzerland." That was Lord Macaulay—the master.

We next pass on to consider the prose of an eminent modern philosopher, who was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1950—Lord Russell—better known to the world as Bertrand Russell. We selected two separate passages from his essay titled: **"Has religion made useful contributions to civilisation?"** Listen now:

"My own view on religion is that of Lucretius. I regard it as a disease born of fear and as a source of untold misery to the human race. I cannot, however, deny that it has made some contributions to civilisation. It helped in early days to fix the calendar, and it caused Egyptian priests to record eclipses with such care that in time they became able to predict them. These two services I am prepared to acknowledge, but I do not know of any other.

"Religion is primarily a social phenomenon. Churches may owe their origin to teachers with strong individual convictions, but these teachers have seldom had much influence upon the Churches they founded, whereas Churches have had enormous influence upon the communities in which they flourished. To take the case that is of most interest to members of Western civilisation—the teaching of Christ, as it appears in the Gospels, has had very little to do with the ethics of Christians. The most important thing about Christianity, from the social point of view, is not Christ but the Church, and if we are to judge of Christianity as a social force we must not go to the Gospels for our material. Christ taught that you should give your goods to the poor, that you should not fight, that you should not go to church, and that you should not punish adultery. Neither Catholics nor Protestants have shown any strong desire to follow His teaching in any of these respects. Consider such a text as 'Judge not that ye be not judged', and ask yourself what influence such a text has had upon the Spanish Inquisition".

We pass on to give another passage in the same essay.

"The world, we are told, was created by a God who is both good and all-powerful. Before he created the world He foresaw all the pain and misery that it would contain. He is therefore responsible for it. If I were going to beget a child knowing that the child was going to be a homicidal maniac, I should be responsible for his crimes. If God knew in advance the sins of which man would be guilty, He was clearly responsible for all the consequences of those sins when He decided to create man."

We have selected these two passages from one of Bertrand Russell's better known essays in order to illustrate his lucid style. It was not for nothing that he was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature.

It is noteworthy that Bacon, Macaulay and Russell were all raised to the peerage. Bacon became Baron Verulam and Viscount St. Albans, Thomas Babington Macaulay became Baron Macaulay of Rothley, and Bertrand Arthur William Russell became the third Earl Russell. It is also noteworthy that all three of them were splendid sons of Trinity College, Cambridge.

If there are any young readers of *Tribune* who have the urge to write, they will be heartened to know that this desire is in itself an indication of latent talent. You need guidance in order to convert the potential into the actual. If you wish to develop a lucid style of writing, read Bertrand Russell's essays. If you also aim to acquire the grand style of prose master, read Lord Macaulay's *Essays* and his *History of England*. Begin by enjoying the company of two of the foremost English writers. A journey of a thousand miles begins with one step. Take that first step today—together with our best wishes for a successful onward and upward journey. Remember that nothing worthwhile comes without effort, and only those who strive will reach their goal.

True ease in writing comes from art not chance,
As those move easiest who have learned to dance.



August 16 - 22

DIARY OF EVENTS IN SRI LANKA AND THE WORLD COMPILED FROM DAILY NEWS-PAPERS PUBLISHED IN COLOMBO

CDN—Ceylon Daily News; CDM—Ceylon Daily Mirror; CO—Ceylon Observer; ST—Sunday Times; SO—Sunday Observer; DM—Dinamina; LD—Lankadipa; VK—Virakesari; ATH—Aththa; SM—Silumina; SLDP—Sri Lankadipa; JD—Janadiña; SU—Sun; DV—Davasa; DP—Dinapathi; CM—Chinthamani; WK—Weekend; RR—Riviresa; DK—Dinakara; EN—Eelanadu; IDPR—Information Dept Press Release.

SUNDAY, AUGUST 16: Police yesterday began rounding up criminal elements countrywide who have been cashing in on the current troubled situation as strict instructions went out to the Police and the armed services from President J. R. Jayawardene to crack down hard on mischiefmakers; a top security spokesman reviewing the situation yesterday morning said things had eased a lot and the situation was well under control. President J. R. Jayawardene who declared open the new American Centre in Kandy yesterday said he wished Sri Lanka too had the money to set up Sri Lanka centres in various parts of the world to dispel various myths, misconceptions and misunderstandings about this country abroad—SO. Sporadic acts of violence—arson and looting—are taking place in the country; they are not only causing damage to buildings but even fellow human beings are being killed; he did not know from where those animals who caused acts of violence had emerged, the President, Mr. J. R. Jayawardene said in Kandy yesterday; the President was speaking at the 90th annual prize-giving of Kingswood College, Kandy; he was the chief guest and distributed the awards—ST. The US Ambassador in Sri Lanka, Donald R. Toussaint yesterday categorically denied any US commitments to set up a military base in Trincomalee; speaking at the opening of the new American Centre in Kandy, Mr. Toussaint stated, 'The US government has no plans or policy to develop Trincomalee into a military base or military facility nor has the US Government ever discussed such a policy or plan with officials of the Sri Lanka Government, either present or past, in Sri Lanka or elsewhere. President J. R. Jayawardene will make a five-day visit to Saudi Arabia beginning September 2. The top level Police team probing last Thursday night's bomb attack on the Sri Lanka Freedom Party meeting in Gampaha has recovered a map giving details of the Urban Council grounds and other vital documents which, they say, showed that the incident had been 'highly organised'. Fresh violence erupted yesterday in some parts of the country as

regular units of the security forces and police remained deloyed and a total mobilisation of volunteers began to tackle the situation; among new incidents reported were the killing of three persons in Kahawatte in the Ratnapura district; on Friday, the Police were forced to clamp down an unofficial curfew in Ratnapura after some 40 shops were attacked; according to Police sources, the three persons had been burnt to death after looters attacked their shop; in another incident in Kurunegala a person was killed after looters attacked a house; *Weekend* learns there had also been incidents in Ja-Ela, Modera, Kotahena and Nivitigala. Personnel of 16 units in the Sri Lanka Army have been asked to report for immediate mobilisation by the Defence Ministry—WK. The People's Committee for National unity has demanded in its statement that the government should solve the present problems facing the country in a democratic manner—VK.

MONDAY, AUGUST 17: The insurance Corporation of Ceylon may be faced with substantial claims on account of fire and other damage to shops and business premises during the recent rioting; an authoritative government source said yesterday that the Corporations' liability will not be known until later this week when whatever claims that are made will be processed; "In these circumstances only those people who carried special cover against riot damage will be entitled to compensation; but many shopowners took such cover following previous troubles", he said. Trade and Shipping Minister Lalith Athulathmudali predicted a boom for the rubber industry before the end of the year and asked producers to continue tapping since the present set-back in the industry was only temporary. The leader of the Opposition, Mr. A. Amirthalingam has written to President Jayawardene complaining that the law and order situation has deteriorated in all parts of the country and Tamil people and their property are the targets of attack—CDN. The Education Service Committee will recruit 8,000 new teachers on district basis shortly and they will be posted to schools in January next year, Mr. M. H. Harriman Ariyaratna Secretary, Education Service Committee said—CDM. State Minister Anandatissa de Alwis yesterday said that there was evidence of a "foreign hand" behind the current wave of unrest in the country; although these elements have been identified with terrorist activities, we are unable to bring about any confrontation as Lanka is a small country that has virtually found itself in the grip of vice, he emphasised; according to him it was like an arecanut caught in a "giray"; he was speaking at a religious ceremony at the Kotte Rajamaha Vihara on Sunday. One person was shot in Gampola as the armed services and the police moved firmly against mobs attempting to indulge in sporadic acts of violence, looting and arson in several provincial towns; the shooting occurred when army personnel on mobile patrol duty were compelled to open fire to disperse a mob which

