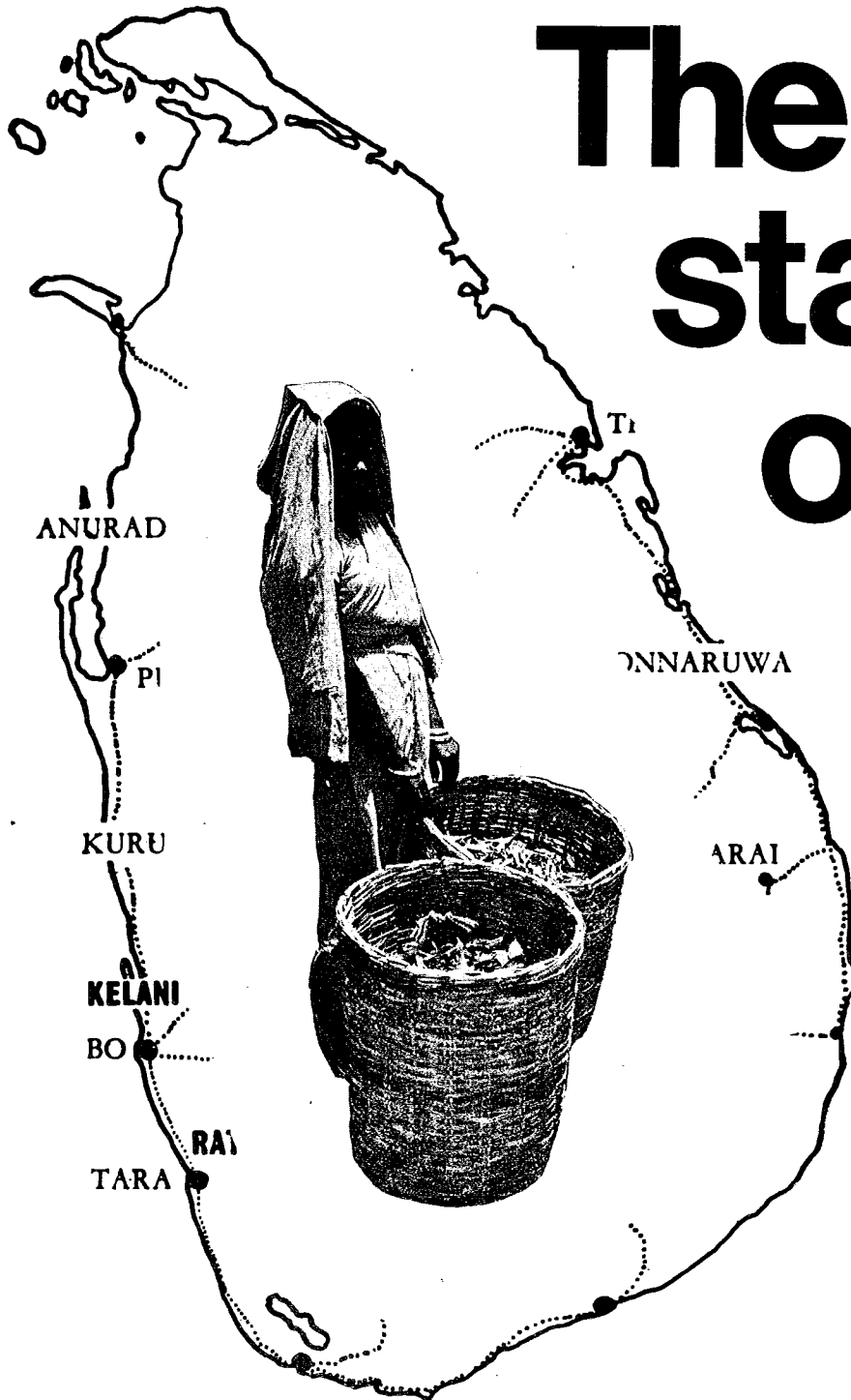





A War on Want investigation into Sri Lanka's tea industry and the plight of the estate workers



The state of tea



WAR ON WANT was founded in the early Fifties as a campaign to make world poverty an urgent social and political issue. Today it is one of the major Third World aid agencies in Britain, though its original purpose remains central.

Through its International Department, War on Want undertakes development work in Africa, Asia and South America; and, in co-operation with other aid agencies, participates in disaster relief. Long-term development strategy is planned through research at home and observation in the field.

In Britain War on Want's 60 groups help by raising funds and actively campaigning on Third World issues in their localities. Its medical centres collect unwanted medical and surgical supplies for shipment to hospitals and clinics overseas.

The state of tea

**A War on Want investigation into Sri Lanka's
tea industry and the plight of the estate workers**

By Edith M. Bond

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Thanks go to Mike Gillard and David Hart of "World in Action", and others who must remain nameless, for providing information and being patient.

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I. Introduction

In Britain we drink 70,000 million "cuppas" a year; we are the world's largest importer of tea.

While production costs have risen, the price we at home pay for our tea has not increased significantly for over 10 years. The result is that tea producers in countries like Sri Lanka (Ceylon) are making fewer profits or even losses.

"*The State of Tea*" reveals the true price Sri Lanka is paying for providing Britain with cheap tea. It shows how the workers who plant and pick our tea are the real losers in the game. It describes the outrageous conditions they live in and the meagre rations on which they must exist.

Approximately 30 per cent of Sri Lankan tea is grown by companies with British connections, (1) and 28 per cent of the tea we drink comes from Sri Lanka. (2) Our intimate involvement in the growing, trading and consuming process clearly means that we must do everything possible to alleviate the exploitation of workers.

This report is not intended to be a condemnation of any one company so much as a critique of the tea industry. Indeed those most frequently mentioned by name, particularly Brooke Bond Liebig, were very co-operative in providing information. Although conditions on specifically mentioned estates are inexcusable, they are even worse on estates belonging to smaller companies, unable to absorb both declining tea prices and rising production costs. It has, however, been impossible to obtain accurate information from the smaller companies.

War on Want's intention is that "*The State of Tea*" will provide sufficient background information for a sustained campaign on behalf of the tea workers. They are almost powerless to bring about change. We are not. Members of Parliament, Trade Unionists, journalists and individuals are all able to influence the situation.

We urge you to join us in pressing for the implementation of the recommendations listed at the end of this report.

2. Historical background

2.1 Colonial heritage

By the end of the 18th century Britain had emerged as the dominant power in India, and in 1796 the Madras government sent an expedition to Ceylon. In the same year Colombo surrendered to the British and the British East India Company began to control the Maritime Provinces. In 1815 Ceylon became a British Crown Colony.

The situation in which Sri Lanka finds itself today was determined by British rule in the 19th century. Britain replaced much of the traditional subsistence agriculture with more profitable plantation farming. Coffee was the first crop to be introduced in this manner but by the 1870's this had given way to the even more profitable and successful tea crop. The British acquired a taste for tea, particularly the good quality black tea that Ceylon can produce so well, and even though large areas of rubber and coconuts were planted nothing could oust the importance of tea. The plantation industry depended on new roads and railways, a modern harbour and a colonial administration, and most significantly, on unskilled labour imported from other parts of the British Empire — particularly the Tamils from India. Before the railway was constructed for this traffic the Tamils were brought from South India in cattle boats and marched about 150 miles from Talaimannar to Kandy. Some of the drinking troughs (similar to cattle troughs) along the route are still visible by the roadside today.

By independence in 1948 the largest and most profitable part of the economy had been created by British capital investment, and the shipping, banking, insurance, and export and import trade were completely controlled by Britain. Twenty five years later the country has still not begun to recover from its colonial heritage.

2.2 The Tamils today

Although Sri Lanka is only 25,332 square miles in area, it has a population of almost 13 million. The average population density is over 500 per square mile, causing extremely high pressure on the land. The Tamils form a large minority because the British imported them from South India to work on the plantations. Seventy two per cent of the population in Sri Lanka are indigenous Sinhalese, and over 20 per cent are Tamil. (3) Most Tamils have a different language, religion and customs — in short, they have a completely different cultural heritage.

Today, at least 80 per cent of the plantation population are of Tamil origin. (4) As plantations are essentially rural and isolated communities they have not been integrated into the wider community of Sri Lanka — even though many of Tamil origin have had parents and grandparents born in the country. This large and non-absorbed minority are distrusted and, as far as possible, ignored by the Sinhalese people. The Sri Lankan Government, however, is trying to overcome a problem caused by the British.