was attempting to set fire to a boutique; eight suspects have been taken into custody in this connection—*SU*. Violence broke out even on Saturday in certain parts of the hill country and in the suburbs of Colombo; line rooms of estate workers were attacked by hoodlums and looters in the Balangoda and Rakwana areas as a result of which about 3,000 persons have taken refuge at the Balangoda and Rakwana Police stations; some shops were burnt down at Balangoda and Rakwana towns—*VK*.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 18: A State of Emergency effective countrywide came into force at 1 p.m. yesterday as the government armed itself with special powers of the Public Security Act to stamp down on the violence of the past several days; a government statement issued last evening drew pointed attention to Section 24 of the Emergency Law which prescribes the death penalty for arson and looting; there was no decision to enforce a curfew announced yesterday but official sources said that a curfew would be enforced if necessary anywhere. Two hundred persons arrested in connection with the current rioting and unrest in various parts of the country have been locked up on the orders of the IGP; they will not be allowed bail; these arrests, police sources said, were made over the week-end in the Ratnapura, Kelaniya, Negombo, Gampola, Tissamaharama, Amparai and Batticaloa police divisions—*CDN*. The Government will today name coordinating officers for the districts of Ratnapura and Gampaha; these coordinating officers will be vested with the responsibility of directing security operations in the two districts. President J. R. Jayewardene yesterday assured Minister S. Thondaman who is also President of the Ceylon Workers' Congress that he would take all measures to end the wave of violence in the country; Mr. Thondaman met President Jayewardene along with Deputy Defence Minister, T. B. Werapitiya, Defence Ministry Secretary Colonel C. A. Dharmapala, coordinating Secretary General Sepala Attygalle and Inspector General of Police Ana Seneviratne—*SU*.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 19: The National security operation, strengthened on Monday by the declaration of a State of Emergency countrywide, was further beefed up yesterday with the appointment of two military Coordinating Officers who have assumed control of two troubled districts; Brigadier Cyril Ranatunga, a senior Armoured Corps officer, will be Coordinating officer at Ratnapura, where there have been many incidents while Group Captain N. R. Raheem of the Sri Lanka Air Force will handle the situation in the Gampaha District, where he is Coordinator. Police protection is to be given to all foreign nationals working on development projects in various parts of the country in view of the recent disturbances, a senior Police Headquarters spokesman said. Gampaha Magistrate Mr. Tissa Ekanayake has remanded 13 suspects taken into custody by

the Gampaha Police in connection with last week's bomb throwing at an SLFP meeting till August 27—*CDN*. The second country-wide family planning campaign (1982-1985) will be launched with UNFPA United Nations Fund for Population Activities auspices; the first programme was conducted from 1973-1977; details of the campaign which will cost 5.4 million US dollars has been submitted to the Governing Council of the UNDP for approval. No incidents have been reported from any part of the country after declaration of the state of emergency according to Police Headquarters—*CDM*. The Central Bank has raised the banks rate from 12 per cent to 14 per cent with effect from Monday. As security forces and the Police moved into restore law and order under the State of Emergency, President J. R. Jayewardene, yesterday set in motion fresh initiatives to settle the outstanding problems of the Tamil community; this came at a meeting he held with TULF leaders at the Janadhipathi Mandiraya last evening; taking part were Opposition Leader and TULF Secretary-General A. A. Amirthalingam and Dr. A. J. Wilson, Professor of Political Science at the New Brunswick University in Canada, who returned to Colombo on Monday—*SU*.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 20: A day of fast-breaking developments related to the current row in the SLFP ended last night with the Government Agent, Colombo, temporarily taking over the party's high-rise Darley Road headquarters to prevent a breach of the peace; a requisitioning order under Emergency law was made by the Secretary to the Defence Ministry last evening after first the Anura-Maitripala group and later the Sirima group of the SLFP had 'captured' the party office. President J. R. Jayewardene yesterday discussed with the Cabinet some of the matters arising out of the recent disturbances and reiterated that it was absolutely essential that the Government must continue to be firm and just. The Maitripala Group in a statement issued yesterday evening said: 'The Central Committee of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party has informed the Elections Commissioner that Mr. Ahura Bandaranaike has been appointed as the new General Secretary of the Party; he was elected unanimously at a special session of the Central Committee of the SLFP this morning. The Sirima Bandaranaike faction of the SLFP yesterday announced that 13 Central Committee Members including Messrs Maitripala Senanayake and Anura Bandaranaike have been suspended from the party for "misconduct"—*CDN*. The Cabinet yesterday approved the draft of a Bill to set up Rupavahini the National Television Corporation; the Minister of State, Mr. Anandatissa de Alwis, under whom it will function will appoint a seven-member board to this Corporation—*CDM*. President J. R. Jayewardene has detailed a special investigation unit to probe "the strange pattern of violence that enveloped the country", official Cabinet spokesman and Minister of State Anandatissa de Alwis announ-

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ced yesterday; the unit led by Deputy Inspector-General Tyrell Gunatilleke will, among other matters, probe what is suspected to be foreign involvement in the spite of "mysterious incidents", President Jayewardene told the Cabinet yesterday there were "plenty of strange patterns" indicating that the disturbances were not racial and that Sinhala, Tamil and Muslim people all suffered indiscriminately from the activities of law breakers—*SU*. President J. R. Jayewardene said yesterday that if government MPs had taken part in the recent violence action will be taken against them without any partiality—*VK*. Tamilnadu Chief Minister M. G. Ramachandran met Premier Mrs. Indira Gandhi yesterday and informed her that violence has been let loose against Indian Tamils in Sri Lanka and requested that the General Government of India should take necessary action; Tamilnadu Chief Minister met the Indian Prime Minister at Delhi yesterday and discussed the matter with her for over half an hour—*DP*.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 21: Prime Minister R. Premadasa told Parliament yesterday that the SLFP Head Office building which was sealed by the Government on Wednesday would be handed back to the party through the law courts either when the emergency is lifted or if the order is revoked. Education Minister Ranil Wickremasinghe is seeking to initiate a national discussion for a comprehensive package of education reforms proposed after careful study by the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Youth Affairs and Employment. West Germany's Economics Minister Dr. Otto Graf Lambsdorff who is here on a four-day official visit told a news conference yesterday that he was impressed by the economic progress made by Sri Lanka since he last visited this country in 1978—*CDN*. The West German government was happy that during the past few weeks there has been a marked drop of Sri Lankans trying to enter West Berlin under the cover of asylum seekers: German Federal Minister of Economics Dr. Otto Graf Lambsdorff said at a Press conference yesterday these Sri Lankans who were really "job asylum seekers" and not political asylum seekers were fast diminishing and the exodus had virtually stopped—*CDM*. The Sri Lanka Government is to form a trust company in Britain to generate financial assistance for the cultural triangle fund in Sri Lanka. Prestigious government schools will no longer receive government funds for capital expenses such as buildings, according to proposals in the white paper on education; by making these schools self reliant it will be possible to divert state funds towards the improvement of smaller, less developed schools, Education Minister Ranil Wickremasinghe said yesterday—*SU*.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 22: Prime Minister R. Premadasa told Parliament yesterday that since the proclamation of emergency the situation in the country had improved; the incidents were minimal at the moment.

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The leader of the SLFP Parliamentary Group Mr. Maithripala Senanayake, told Parliament yesterday that if the Government introduced legislation to make the demand for separatism illegal his party would support such a move. The District Minister for Ratnamala and MP for Balangoda, Mr. M. L. M. Aboosally has appealed for public assistance to provide relief to those who have suffered by recent acts of violence, looting and arson in the Ratnapura district. A petrol-fuelled explosion occurred at the Sri Lanka High Commission in London early yesterday damaging the front door and the foyer wall; while first reports referred to a petrol "bomb" the London Fire Brigade said petrol had been poured through the letter box and then ignited: Mrs. Wimala Kannangara Minister of Rural Development, yesterday told Parliament that President J. R. Jayewardene had released Rs. 5 million for the rehabilitation work in the Ratnapura district following recent disturbances. The government yesterday imposed a press censorship under the Emergency (Miscellaneous Provisions and Powers) Regulation No. 3 of 1981—*CDN*. Top level probes will be carried out in all the districts where cases of violence, looting and arson were reported in the past ten days; the affected police districts are Ratnapura, Negombo, Kelaniya, Badulla, Nuwara Eliya and Kandy—*CDM*. The Sri Lanka High Commission office in Hyde Park Gardens was set on fire in the early hours of Friday morning; the wooden door at the main entrance was charred and carpets and furniture in the outer reception area were burnt; the damage according to High Commission officials, was estimated at around, £ 20,000 but insurance payments are expected. The current spate of violence is not entirely communal, Prime Minister R. Premadasa told Parliament yesterday; speaking at the debate on the declaration of the state of emergency, Mr. Premadasa said, "this is part of a national and international movement". Nearly 400 Chinese machine operators will arrive Sri Lanka next month to fill the dearth of skilled personnel in the Mahaveli Development Project—*SU*. The M. P. for Kalkudah and Minister of Home Affairs K. W. Devanayagam said in Parliament yesterday that the recent violence has created an impression in the minds of those who were against the demand for separation of the country to feel that there is now no alternative the minority community should be protected by the majority classes, said the Minister—*VK*.