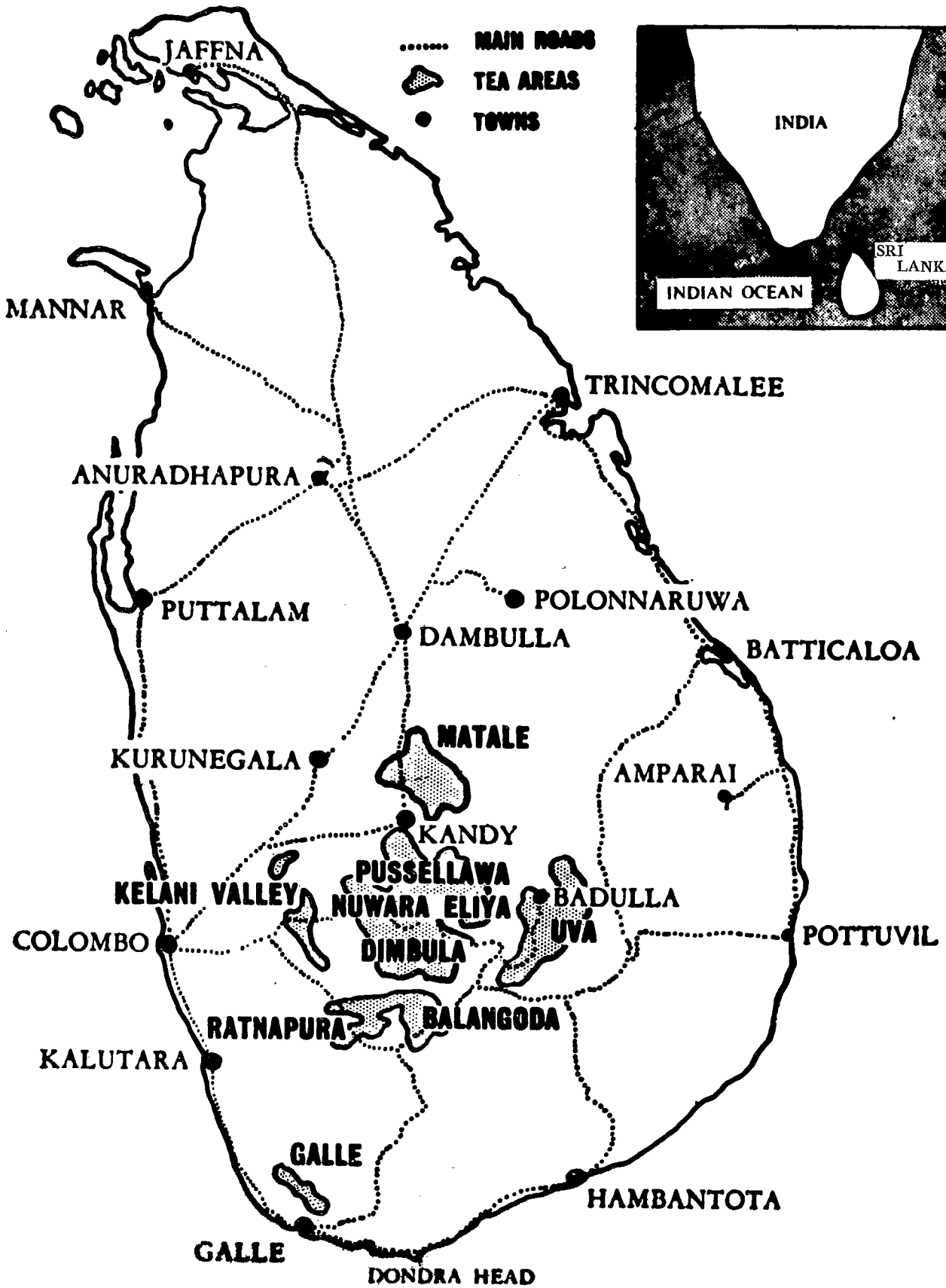
Soon after independence the Ceylon Citizenship Act (1948) was instituted. This required individuals to register as citizens of Ceylon. To qualify, an individual was required to prove not only his birth in Ceylon before an appointed date but also that of his father in Ceylon. If the individual was born outside Ceylon before the appointed date he had to prove that both his father and grandfather were born within the country. These requirements have been strictly enforced in the case of Tamils and, on the whole, not applied to the rest of the popula-

tion who were presumed to have had ancestors in the country for generations. For the Tamils, the requirements were supremely difficult to meet because the British regime had not rigidly enforced the registration of births. This, coupled with the high rate of illiteracy on the estates, ensured that most of the labourers were unable to prove citizenship and thereby remained disenfranchised.

In 1949 the Indian and Pakistani Residents' Act was passed. Several hundreds of thousands applied for registration under this Act but only one per cent were successful. The Sirima-Shastri Pact was signed between India and Ceylon in 1964. Under this, 525,000 Tamils were to be repatriated to India and 300,000 were to be absorbed into the population of Ceylon during the ensuing 15 years. (5) The number repatriated up to 1974 was about 85,000, and around 50,000 have been given citizenship. The 150,000 left outside the 1964 Agreement are being divided equally between repatriation and citizenship. (6) Still stateless are 850,000 awaiting 'classification' plus those born since the Agreement.

To be stateless is a traumatic insecurity. To be stateless in Sri Lanka means to be denied employment opportunities in the private, public and semi-government sectors because citizenship is the essential prerequisite. To be stateless means to be denied entry to trading activities, agricultural development programmes, and community and rural development schemes. To be stateless means to be prohibited by law from receiving grants of state lands on lease and have restrictions placed on purchasing immovable property. To be Tamil means that if, by remote chance, secondary education is available the language used will most likely be Sinhalese, not Tamil, since village schools have no Tamil language streams. The only remaining form of livelihood is as manual workers in the plantation sector. There is no choice.

SRI LANKA



3. Tea in the economy

3.1 Exports

Sri Lanka's foreign exchange situation is largely determined by the price and quantity sold of the three major export commodities; tea, rubber and coconut products. In recent years these three commodities have accounted for more than 90 per cent of the total value of exports.

Tea alone normally contributes up to 60 per cent to normal export earnings and in 1972 contributed over that amount. Thus the production and marketing of tea is vitally important to the economy. Sri Lanka's foreign exchange earnings fluctuate widely due to the variations in value of the major export crops. At present Sri Lanka has a critical shortage of foreign exchange. (See Table 1)

3.2 Imports

The cost of imports has always been greater than the value of exports, which has led to a considerable visible trade deficit. (See Table 2) Over the last five years foodstuffs have accounted for 45.6 per cent of the whole and twice the value of any other item on the import bill. Imports of rice are erratic, depending on the fluctuation in domestic output — particularly since 1971 owing to drought. Imports of wheat and wheat flour have tended to increase and in 1967 were larger than imports of rice. Rice is very expensive and flour not available on the open market.

3.3 Tea

Sri Lanka is second only to India in world tea production, growing 213,475 metric tons in 1972, almost 20 per cent of the world's tea. (7)

Some data on the cost of producing tea are published in the Statistical Abstract of Ceylon. (See Table 3) Costs are high and profit margins are negligible. Brooke Bond Liebig made a loss of £18,000 in 1972 in producing tea on its Sri Lankan estates (8) and is replanting Galaha with mulberry trees for silk production. (9)

(Brooke Bond did, however, make £228,000 profit on marketing Sri Lankan tea.) (10) Lonrho, through its subsidiary Anglo-Ceylon and General Estates, one of Sri Lanka's largest tea growers, claims to receive no income from the estates. (11)

Although losses are reported, companies make 'Head Office Charges'. These are variable amounts, usually between 5 and 20 per cent of the cost of producing a kilo of tea. Head office charges are directly taken out of the country and debited against cost before profits are calculated.

The present situation regarding tea production in Sri Lanka is unsatisfactory. The production of tea has remained almost static, slightly declining in the last five years. (See Table 4) Because of falling world prices (which are expected to continue to fall) total export proceeds of tea have stagnated. Furthermore, new producers are entering the market and are able to expand more rapidly because they are starting with new soil, fertilisers and young plants.

The tea growing and manufacturing industry has been for decades the largest employer of labour in Sri Lanka employing over half a million workers. This is approximately 17 per cent of wage employment in the country. Of the 13 million total population, 1.3 million live on the estates.

TABLE I

SRI LANKA PRINCIPAL COMMODITIES

MAIN EXPORTS

VALUE IN 1000s OF US DOLLARS

	1966	1967	1968	1969
Food and live animals	238,945	239,150	231,918	204,222
of which: Edible nuts incl. coconuts	13,892	13,111	26,077	15,393
Tea	215,678	217,687	195,033	178,274
Cinnamon & products	6,376	6,371	5,916	6,374
Copra	5,165	3,803	5,662	4,370
Natural rubber & gums	70,865	57,587	55,550	72,366
Textile Fibres	8,025	8,586	8,676	8,558
Coconut (Copra) oil	22,595	17,896	22,243	18,121
TOTAL ALL EXPORTS	354,906	284,512	342,593	320,921

TOTAL ALL EXPORTS 1970: US\$ 338,526;

1971: \$326,130 (000s)

Source: UN Yearbook of International Trade Statistics 1970/71 p. 705

TABLE 2

SRI LANKA PRINCIPAL COMMODITIES

MAIN IMPORTS

VALUE IN 1000s OF US DOLLARS

	1966	1967	1968	1969
Food and live animals	200,936	161,885	166,488	159,751
of which: Milk and cream	14,936	12,813	11,678	7,473
Fish & preparations	19,725	10,815	11,660	12,761
Cereals & preparations	101,967	92,337	101,686	89,900
of which: Rice	77,035	43,401	57,300	43,213
Wheat meal or flour	23,709	47,128	42,052	42,932
Fruit & vegetables	25,801	18,715	14,760	18,854
of which: Dry pulses	13,606	10,827	9,477	13,125
Refined sugar	21,567	15,159	16,353	19,626
Petroleum & products	27,929	23,481	33,024	26,500
Chemicals	38,800	33,760	36,167	35,902
of which: Manufactured fertilisers	17,813	15,659	18,355	11,016
Basic manufactures	83,861	66,094	68,542	85,896
of which: Textile yarn, fabric etc.	35,686	26,071	26,668	33,488
of which: Textile yarn & thread	8,827	9,249	11,944	12,735
Cotton Fabrics	19,845	10,998	9,786	15,274
Iron and steel	10,142	9,126	11,449	12,990
Machinery and transport equipment	55,301	51,817	45,669	98,157
of which: Machinery, non-electric	22,748	27,608	22,613	44,920
Electrical machinery	10,723	7,118	8,942	15,580
Transport equipment	21,830	17,091	14,114	37,656
of which: Railway vehicles	3,445	2,061	2,449	11,231
Road motor vehicles	16,012	12,564	9,988	18,050
TOTAL ALL IMPORTS	423,382	292,593	365,825	425,963

TOTALS 1970; \$387,437 1971; 332,663 (000s)

Source: UN Yearbook of International Trade Statistics 1970/71 p. 702-704

TABLE 3 COST OF PRODUCTION OF BLACK TEA (PER POUND)

Source: Statistical Abstract of Ceylon 1965	Rs. cents			
	1960	1961	1962	1963
GENERAL CHARGES	37.70	38.80	36.76	36.03
Salaries	14.00	13.98	13.61	12.87
Holiday wages	3.07	3.02	2.87	2.74
Up-keep of buildings, cart roads	4.54	4.94	4.54	4.53
Medical, Maternity, schooling	3.61	3.69	3.58	3.43
Food production, insurance rents, taxes stationary	11.66	11.46	11.17	11.53
Contingencies and other	0.82	1.21	0.99	0.93
UP-KEEP AND CULTIVATION	83.65	83.07	80.47	80.02
Labour wages incl. allowances	69.79	69.72	67.02	67.19
Materials and tools	13.86	13.35	13.45	12.83
MANUFACTURING COST	25.55	26.04	24.91	25.35
Factory labour	8.56	8.53	8.13	8.36
Machinery up-keep	2.27	2.21	2.18	2.57
Fuel, factory sundries and packing	14.72	15.30	14.60	14.42
COST OF PRODUCTION PER POUND	146.90	147.41	142.74	141.40