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August 15 - 21

UNITED NATIONS: The African nations have sought the support of nonaligned nations to instal Salim Ahmed Salim, Tanzanian Foreign Minister, as the next UN Secretary General. The non-aligned nations will celebrate the 20th anniversary of the movement on September 3rd this year. Libya has complained to the UN about the aerial battle with US sixth fleet planes in which eight US planes downed a Libyan aircraft. Iraq has complained to UN that the captain of the Danish ship passing through the Straits of Hormuz into the Gulf by Iranians was violation of freedom of navigation.

UNITED KINGDOM: Princes Anne and her husband Prince Philip have turned down an invitation to witness the three day horse trial at Chesterfield in Pennsylvania as they feared a possible demonstration in support of the demands of IRA. Aggressive patrolling of the Police have provoked fresh outburst of violence in Liverpool. The death of the 10th Irish Republican hunger-striker guerilla in Belfast prison will increase the chances of their candidate winning the Fermanagh and South Tyrone constituency by election to British Parliament. The office of the Sri Lankan High Commission in Hyde Park, London was set on fire (Aug. 21).

SOVIET UNION: The Soviet Union's request that British diplomat John Gordon should leave Moscow has been interpreted as a retaliatory measure for the expulsion of Victor Lazin, a Soviet diplomat in London.

UNITED STATES: President Reagan has lifted the embargo on the sale of US F-15s and F-16s planes to Israel. Arthur Hartman, presently US Ambassador in Paris and Harry Barnes were named as US Ambassadors to Moscow and New Delhi respectively. US transferred two billion dollars in Iranian assets frozen by Carter in 1979 to the National Bank of the Netherlands in fulfilment of the hostage release agreement. US Navy F14 planes shot down two Soviet built SU-22 Libyan fighters which attacked them in international waters over mediterranean. But Libya claimed that her planes were performing routine reconnaissance operations and were well within the Libyan Air space and territorial waters. US state Department has advised its 2,500 nationals in Libya to leave the country following the aircraft shooting incident. The request made by the International Federation of Air Traffic controllers to President Reagan to have dialogue with striking US Controllers had been turned down.

FRANCE: Former President of Iran Bani Sadr has rejected a French Television report that President Sadat of Egypt has offered him asylum in his country. France offered asylum to Iranians who hijacked an Iranian missiles boat Tabarzin. In an interview with *Le Monde*. Bani Sadr accused US for "instigating" the seizure of its embassy to bring about a dictatorship in Iran.

INDIA: The Government of India has turned down a request made by members of the opposition that Indian farmers should be paid the same price as Government pays to wheat imported from US. As the Parliament commenced its sittings for a new session, Trade Unions staged demonstrations against the Government's anti-strike ordinance in essential service. Few members of the opposition in Parliament staged a walk out claiming that government has agreed to the IMF, demand to curtail strikes in order to get 5,000 million dollars loan (Aug. 17). On the 16th several demonstrators including Suresh Ram, son of opposition leader Jagjivan Ram were arrested for demonstrating in front of Indira Gandhi's house. There is a suspicion in India that an international plot is being hatched to increase the Muslim population in India to 200 million within the next ten years. This suspicion was borne out by the conversion of Harijans to Islam in Thirunelveli and Tanjore districts and the threatened conversions in Southern Arcot in Tamil Nadu. A former Chief Minister of Madras State, Baktavatsalam criticised the publicity of legislating against religious conversions as proposed by Tamil Nadu government. Indian government expressed its concern over the plight of Tamils of Indian origin affected by the racial riots in Sri Lanka. The Indian External Affairs Minister Narasinha Rao, answering a call attention motion in Parliament on August 19 said that it would be improper and unfair for India to intervene. Indian government has appointed a Parliamentary committee to probe into the conversions of Harijans to Islam in India. Indian Government has flatly refused the demands of the Indian Tamils of Indian descen to UNO: Nor are they willing to internalise the issue (Aug. 21).

NEPAL: The Editor of the banned Nepalese language *Nepal Post* Devendra Gautam was beaten by goondas.

KENYA: Arabian states except Egypt walked out at the UN Conference on energy when an Israeli delegate defended his country's bombing raid on an Iraqi nuclear reactor in June (Aug. 19). Israeli plan to generate hydro-electric power by constructing a canal from Mediterranean to the Dead Sea costing 600 million dollars was condemned as illegal by the UN Conference on energy.

LIBYA: Libyan government has protested to the Belgian Embassy in Tripoli that shooting down of two Libyan aircrafts by US forces was an "act of international terrorism".

PAKISTAN: Military authorities released 8 political leaders including "Bengal Butcher" Gen. Tikka Khan, a former Defence Minister in Bhutto's cabinet. In order to make the Pakistan International Airlines (PIA) run efficiently and minimise corruption and inefficiency, military authorities have arrested Trade Union leaders and officers. On August 20, PIA sacked 340 of its employees. The Government issued a draft law for the establishment of an Ombudsman to check corruption in government departments. Police opened fire in Mirpur in Pakistan held Kashmir to disperse anti-government agitators and several people were killed. Pakistan President Zia has appealed to the Muslim countries to pool their resources to recover Jerusalem and other areas occupied by Israel.

BANGLADESH: Awami League which is still to decide on its candidate for the Presidential election, has called for a nationwide general strike on August 27 to compel the government to postpone the elections. Demonstrators burnt the effigy of President Reagan in front of the US Embassy in Dacca as a protest against the production of neutron bombs.

KAMPUCHEA: The ousted regime, Khmer Rouge is reported to have changed its policies; it no longer advocates communism or socialism, it is now in favour of private ownership and private property according to Ieng Sary.

IRAN: Iranian authorities executed another 17 men this week for alleged anti-Islamic activities. Ayatollah Khomeini charged the Super powers with plots and conspiracies to defeat the Islamic Republic. Iran reported its demand to France to extradite the hijackers of the French-built Iranian gun boat.

SPAIN: A fabulous ransom worth 50 million dollars in money and jewellery spared the life of four year old Prince Hansour, a member of Saudi Arabia's Royal family from his kidnapers. Spain has decided to join NATO.

PORTUGAL: Portuguese Air Traffic controllers began a 48 hour boycott of US flights on Aug. 17.

SYRIA: An explosion caused by a short circuit in the cooking system in Syrian Prime Minister's office killed three civil servants and injured many others.

LEBANON: A PLO spokesman said in Beirut that President Reagan's decision to lift the embargo on the supply of war planes to Israel will encourage that country to resume attack on Lebanese, Palestinians and Arabs.

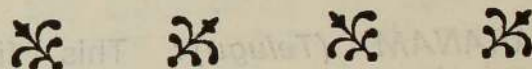
SWITZERLAND: At the Law of the Sea Conference third world countries have told US that they are unable to see any specific reasons to change the

proposed draft on mining the sea bed for its valuable minerals. At the UN sponsored Disarmament Committee, Britain rejected Warsaw Pact charges that the production of neutron bomb will escalate the arms race and the threat of nuclear war. The OPEC ministers meeting in Geneva since the 19th August have to date failed to reach an agreement on a unified price, nor have they been able to convince Saudi oil Minister Ahmed Zahi Yamani to increase the price above 34 dollars a barrel.