TABLE 4 TEA PRODUCTION IN SRI LANKA 1964-72

	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972
AREA UNDER TEA (Estates & small holdings) (hectares)	239,569	240,508	241,373	242,331	241,796	241,401	241,799	241,667	241,858
PRODUCTION OF TEA									
High grown	87,379	91,341	88,847	84,774	86,022	84,911	81,110	84,369	81,393
Medium grown	75,692	78,799	73,556	79,062	80,927	77,520	72,199	75,958	74,922
Low grown	55,443	58,096	59,910	56,906	57,853	57,209	58,900	57,246	57,160
TOTAL (metric tons)	218,513	228,236	222,312	220,742	224,803	219,639	212,210	217,373	213,475
YIELD									
Metric tons per hect.	0.91	0.95	0.92	0.91	0.93	0.91	0.88	0.90	0.88

Source: International Tea Committee Annual Bulletin of Statistics 1973

4. Tea workers' conditions

4.1 Unemployment

According to the Government Socio-Economic Survey in 1969/70, 6.2 per cent of estate workers are registered unemployed. (12) But unemployment is rife and rises yearly. Jobs are denied the plantation community in other sectors of the economy because the estates are isolated communities, education is poor and many of the workers are stateless, and are therefore unable to register as unemployed.

For most of those who work on tea estates, conditions are appalling and there is little chance for the workers to improve their lot. It is difficult to press for your rights as an employee when there is little alternative employment.

In 1969/70 nearly 22 per cent of the estate population were youths aged between 14 and 24 and the majority of these were unemployed. (13) The birth rate is high and with an annual population increase of 2.9 per cent the number of youths is rising rapidly. (14) Thus the potential workforce increases yearly but the workforce required remains nearly static. As minimum wages have risen, the number of days work offered has been reduced, according to a director of the biggest agency house in Colombo. In theory, employers have the choice of offering more workers fewer days work per month or a lesser number of workers full-time employment. But in reality this choice is neither fair, nor does it exist.

Granada Television's "World in Action" film "The Cost of a Cup of Tea" claimed a plucker on Brooke Bond's Galaha Estate had not had a full week's work for two years. (15) Brooke Bond retorted in a letter to Shareholders that this worker had averaged slightly more than a five day week throughout that period. (16) According to Sri Lankan Government legislation, estates are required to provide a minimum of six days work a week. (17) This means that many who are registered as employed are underemployed and sometimes severely so – particularly out of the harvesting and plucking season.

4.2 Wages

In 1972 a survey stated that Rs 190/- per month was the minimum required for two people to live, allowing very limited expenditure on minimum requirements. (18) (Official exchange rate Jan. 74: Rs 16/- equals £1 sterling.) Since then, inflation, particularly in foodstuffs, has been and will continue to be substantial.

The average income per household on the estates is the lowest in the wage economy, even though the average number of wage earners per household in the plantations is 2.6 as against 1.6 in the urban and rural sectors of the economy.

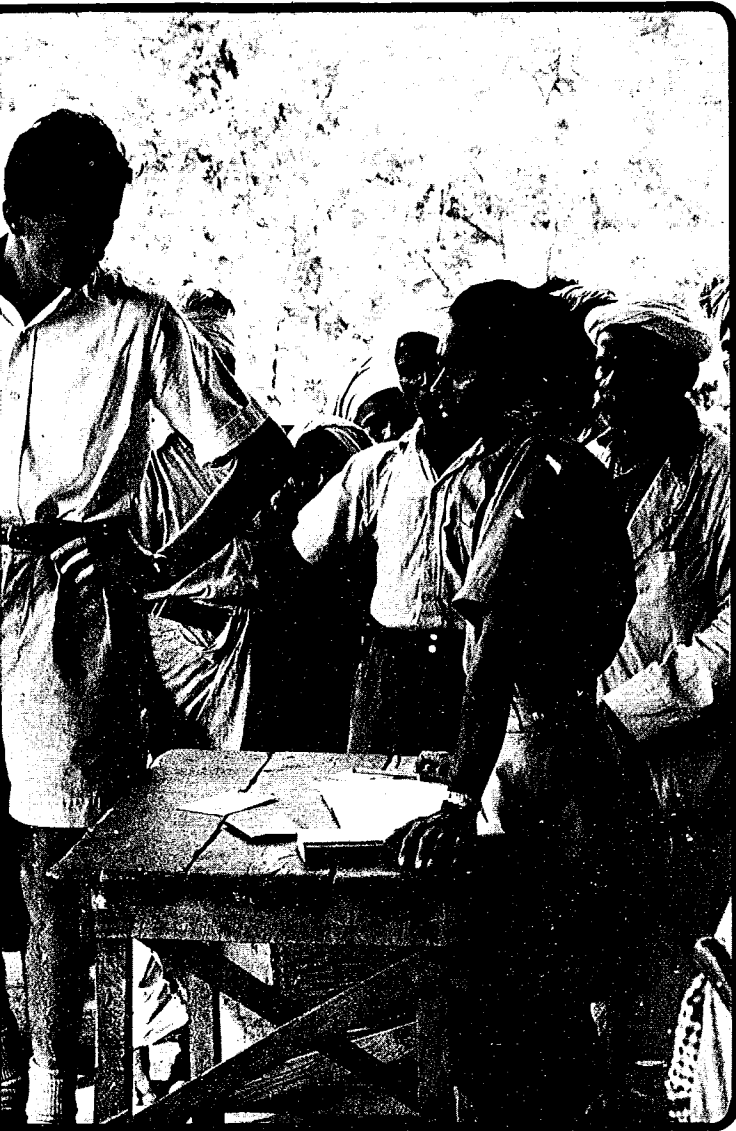
The 1969/70 Socio-Economic Survey showed that the average monthly income of an estate household was Rs 211/- per month and that this was a much lower income than the average Rs 289/- household income for the whole country. Eighty six point eight per cent of estate households earn between Rs 100/- and Rs 400/- a month, which means that many subsist below the minimum poverty level stated.