ZIMBABWE: An accidental explosion of a gas-cylinder caused a six hour chain explosion of an arms dump in an army camp 32 km. away from Salisbury.

POLAND: According to Polish Foreign Minister Josef Czyrek Poland may rejoin the International Monetary Fund. Poland's debts to western countries have been estimated at 10,000 to 20,000 million dollars. A two-day strike by newspaper printers reduced the supply of official news to a trickle. Strike ended on August 20.

ISRAEL: Prime Minister Begin warned that Israel would pull out of Palestinian autonomy talks with US and Egypt if PLO joins them. The attempt made by archaeologists to discover the ancient city of David had to be abandoned as Israel's chief rabbis decided that it would disturb a Jewish cemetery. The new Defence Minister of Israel Ariel Sharon echoed the earlier US charge that Soviet Union was "behind all subversive activities throughout the world".



FILM FOCUS

William Wyler

Hollywood was left poorer by one of its greatest Directors in William Wyler who died a few days ago. He emerged in the thirties as a cine-creator with an exclusive style and ran even the Maestro Cecil B. De Mille very close in the parallel perfection he exhibited, in the film Ben Hur which remains many years after its production, a perennial, to record many House Full shows as at the Empire and Concorde cinemas recently where the response was amazing. Apart from this film which perhaps was a crowning culmination of Wyler's talents, it is on record that "diligent search among his films for anything approaching a personal style has not revealed a great deal, which might be called either individual or fresh, yet his films are the most likeable, entertaining and deeply felt that the cinema has produced. Firm, competent, and a great Director of actors, Wyler is at best adapting to the screen properties already devalued by use

or intended primarily for alien media. Nobody was more professional in his transportation of stiff plays to the screen, not better able to take a three cornered one room drama and expand it by pointed attention to detail, into a moving personal experience". Most of Wyler's major films were made under the auspices of Samuel Goldwyn, the best among them being *The Best Years of Our Lives* (an Oscar winner) *Wuthering Heights* and in colour *Ben Hur*. I took time off for the last named for a third viewing a few days ago and was enthralled by it all over again. In the title role was the Biblical character actor Charlton (Moses) Heston, as Ben Hur, who lived courageously in the times of Jesus Christ, but treading a sceptical road, till he came face to face with Him on the road to Calvary to become a part of that great tragedy—the Crucifixion. His bete noire in this film was Stephen Boyd, a friend turned foe, and the chariot race in which both figured would be a sequence that many will remember for its stark ferocity. Rather than review this Wyler masterpiece which is still around the local cinemas, I would like to touch on some of its highlights only—that starry night in the Manager at Bethlehem, the miserable hours of galley slaves, the spit and polish of the Roman soldiers, those flocking to hear the Sermon on the Mount, the caverns of stretch in which lepers were huddled to death, and the cruelly poignant moments of Crucifixion which were captured by the camera with a rare authenticity. The many faceted brilliance of Wyler is released unbridled in this film which would remain a lasting testimony to the mammoth contribution he made to the march of cinema for nearly five decades.

SAKARAPARANAM (Telugu): This film is a Golden Lotus Award winner at the 27th National Film Festival 1980, held in New Delhi, bagging the awards for the Best Music Director and Best Male and Female Playback singers. The camera has been in the expert hands of Ex-Sri Lankan Balu Mahendra. The National Film Corporation has taken the initiative in having this musical masterpiece released locally, which film but for the language barrier, conveys soothingly to ones senses, the study of an artiste in an alien society. It depicts the inner turmoil of a dedicated and reversed musician, Sankara Sastri and his conflict with a society that is tardy in accepting his elevated values. Tulasi, a beauty from a hereditary family of prostitutes, catches the Sastri's notes with fervour, but has to keep her distance due to her social background. She is shunned by society when she dares to take a few steps forward to touch the hem of her master's garment in abject admiration, and also dance to his tunes with complete abandon. In poverty and illness, the Shastri, a few years later crosses the path of the now affluent Tulasi (Manju Bhargavi), who not only sustains him medically but even financially, exhorting her little son to become a disciple of Shastri (J. V. Samayajuly), leaving aside

his Pop leanings—the musical contrasts being well knit into the story. There is tragedy in the end as the stimulus and response are stilled forever and that is for you to see, as you would hark richly to the Thalam, Pallavi and Raham that pervades the film. Since music in its purest form and exposition is of the preserve of any particular language, patrons of the classical and carnatic variety in our midst should imbibe it to the brim and be refreshed by it in this film. While tossing a bouquet to the NFC for bringing this acclaimed award winner to our screens I wish also to quote the following comments from the Screen correspondent: "Sankara Paranam which won the National Award for the best Telugu film, has helped to offset the bad image of the Telugu Film Industry. It further belied the statements made by film makers that audience taste was deteriorating and films with artistic values would not be received by them. This film has also become a trend-setter in Telugu Cinema, if not in National Cinema."

THE BETSY (English): A United Artists release based on a very popular best seller by Harold (Carpet baggers) Robbins, well nigh ten million copies of this book have been sold. The sequences are mostly outdoor, and being based on the big business of Motor car production as a backdrop, the camera flits through Los Angeles, Ontario and the motor capital of the world, Detroit, as it takes in the story. In this whirling as yet is woven the story of the auto-tycoon Loren Hardeman (Sir Laurence Olivier) who while presiding over the fortunes of his business empire and crowing about it in public descends to the morals of the barnyard and a grave incestuous relationship in private. There are three generations of the Hardeman family taken in flashback corroding the fabric and fibre of the industry which falters, as moral decay sets in slowly and surely. A peerless performance by Sir Laurence as Hardeman the first, who runs the world from his wheel-chair, towers over the rest of the cast, which includes Paul Rudd as his son, who takes the easy way out when his father's roving hormones settle in his wife's direction—the latter imbibing a dose of it in the raw and basking in its now orgiastic and brutal appeal. Robert (The Godfather) Duvall is Hardeman III who conducts the business with a Mafia precision, mixing it with pleasure in the figure and form of a circulating beauty (Lesley Ann Down), who keeps maintaining a link with the next generation—a budding racing car champion (Tommy Lee Jones)—who has caught the eye of Great Grandfather Hardeman for his teenaged great granddaughter "Betsy", who becomes sick of the drowning room goings on of her ancestors. She (Kathleen Beller) salvages the sliding empire from slush of competitive sex and infuses a massive dose of moral strength, setting it back on an even keel. The film takes a cold look at the permissive and promiscuous ways of American tycoons, who get

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lost morally amidst the millions they turn over, and the world of youngsters that have to be reckoned with in the rat race. Many bedroom sequences, with a slice of frontal nudity has had crowds flocking to see this film, the title of which actually refers to a sleek speed car named after Betsy Hardeman. The histrionic brilliance of Sir Laurence in the autocratic role, adorns the film from the word go, but for which performance, the story could have run off the rails into mediocrity. Daniel Petrie directs from the screenplay by Walter Bennstein and William Bast, and its strictly for adults.

James N. Benedict.



POINT OF VIEW

Film Corporation

—and the industry—

By Bystander

The State Film Corporation Act No. 47 of 1971, Some observations on its impact on the private sector of business engaged in the film industry in Sri Lanka

THE STATE FILM CORPORATION Act was enacted in November 1971. Before this enactment the private sector was free to engage in all the aspects of the business relating to the film industry, and in particular in the business of importing, exhibiting and distributing films: and the public depended on the good sense and business acumen of the businessmen in the film industry for the opportunity to see the best of the English, Sinhala and Indian films available in the market. It was however unfortunate that the import of films and the distribution of both imported and nationally produced films were the jealous preserves of a few powerful individuals who sometimes behaved in a manner which was far from desirable. This was one of the reasons amongst others which motivated the creation of the Film Corporation: but it is unfortunate that the Act was conceived and born in an ear which had obliterated the very concept of freedom, and therefore savours of a fascist and autocratic blend. Instead of creating legislation to rectify the ills of the industry which was in the hands of a few individuals, the State Film Corporation Act No. 47 of 1971 created a Corporation with very wide objects and tremendous powers relating to the film industry, and it completely wiped out the participation of the private sector in this industry. Act No. 45 of 1980 whilst renaming the Corporation as the National Film Corporation of Sri Lanka added further stability to its powers

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codified in the Principal Enactment. It also conferred legal immunity on the members, officers, servants and agents of the Corporation.