Minimum wage legislation exists in Sri Lanka for the tea industry. By 1945 the Wage Board had fixed minimum rates and a system of allowances to be varied with a cost of living index. However, the key factor affecting the decisions of the Wage Board has been the economic situation in the industry, in particular, the prices on the world



Photo courtesy of Granada Television.

LIFE on the tea estates. Top photo, workers waiting for lines a mother nurses her children. Bottom right, at work



Camera Press photo by Jean-Paul Faure.



Photo by Len Black.

their daily rice rations. Bottom left, inside the labour plucking the tea.

tea market. Since 1956 tea prices have declined and this has given little encouragement for the Government to increase wages.

After the minimum wage was first fixed in 1945, it was raised from 58 cents to Rs 1.10 a day, or almost 90 per cent, by 1950. (This only increased in the 13 month period preceding January 1950.) In 1952, tea prices tumbled and by early 1953 the Wage Board actually decided to reduce the minimum wage in the estates producing lower quality teas, which had suffered most from the price decline, but as the situation improved in 1954 this reduction was never enforced. In August 1954, the minimum wage was raised by 15 cents. There was no other rise until August 1967, and then only by 10 cents to Rs 1.35. Thus for those 13 years, the minimum wage on tea estates was not increased whilst that of other sectors of the economy increased steadily throughout the period. (19)

Later in 1967, under an Emergency Regulation, the daily wage was increased by 30 cents (22 per cent) raising it to Rs 1.65. (The Ceylon Rupee was devalued by 20 per cent that year.) Nevertheless, with inflation, wages during this period actually decreased in real terms. Tea workers' wages rose on average by 27 per cent between December 1954 and January 1968 against 90 per cent for unskilled engineering workers and 63 per cent for unskilled Government workers. (20)

The trend in minimum wage legislation shows that the increase in cost of living and the relationship with other sectors of the economy were not prime influences. The only real consideration appeared to be the state of the economic position of the employers and thus the changing supply and demand in the world market. Since 1967, several wage increases have occurred, most recently the 10 per cent increase of October 1st 1973 under the United Front Government. Thus, by November 1973, the basic daily rate was Rs 4.18. (21)

To most tea pickers a working month of 22 days is exceptional. If we are more than generous and allow for an unheard of working month of 28 days, a tea picker could hope to earn Rs 117.04 a month at the basic rate, to support a family. This is well below the previously stated poverty line of Rs 190/- for two people per month.

Not all estate workers are so poorly paid. On the contrary, the Superintendents are paid very well by Sri Lankan standards. The main task of all Superintendents or estate managers is to achieve maximum output and profit at minimum cost. Superintendents are paid approximately Rs 2000/- to Rs 3000/- per month, have large bungalows, an average of three or four servants and cars provided by the estates.

There are anomalies in the calculation and payment of wages to the pluckers, making it difficult to know what workers should receive. On most estates there is a bonus scheme agreed by the unions. A worker is paid five cents a pound over 30lbs of tea picked daily, but that is a very large amount of tea to pick. On average, workers only pick approximately 80lbs a month. (22) The Superintendents are allowed by companies and managers to impose fines upon workers and this frequently occurs. Foremen are given a specific amount of money, usually an underestimate, to complete a job - irrespective of the amount of time required to do so. In this way workers are sometimes paid for a fewer number of days than actually worked and the company can say the contract cost the workers several days' work. Money is also deducted from pay for union fees, rations and other services available on the estates. A worker can actually receive very little or no money at the end of the month.

Compensation for formal dismissal of workers is provided for by the Labour Tribunals, but this can be avoided by not providing work at the daily muster, without actual dismissal. This, in fact, is common practice. Those benefitting from the Labour Tribunals are not usually the pluckers, but rather the clerical and factory staff and recently a Superintendent received over Rs 200,000 compensation.