The Film Corporation has been in existence for almost ten years, and if one is to judge by the type of films it has made available to the public, it cannot be said that the Corporation has acted in a spirit of service to the people of Sri Lanka. It has on the contrary placed the profit making mania at the apex of its sense of values. Despite the Corporation making enormous profits every year, certain out-station cinemas have been compelled to screen and re-screen state films imported by the private distributors a quarter of a century ago, and these cinema owners are helpless to remedy the situation. The Corporation has also indulged in the unhealthy practise of circulating damaged prints for screening at cinemas to the public of Sri Lanka.

LET US NOW EXAMINE some of the sections of the State Film Corporation Act which has conferred absolute power on its administrators. Section 5 of the Act vests the Corporation with all such powers, rights and functions as may reasonably be necessary to carry out its object set out in section 4. Thus section 5 has made it convenient for the administrators of the Corporation to act contrary to their own circulars when it suited them. This section has afforded them legal coverage to wriggle out of certain situations, and has virtually debarred an aggrieved party from seeking his remedy in a Court of Law in Section 5(d) of the Act gives the Corporation the power to exercise the exclusive right to import, sell, hire, supply and distribute films and film equipment. Section 57(1) of the Act confirms this right by prohibiting any person from engaging in this activity without the written authority of the Chairman. Section 57(2) prohibits any person from exhibiting films which have not been distributed through the Corporation. It is thus clear that the cinema owners in Sri Lanka cannot show the public any film which has not been distributed to them by the Corporation and in the result the public have to depend on the good sense and business expertise of the officials administering the Corporation. However His Excellency The President has now given his consent for Liberty Cinemas Ltd., and Ceylon Theatres Ltd. to import and exhibit the K. R. S. products in collaboration with the Film Corporation, and thus the public have once again been afforded the opportunity to see the films of the big American and British film companies like Paramount, M. G. M., 20th Century Fox, Universal and Arthur Rank. Due to the large number of K. R. S. films being made available to these two companies, they have converted two of their Tamil film cinemas at Colombo namely the Central and the Gaiety to Western film cinemas. This being the case and despite the terrible

paucity of Indian Tamil films, and the total non-availability of Hindi films the Chairman has chosen to authorise the importation of still more English films, outside the K. R. S. combine to a few individuals.

Although the big cinemas in Colombo which exhibit Western films have now been given the freedom to screen the films of their choosing, the cinemas screening Tamil films, excepting for the cinemas at Colombo, Jaffna, Batticaloa, Trincomalee and since recently at Nuwara Eliya, have to wait their turn in a long and tedious queue known as the Precedence Order to exhibit the limited quantity of good films which the Corporation, has imported, and often while waiting of their turn they have nothing to show the public by way of new films, or by way of popular revivals. Even though there is a big demand for Hindi films in this country, the Corporation has not been importing such films during the past few years on the ridiculous grounds that the people of Sri Lanka do not speak or understand Hindi: nevertheless the Corporation has recently imported a Telugu film titled SANGARA PARANAM for screening, in Sri Lanka. This is still another instance where the Corporation has been acting in a manner so blatantly inconsistent with its line of thinking.

ONE OF THE OBJECTS of the Corporation is to promote and expand the demand for films produced in Sri Lanka. The Corporation has chosen to implement this object by compelling cinema owners to exhibit poor quality local films irrespective of the popular interest or demand for such films in the localities served by their respective cinemas. A cinema owner cannot refuse to show the films given to him by the Corporation even if he finds that they do not appeal to the people in his area and that he is running his cinema at a loss by showing such films. Section 5 of the Act which also sets out the several powers of the Corporation was amended by the Act No. 45 of 1980 to give the Corporation the power to control, supervise and inspect cinemas.

As mentioned earlier the powers conferred on the Corporation by Section 5 are for the purpose of enabling the Corporation to carry out its objects set out in Section 4 of the Act; and two of these objects are to promote and expand the demand for films produced in Sri Lanka, and to foster co-operation and co-ordination among persons engaged in the film industry. The Corporation is thereby enabled by relating these particular objects to its power of control over cinemas, to insist that film exhibitors comply with its directives as regards the showing of films distributed to them and also as regards the allocation of screening time for the exhibition of local and foreign films. Indeed the Minister is specifically empowered by Section

61 of the Act to make regulations in respect of these matters. No regulations have been made up to date, but the Corporation is able to function without such regulations by reason of the very extensive objects and powers enacted by the Act. In addition to these objects and power the Corporation is able to act dictatorially and even arbitrarily in its dealings with the cinema owners because of the threatened danger of acquisition and requisition of their property. Section 45 of the Act provides that if any person engages in or carries on any business similar or substantially similar to any business of the Corporation, he shall, if a written request is made to him by the Corporation, make available for use by the Corporation any equipment or facilities maintained by him for the purpose of that business. Section 35, 37 and 38 enable the Corporation to, acquire or to requisition for temporary use, any movable or immovable property as has been, or is being, or is, or was intended to be, used by any person for the purpose of engaging in or carrying on any business which is similar or substantially similar to any business of the Corporation. In addition to these sanctions Section 62 of the Act makes it an offence for any person to resist or obstruct Corporation officials in the performance of their functions under the act.

The recent amendments to the State Film Corporation Act has effectively precluded cinema owners from resorting to legal action if they have sustained loss through the action of the Corporation. Section 63A of the Act as amended by the Act No. 45 of 1980 provides that no suit or prosecution shall lie against the Corporation or against any agent of the Corporation, for any act which in good faith is done or purported to be done under the Act, by the Corporation or on the direction of the Board of Directors. Section 63B provides that no writ against person or property shall be issued against a member of the Corporation in any action brought against the Corporation. Even the Fundamental Rights to freely engage in any lawful occupation, profession, trade, business or enterprise, conferred by Article 14(1)(g) of the Constitution is of no avail to aggrieved cinema owners because Article 15(5)(b) of the Constitution expressly provides that the exercise and operation of the fundamental right declared by Article 14(1)(g) shall be subject to such restriction as may be prescribed by law in relation to the carrying on by the State, a State Agency or a public corporation of any trade, business, industry, service or enterprise whether to the exclusion, complete or partial, of citizens or otherwise.

It will thus be seen that cinema owners are now left without an effective legal remedy for loss sustained by the apparent lack of expertise on the part of the Corporation's officials and in the result they, and the public they serve, must continue to suffer the consequences. The local cinema owners are surely the best qualified persons to know what kind of

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films appeal to the people in their respective areas. Had the unrestricted import and exhibition of films been allowed to them, the public would certainly have had a much better standard and quality of films made available to them during the past ten years.

As mentioned earlier in this article, the Film Corporation Act has prevented cinema owners from entering the area of free enterprise, and they have no alternative but to trundle along, exhibiting whatever is doled out to them by the Corporation. Power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely particularly when it is conferred on men of small stature and narrow vision. The administrators of the Corporation have got intoxicated with power to the extent that recently the Additional District Judge of Colombo Mr. Wimal Wickremasuriya had to pass severe strictures on them. In the course of his observation the learned judge has said "They did not have the elementary courtesy to come to this Court and say that they too were being judged. They seem to think they are not bound by this Court".

In these circumstances it is time that the Government takes serious cognisance of the Corporation's exalted opinion of its own self, and re-assesses the effectiveness of the Corporation's services to those engaged in the exhibition of films and to the public of Sri Lanka. The Government should consider the possibility of allowing the private sector, or at least cinema owners, the import and exhibition of Tamil and Hindi films just as the big cinema owners in Colombo who have been given a free hand in the import and exhibition of English films. Just as in the case of English films imported by these individuals, the Corporation could on a distribution commission basis handle the distribution of Tamil and Hindi films imported by the private sector. It is noteworthy that the Corporation does not take any commission on the takings of English films during the first week of screening at the Regal, Liberty, Empire, Savoy, Majestic, New Olympia, Gaiety, Rio, Concord and the Ruby cinemas.