4.3 Household expenses

With the rapidly increasing cost of living, monthly expenditure of estate workers increases, while the income stays relatively static. In 1969/70 the average monthly income for an estate household was Rs 211/- compared to its average expenditure of Rs 254.10, of which, 59.3 per cent was for food. (23) Thus expenditure exceeds income. Food prices rose 40 per cent between 1969 and July 1973, which compares unfavourably to the 17.7 per cent rise in minimum daily wages. (24) This clearly indicates that workers do not receive sufficient income to provide for their basic necessities and that the lives of larger families must be wretched.

4.4 Subsidies - fringe benefits

The estates provide certain subsidies and fringe benefits. These include housing, schooling and medical care (see following sections). They also purchase food and essential supplies for sale to the workers.

Sri Lanka is acutely short of foreign exchange to import essential foodstuffs. As a consequence of this, rice, flour and sugar are rationed. When "World in Action" filmed on estates in September 1973, a doctor verified that many workers and their children were suffering from malnutrition and anaemia, as well as hookworm. At that time, those in Sri Lanka not earning over Rs 400/- a month, were entitled to a free two pounds and a second subsidised two pounds of rice per person, per week. Since October 1st 1973, the free rice was reduced to half the previous amount and the subsidised extra amount was abandoned, because Sri Lanka was running desperately short of supply. (25) In November, China donated 40,000 tons of rice, with a further 160,000 tons promised during 1974. This will ease the situation in the short term. The Government restored the full rice ration on 31st December in coastal and deficit rice areas, (26) but reduced it again to one pound on 28th January 1974. (27) In October 1973 the sugar ration of $\frac{3}{4}$ lb a month cost 54 cents but the open market price of sugar was Rs 2/- to Rs 2.10 per pound. Bread cost 76 cents per pound. One pound of flour could be bought weekly on ration, but none could be purchased on the open market. The food situation continues to be critical, with grave shortage of protein, and the latest 10 per cent increase in wages does not compensate for the increased cost of food.

Stateless people - 75 per cent of the estate population - do not qualify for ration books. Even registered citizens of Tamil origin (as distinct from citizens by descent) are given a different coloured ration book or card. This permits discrimination whilst buying rations at the estate stores because of the shortages.

The estates are obliged to buy food rations for the workers. Some Superintendents complain that food is difficult to obtain. There have also been cases of companies not buying the rations. The Superintendent on the Elkuduwa Estate was fined by the Authorities for this malpractice some months ago. (28)

When visited in October, workers on an estate near

Nuwara Eliya complained that they had not eaten more than a slice of bread each for three days. They went on strike for several days, stating that the Superintendent and higher staff officials were preventing the sale of flour and rice rations. The officials were alleged by the workers to have distributed the food in their own homes.

Other than basic food rations, the workers have to rely mainly on what they are permitted to grow to supplement their diet. Many estates do not provide adequate land for such activities and those that do, do not encourage higher standards of nutrition among workers. The inevitable consequence is protein and vitamin deficiency.

In mid-December 1973 several unions, with a total membership of over 350,000 plantation workers, called a strike which lasted several days. They complained in a letter to the Prime Minister that "... the 10 per cent increase in wages ... cannot enable even workers who may get it to obtain adequate food to maintain themselves and their families at the nutritional levels necessary to the maintenance of their health and working capacity.

This is especially so in the case of plantation workers, whose normal consumption of rice and flour has been reduced from about eight pounds per person to only two pounds per person per week, as a result of the ration cuts and the non-availability of bread or other foodstuffs in sufficient quantities in plantation areas. Millions of other people, including workers who do not receive wages that are legally enforceable, are in no better position. Thus, while only a small section of our people has not been adversely affected by the Government's measures, vast numbers are now living under conditions of semi-starvation." (29)

4.5 Housing

Most estate workers live in 'labour lines', where a family inhabits a one or two room unit in a long line of identical units. Almost 90 per cent of housing units on estates are the lines and as many as 89 per cent of the estate population live in this type of dwelling. (See Table 5)

Legislation requires the minimum of a single room for two adults and two children. Many units are seriously overcrowded without water or latrines nearby, which increases the health hazard. In an estate near Nuwara Eliya 30 families are living in lines huddled and congested into 14 rooms.

The Chairman of Brooke Bond Liebig, Sir Humphrey Prideaux, said in a letter to shareholders that "no serious overcrowding exists on this (Galaha), or any of our three other estates." (30) Mr. Brazier, a Director of Brooke Bond Liebig, visited Sri Lanka towards the end of 1973. When questioned by the writer after his return, he said he considered overcrowding to mean five or six people per room. (31) This, in fact, is the average number of people per line room unit on Galaha Estate in at least two out of five divisions. The maximum found was a family of 10 people in one room. (32)

The Co-operative Tea Society has up to 11 people living in one room on some of its estates, and has taken the attitude that "the sharing of accommodation such as this (line rooms) by 16 people is not to be encouraged but short of evicting them, there is little we can do about it. The CTS does not have any responsibility to house extended families, but where larger accommodation is available, we take the humanitarian view and allow them to use it." (33)

Conditions are dismal generally. Buildings are not regularly repaired and maintained. Roofs leak. There is

no proper sanitation. Drains and latrines are blocked. On one British owned estate (Galaha) a water pipe had been broken for at least a year. Although this had been reported, people still had to walk 1 - 1½ miles to the nearest water tank. On this part of the estate one worker said that there had been no repairs for 10 years. (34)