It is indeed tragic that whilst the Corporation is making huge profits every year, many small cinemas which contribute to its coffers, are running at losses for no fault of theirs. In addition to being the victims of the Corporation's erratic and haphazard scheme of film distribution, these cinemas have also got to compete with a very strong rival in video cassette films which are being screened all over the Island.

These cinemas are therefore in a terrible dilemma and their only remedy lies in the capable hands of His Excellency President J. R. Jayewardene.

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IN THE SUPREME COURT OF TAxMANIA

Rip Van Winkle (Inspector of Taxes) v John Gulpin

25th DECEMBER 1984

This case which aroused much interest and controversy when argued in the Lower Courts came up for hearing on Christmas Day before Justices Cunning (Presiding), Fox and Deer when judgement was given against the Revenue confirming the decisions in the Lower Courts. Set out below are extracts from the Judgement:

Justice Cunning: This is a unique case. We have virtually been rushed into hearing this case on Christmas Day when ordinarily the Courts are in recess. The Revenue has urged on us the importance of this case and asked for a decision without delay, preferably in its favour, for, with every day that passes, the respondent Gulpin is consuming free meals and drinks provided by the employer without paying a single penny as tax on this benefit.

The facts are few and simple. The respondent Gulpin has been employed as a waiter at Heartbreak Hotel for the last twenty years on the same unvarying terms: a monthly salary with service charges, free meals, drinks and lodging during duty hours. For the last twenty years he has been taxed only on his salary but his free benefits have not been taxed, though the Revenue knew about them. Now along comes the Inspector Mr. Winkle who, true to his name, has woken from his slumbers after these many years and decided that Gulpin and others in identical circumstances ought to pay tax on the value of their free meals and drinks. Thus, Gulpin is not an isolated victim of what appears to be a case of taxation on afterthoughts. Rather, Gulpin's is a test case for the Revenue as well as for many other employees in the same or similar circumstances.

My Brothers this is not the first time that the Inland Revenue Commissioners have come before us like Oliver Twist asking for our lawful permission to pinch a few pennies more from the take-home pay of employees, who are already taxed with clockwork regularity under the PAYE Tax Scheme. It is needless to pass all our previous cases in review since in the last case before us, STRASS v MAY, we definitely laid down in no unmistakable terms our view of the law and we thought that the Revenue would intelligently digest the reasons behind our decision in that case. The obduracy of the Revenue in coming before us once again defies the imagination of this Court.

In MAY'S case the respondent was employed by I.C.E. Ltd which has branches in all the principal

towns of Taxmania. May was recruited under a scheme whereby in addition to the normal conditions of service, he was required to serve at all the principal branches if and when the company transferred him. To facilitate the working of that transfer scheme, I.C.E. Ltd had a scheme whereby an employee was provided with a loan to enable him to buy a house for accommodation whenever he was required to go on transfer to a new station. Further, the scheme had a provision to make up to the employee any out of pocket capital loss which he could be put to if he sold the house at one station on being transferred to another station. MAY was paid £.200 in a certain year of assessment, that amount being the loss he suffered when he sold his house in Hammersville, on being transferred to another station. The Revenue taxed the £.200 as part of MAY'S profits from employment.

Our Income Tax Act defines profits from employment to include all monetary rewards received from the employer and the value of all free benefits received from the employer or others in the course of employment. In MAY'S case we definitely laid down our view that a benefit to be taxable must be a pure reward for services flowing from the giver. If the dominant motive of the giver is not per se to reward the employee but only to secure for the giver's advantage the motivation of and the more effective performance by the employee of his services, then the benefit is not a profit from employment. MAY was not paid the £.200 qua reward for service but only to keep him motivated and save him from personal loss of capital which he suffered on sale of his house caused by his transfer to a new station. Was that sum of £.200 a profit from employment? Of course not.

At the departmental stage of the hearing of the present appeal, the Commissioner Mr. Fix upheld the Inspector's Assessment and he says this at page 6 of his determination:

"There are hundreds of employees in the hotel trade who wine and dine freely at the employer's expense. The totality of these benefits when taxed represents a sizeable amount of Revenue which can be used by the Government to great advantage in its development programmes. I hold that these benefits may more desirably be described as profits from employment." My Brothers, the Commissioner's preposterous proposition is a classic example of an ostensible reason used to justify theft in the guise of taxation. I am afraid this Court cannot be a party to the thinly veiled plunder of an employee's earnings. The respondent's employer has given evidence in this case and it has not been controverted at any stage of the earlier hearings. One statement taken verbatim from his evidence

is enough to clinch the issue. He said this before the Commissioner:

"I have provided free meals and lodging to my employees during their duty hours because it is to my calculated advantage to do so. By providing this facility I secure their continued presence at the hotel and their effective performance of the kind of round the clock service that work in a hotel actually entails." This evidence which no reasonable person can reject is fatal to the Revenue's case. I have no doubt that what is sought to be taxed is not profit from employment but only a motivational advantage thrown in. The assessment must be annulled.

Justice Fox: I agree. Had Gulpin been held to be liable, the Revenue ought to have used a method of collection quicker even than the present PAYE method, for he who eats and goes away will not like to pay his tax another day. The point is academic, but a PAYED (PAY AS YOU EAT AND DRINK) Scheme would have been more appropriate.

Justice Deer: A race-horse owner feeds his horses not as a reward to his animals but primarily to keep fit to run and win races. The profits from feeding are the race winnings that go to the owner and not the horses. What is required to decide a tax case correctly is a judicious mixture of horse sense and commonsense.

It may be a good thing to grant free luncheon vouchers to all Inland Revenue men. This should keep them happy and free from envy.

Solicitor-General: (Mr. Hughes). As to costs, Your Honour?

Justice Cunning: £. 200 to Gulpin and £. 12 to the three of us.

Solicitor-General: I beg your pardon. Did I hear you correctly on the £. 12.

Justice Cunning: Yes. That represents the cost of three Christmas puddings we missed while hearing this frivolous case.

Reported By T. Deadwood.



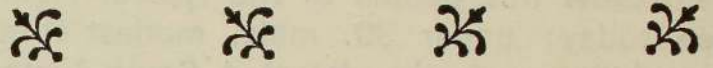
The Smoke Bus

By Gamiya

I LOOKED into the *Daily Mirror*, shaven though I was on the five-twenty bus of April 2nd: shuttered and windowless as it was in the cold morning. One would open the window for fresh air, the other would solemnly close it fearing that a little morning breeze might bring early lung trouble and rapid death. I said, "windowless" and "window". I know. But there is no contradiction. It is not only if a bus has no tyre that it is to be regarded as unroadworthy, but also if its passengers cannot travel in decent comfort. Something had happened, and this bus had all its shutters shut, all except one, and the tussle was on, to have that opened or shut. If a man is tied with a rope or a string, he is equally tied. A man may die of lung trouble by copious draughts of Haputale air or by the "burnt-out ends of smoky days", and he is equally dead. Why then the rush to save one's lungs from the cold air, for it was two heavily-smoking men who fought each other to close or open that shutter. The same *Daily Mirror* carried what most magazines mirror today: "Shedding the Smoking Habit" and yet within fifteen minutes of Haputale, the bus was a smoking inferno, and the smoke rings made neck-to-neck dashes for the window which was soon closed by our lung-trouble man. And so, after the 5.15 a.m. Smoking stop at B'wela, and another ten-minute Smoking stop at Beragala, 23 Sri 7745, raced down from the hills to the plain, plainly obvious to all, that the sign in the bus: SMOKING PROHIBITED was getting dimmer and dimmer in the smoke-screen. And it was an obvious smoke-screen, to everybody.

ADVERTISE HEAVILY on the radio and TV, write a few articles in the countrolled press, sell as much as you like, before, during and after films, increase the number of shares in all the cigarette firms, buy up as much land for tobacco, tell school children not to smoke, and then, hey presto! Everyone will begin to believe in your sincerity! You will fatten on your own credibility and on the lungs of the rural poor. Certain people spend their lungs prior to election time, shouting themselves hoarse, but once the ticket is obtained, it is the lungs of the people that can slowly be ruined with this kind of hypocritical smoke. Who will enforce whom to enforce this "No smoking law"? If it is "Singapore all the way", then why not charge the same Singapore fire for smoking in public places like buses, cinemas, bus-stands etc?. It was 500 Singapore dollars, in 1975, and what it is today, I do not know... In this reverie, I suddenly found five big merchants getting in at Beragala and I watched them smoke, smoke all the way in that

shutterless bus, right down to Balangoda. Gallant Sri Lanka had forgotten her gallantry. There were eight on the bus, and no smoker probably ever asked permission: "May I smoke...etc.", knowing full well they would not grant it in a closed bus. It is not so easy to run a country without cooperation. It is not a mere matter of cracking peanuts or jokes. It is a matter of life or death. Life for the few and misery and death, including death from lung cancer for the millions, the many, the masses.



REFUGEES

Asylum or Employment

THE INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTED, well intentioned principle and practice of affording "asylum" and refugee status to those who feared torture and death at the hands of their political opponents or governments has gradually been eroded into. The current developments in most parts of the world pose imminent threat to this principle being abandoned. The indiscriminate use of this option open to those genuine cases have now all the portents of leading to ruptures between countries.

The Sikhs in Canada, Sri Lankan Tamils in West Germany and the Indo-China refugees in various parts of the "capitalist world" have not been considered to be genuine seekers after freedom. They are for all intents and purposes, not political refugees but seekers after better economic prospects. They are part of the great "migration" of adventurers seeking avenues for better employment, opportunities for their talent and other economic reasons. Those who migrate from South Vietnam, as pointed out in earlier issues of the *Tribune* were those who were disillusioned with the new political, economic and social life developed by the Vietnamese themselves. The massive propaganda machine switched on in their favour since the fall of Saigon in 1975, and Kampuchean incident paid its dividends at the start but its effect is fast losing the grip and hence the rethinking on the whole issue of refugees.

The following observation made by the Bangkok correspondent of *The Economist*, July 25, 1981 shows the new trend and change of heart: "The refugee drama in South-east Asia has taken a strange twist. Unquestioned sympathy in the west is turning to wild suspicion. Why, it is asked, are Vietnamese refugees still arriving, six years after the fall of Saigon?"

"Western diplomats in Bangkok, as well as officials from international aid organisations, are beginning to view the refugees less as victims of political persecution than as enterprising souls seeking better opportunities abroad. If they are indeed 'economic migrants' rather than simple refugees, this would

greatly reduce their chance of getting to the United States.

"Anyone coming from a communist re-education camp could reasonably claim that he was a political refugee. But surveys in Thailand indicate that most Vietnamese now arriving have not been persecuted. They are simply barred and find it hard to make a living. One confidential report made available to your correspondent drew this picture of the typical Vietnamese refugee today: under 30, male, modest education, no association with the defeated South Vietnamese government or the Americans when they were in Vietnam. intensely keen to go to the United States and expecting to receive immediate government assistance there.

"Those who challenge such requests say that they are too simplistic. The young man who wants a better job and does not relish the idea of serving as a foot soldier in Cambodia should be helped. Just living under Vietnam's harsh system is a form of political oppression. May be, but the fact that refugees motives are being seriously questioned means that all new arrivals will face more detailed scrutiny than before. The international relief operation could even begin to close up shop, if it considers it is being abused."

—OMEGA—



UNITED STATES

Middle East Objectives

Washington, August 8: Egyptian President Sadat's visit to Washington for talks with President Reagan this week, and the scheduled visit of Israeli Prime Minister Begin next month, underscore the continuing American determination to work toward the difficult goal of encouraging stability in the Middle East. Patience, indeed dogged determination, to pursue short-range, but highly beneficial goals, are the keys—in the American view—to overall process toward peace and stability in the Middle East. That is why, as US Secretary of State Haig pointed out after American meetings with President Sadat, the United States remains committed to the continuation of the Egyptian-Israeli dialogue which has been a principal fruit of Camp David accords. That is also why the United States has worked so hard to defuse the longstanding Lebanese crisis in all its aspects. As Haig emphasized, whatever further progress can be achieved in these two areas is bound to improve the overall situation in the Middle East by enhancing the general political atmosphere in the region. Continuation of the Camp David process—with the United States as a full partner—clearly includes resumption of the Egyptian-Israeli-American autonomy talks

with respect to the future of the West Bank and Gaza. At this point, the precise format of resumed autonomy talks is still being explored by the three parties. That format will be decided on only after Egyptian, Israeli and American views are fully studied. The Israeli position on how best to proceed is expected to emerge when Prime Minister Begin makes his scheduled visit to Washington next month.

Meanwhile, with respect to the Camp David process, certain American principles continue to stand. The United States remains committed to the inclusion of Palestinians in such talks, whenever that becomes possible. That commitment flows from the Camp David accords, which pledge the Palestinians a voice in the determination of their own future. Under present circumstances, as Secretary Haig has reiterated, this does not mean the Palestine Liberation Organisation. The American position on the PLO stands. Washington will not deal with the PLO so long as the PLO refuses to recognize the right of Israel to exist, and refuses to recognize United Nations Resolutions aimed at providing the context for a settlement of the Arab-Israeli dispute. However, there is more to the Middle East situation than the Arab-Israeli dispute and the continuing Lebanon crisis. As President Sadat and President Reagan agreed during their talks, the region remains open to potential Soviet exploitation. Responding to that real danger requires co-operation between the United States and all those countries in the area that recognize the necessity for a strategic consensus on this crucial question. Indeed, progress that can be achieved toward meeting that Soviet threat, while it is not linked directly to the Arab-Israeli dispute, will inevitably improve overall chances for stability in the region. That, in turn, can indirectly contribute to resolution of the Arab-Israeli problem. Tension feeds on tension in the Middle East. Every reduction in tension improves the chance for general peace.

Understandably, there is always a tendency to look at the dark side when the multiplicity of problems in the Middle East are examined. But the brighter side must not be forgotten. That brighter side encompasses such achievements as the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty, prospective return of the rest of the Sinai by Israel to Egypt, and the quieting down of crises involving Lebanon. The Lebanon achievements have involved fruitful contributions from such countries as Saudi Arabia. The important point—so far as American objectives in the Middle East are concerned—is this. All those who want peace and stability in the region must recognize that achieving various short-term goals strengthens the chances for reaching the long term goal. This means that insistence on solving long-term problems all at once can injure the chances for reaching the final objectives of peace and stability. Progress in the Middle East comes a piece at a time—

VOA/USICA.

Means Inflation

By Viktor Cheprakov

STATISTICS SHOW that inflation in the leading industrialized capitalist countries is spiralling. The inflation rate is (in per cent): USA 12.6; UK, 15.4; FRG, 5.1; Italy, 21.1; France 13.5 and Japan 7.8. The long-term tendency for inflation to grow has solidly established itself in the 1960s, the average annual inflation rate in the USA was 2.8 per cent, in the 70s, 6.8 per cent and in 1970-1980, 13 per cent and over. All the 24 countries belonging to the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development are threatened with two-figure inflation in 1982.

INFLATION, in Adam Smith's classic definition, is when too much money chases too few commodities. In other words, inflation is caused by an excessive amount of money in circulation in relation to the amount of purchasable commodities. But today there is a paradox, there is, in fact, too much money, but there are also too many commodities which are not bought because of the crisis of overproduction. The classic formula does not apply. So the reasons for the current rash of inflation have to be sought elsewhere. We see three reasons. *One* is monopolistic price formation when instead of "free price play", prices are established by the leading corporations ("price leadership" is what Western economists call it). However, an analysis of inflation reveals that monopolistic price formation only results in relatively minor inflation such as that of the 60s. But inflation spiralled sharply beginning in the 70s and is continuing now. And here we come to the two other reasons that beget galloping, two-figure inflation. The US imperial policy tends to add what the American scholar Heilbroner called inflation fuel. The tremendous cost to the USA of maintaining its military bases and armed forces abroad and interference in the affairs of other countries demands the endless increase in the issue of American dollars to make up for its chronic balance of payments deficits. At the same time, the unlimited issue of paper dollars tends to accelerate time, the unlimited issue of paper ends to accelerate the rates of inflation in other NATO countries. This is the *second* reason for the current wave of inflation. The *third* reason—linked to the second—is the unprecedented growth of military spending primarily in the USA. The Pentagon's budget will double in five years' time to exceed 367,000 million dollars by 1986, while total appropriations for the arms race during these years will come to nearly 1,500,000 million dollars. The "inflation of US military muscle" will result in even higher inflation. Missile production brings super-

TRIBUNE, September 5, 1981

profits to the monopolies, but does not create the real wealth on which the economy is based. And dollars without the material wealth to back them up are no more than paper fiction.

THIS SAPS the people's purchasing power, and real incomes decline. Small and middle-size companies end up bankrupt. Personal budgets are stretched to the breaking point. Furthermore, an offensive is launched against social rights under the banner of combating inflation. The programmes for "making the economy healthier" or "austerity" are aimed at slashing spending on social programmes and doing away with some of them altogether (what is happening in the USA now). And another paradox—while they doom large sectors of society to additional trials, the slashing of these programmes will not help reduce inflation because military spending soars simultaneously. Inflation leads not only to a worse life for many of the people, but also plays havoc with the economy. Falling consumption slows down business, and leads to the depreciation of the companies' capital. Because they realize that in an inflationary period the real value of capital shrinks like the "skin of the ass", those who loan it—financial institutions, credit societies and insurance companies—tend to raise interest rate on loans or refuse loans altogether. And entrepreneurs are also afraid of getting bogged down in debts obtained at high interest rates, and are not in a hurry to make investments.

AN ACCELERATION of the arms race will lead to less financing of the research in the civilian sectors of the economy. Its consequences will also continue to be felt in the future, causing the growth rates of labour productivity to decline. Corporation budgets are as taut as strings, and if another recession occurs, many will be threatened with bankruptcy. The militarist fever provoked by the aggressive circles produces an adverse psychological effect, despair, a sense of being drowned, which definitely affect labour and business activities. Inflation has already led to excessive budget deficits. The "debt limit" of the USA has risen to nearly 1,000,000 million dollars and it is becoming increasingly harder to float domestic loans. And the slowdown in economic growth will reduce tax incomes and swell the deficit. Inflation, which lowers the living standards of the working people and results in spiralling prices, is a sinister prelude to social upheavals and an unstable political situation. The bellicose politicians who let the inflation genie out of the bottle are now totally confused and helpless, unable to cope with it. The only way to bridle runaway inflation or at least to limit its destructive consequences is by ending the arms race, promoting detente and strengthening international stability. It is the only effective cure for inflation—APN.



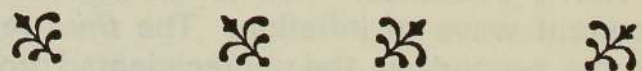
Unanswered Questions

IS IT NOT TRUE that people have begun to ask many questions about many aspects of government activity? That a reader has sent us a cutting of a letter (written by E. L. Perera of Kandy) which appeared in the *Sun* of May 14, 1981? That the letter had the heading ANSWER THESE QUESTIONS? That reading through the questions it is clear that these questions still remain unanswered? That all attempts to answer them, as far as we are aware, have been evasive and unconvincing? That the letter opened with a preamble: "It appears that the present open government takes the people into its confidence only when it exposes the misdeeds of the previous regime and to justify the escalation of prices of essential commodities. There is an aura of mystery over most other questions that have no less an important bearing on the lives of the people. Here are some questions that need answers"?

That the first question was about the import of Chinese chicken? "What was the rationale behind the import of Chinese chicken? Why was there such a colossal loss of over two million rupees on this deal? Who is responsible? Was it not more prudent to help the local producer to lower his price than to compete with him by first increasing the price of poultry food and then importing chicken in fits and starts and selling at an artificially low price and incurring a loss of two million rupees? Is it more important to help the Chinese farmer than the local farmer? Who ensures us cheap chicken now?" That readers will recall that *Tribune* had taken up this matter at that time and said that the market was being artificially depressed by import of Chicken and their sale at low prices? That this had driven into liquidation and bankruptcy all small poultry farmers? That at that time the small farmers had wanted a price about Rs. 22 a kg. of broiler meat? That Chinese chicken was sold—if our memory serves us right—around Rs. 16 a kg.? That the only local producers who had survived were the few bigtime producers who made their own mash? That today the price of locally produced broiler meat varies from Rs. 30 to Rs. 35 a kg. and imported broiler meat is over Rs. 40 a kg.? That Mr. Perera has rightfully asked the question why Chinese chicken was imported and sold at a loss of over two million rupees? That all that this exercise has done is to liquidate the small poultry farmer, enthrone the big poultry companies and increase the price for the consumer? That it will be interesting to know why the import of Chinese chicken was ever undertaken at all?

That the second question is even more important than the first? That this question too still remains unanswered? That the question read: "Why are essential commodities bought at almost the highest price in the foreign market? Why go through the process of calling for tenders if the lowest price is not accepted? Why not call for tenders well in time so that if the lowest tenderer defaults, the contract can be offered to the next lowest tenderer and so on? Is there no trade intelligence at all, or is it more convenient to buy in a rush and almost airlift these routine purchases into the country?" That after referring to several other matters about which questions have been asked Mr. Perera went on to say; "I think it is possible to go on and on in this manner on the failure of the Government not only the present, but all the past ones too, to take the people into its confidence in the matters that really affect them and not on some political issues alone. When some of these questions are asked in Parliament, they are usually brushed off with a comparison to the previous regime. This probably will silence the member who asked the question but will certainly not satisfy the voter who changed the government so decisively at the last election. It is he who really matters and the sooner any government realises it the better. I also think that the era when sops thrown at the voter influenced the trend of voting, is at an end. The present Government is the only one we have so far had that has very good prospects of being re-elected, judging it at the half way mark."

That he concluded his letter with a plea that the Government would be foolish to ignore? "I therefore plead with it to give the people who will vote for it in 1983 a square deal. It is nothing more than telling them the reasons that caused or influenced decisions that are vital to them. Not only where it affects the cost of living but also in the spheres of education, examinations, health and hospitals, housing, transport, industries, imports, protection of local enterprise and expertise and the myriad other aspects of government that impinge upon their lives. Simply extolling the virtues of this government in contrast with the previous regime of course has its uses but they are very limited now because those are the very reasons that gave the UNP a five sixths majority. The voter realised this in 1977 and is surprised that members of the present government, seem to realise it only now."?



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CITIZENS COMMITTEE FOR NATIONAL HARMONY

The Citizens Committee for National Harmony, gravely perturbed at the increasing incidence of violence, looting and disorder of markedly communal nature in the past few days, considers it imperative that the leaders of the Government and of the Opposition and the heads of the various religious bodies make a public appeal through the media including the radio for calm and law and order. While we endorse the action of the Government deploying the armed services to reinforce the police in order to prevent the escalation of violence and maintain law and order, we urge them to act impartially and responsibly carrying out their duties. We also call upon community organizations and groups of concerned citizens to act jointly to preserve the peace and in the protection of the people's rights, their homes and property.

We appeal to the media to use their influence to preserve and promote national harmony. The present situation is the result of growing suspicion and distrust which has been aggravated by chauvinism on both sides. The solutions to the present problems must be reached through a process of discussion and negotiation, particularly in the forum of Parliament in an atmosphere of propriety and through democratic dialogue, which in our opinion has unfortunately been lacking. The urgency of the situation demands that the political leadership get together and seek a just and democratic solution to the problems.

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