Some lines still being used are the original ones built when the plantations were first developed over a hundred years ago. Workers are born, live and die in the same room. On Galaha Estate, a 40 year old man still lives in the room in which he was born. His family had lived in that room for 35 years previously. The main roof leaks. There is no water readily available. There are toilets but none of them function and the drains are never cleaned. He remembers repairs being undertaken last four or five years earlier. (35)

Very few housing units are being put up at present and building operations are almost at a standstill. Whilst companies are making a negligible profit they do not seem prepared to spend much money on housing. The Co-operative Tea Society says that there has not been much newly built accommodation on its estates recently because they have had no need for a greater work-force. From September 1972 to April 1973 expenditure on housing repairs was Rs 2000/- for the three CTS estates. There was no outlay on building. (36) In October 1973 the Sri Lankan Government took some initiative in offering companies 10 per cent towards the cost of improving labour lines. (37)

4.6 Health

Overcrowding, few and ill-used latrines, open drains and poor diet leave workers vulnerable to disease. Protein and vitamin deficiency, anaemia and hookworm abound and the infant mortality rate is the highest in the country at 107 per thousand live births in 1972. (38)

Companies are responsible for the provision of medical facilities on the estates. Some plantations provide hospital facilities while others provide the service of a dispenser. Dispensers are not adequately qualified to attend to urgent or serious illnesses. The shortage of properly trained and qualified personnel is a major obstacle to improving health services on the estates.

Maternity facilities are provided on many of the estates but the shortage of qualified midwives is acute. These tend to be absorbed into the public government sector leaving the private (estate) sector with the rejects - the

retired, the dismissed or, in desperation 'unregistered' midwives who have experience but no formal training. Even on estates that provide maternity facilities, 21.6 per cent of the babies were born in the unhygienic conditions of the lines and on estates without medical facilities, 83.8 per cent were delivered in the lines in 1972.(39) The situation is unlikely to have altered appreciably since then. Women are paid six weeks maternity benefit by the estates, but only if they have worked 180 days in the previous nine months; (40) (that is, 20 days per month - compared with an estimated high of 22 days per month of work offered.)

Free drugs are supplied to estates, but over the last 10 years few have had their full quota of drugs. The quantity of drugs supplied to estates in recent years has, on average, been about 33 per cent short of the quota planned. The Medical Director reported that "... this loss is never made good. There is no question of a cash refund in order to enable estates to purchase drugs outside, nor is it the practice to carry over these amounts from one year to the other." (41) Some companies, for example Brooke Bond Liebig, have been trying to import drugs into Sri Lanka but have been frustrated by import restrictions. (42)

Most Superintendents are eligible to use the State Health Service without restriction because most are Ceylonese by descent. All, however, enjoy special company paid health insurance schemes.

For serious or urgent illnesses requiring hospitalisation, the workers must go to State hospitals away from the estates, but they are not admitted without a note, called a Thundu, from the Superintendent. Estates are supposed to arrange transport but often they do not and workers cannot afford it for themselves. The estate must pay 50 cents per day for the hospitalisation of a worker. The number of those receiving notes enabling treatment is severely restricted owing to the meagre financial resources available for medical care.

On the estates, emphasis is placed on curative medicine only. Many diseases could be abolished with adequate health education and preventive care. No-one is responsible for ensuring that the sanitary facilities are used properly and that the areas surrounding the lines are kept clean. As it is, an argument used by companies is that there is no use in providing individual family latrines or even new communal ones because they will be either misused or not used at all.

HOUSING UNITS CLASSIFIED BY TYPE OF DWELLING & NUMBER OF OCCUPANTS IN THE ESTATE SECTOR

TABLE 5

Type of Dwelling	Number of Units	per cent	Number of Occupants	Per cent	Occupancy Rate
Single house	18,240	7.2	100,605	7.6	5.5
Attached house (lines)	225,720	89.7	1,170,700	89.0	5.1
Flat	1,140	0.5	6,270	0.5	5.5
Annexe	5,985	2.4	35,055	2.7	5.8
Part of a house	285	0.1	1,710	0.1	4.1
Improvised structure	285	0.1	1,710	0.1	4.1
TOTAL	251,655	100.0	1,316,130	100.0	5.2

Source: Socio-Economic Survey of Ceylon 1967/70

Families could also be encouraged to use family planning, maternity and child welfare facilities where these exist and companies could be persuaded to provide them where they do not. Families also need to be able to grow enough vegetables to supplement their grossly inadequate diet.

4.7 Education

Sri Lanka has a free educational system, but on the estates the companies are responsible for providing schooling. Very few teachers on the estates are qualified and the curriculum is hopelessly inadequate and out of date. Education is for white collar workers and not suitable for those who must work in agriculture. (43)

Only 8.8 per cent of estate children eligible received secondary education in 1969/70, schooling being generally of a rudimentary primary nature. (44) The schools have a single class with 40 to 50 children and one teacher. Brooke Bond Liebig provides three years of schooling and the oldest children in its schools are nine or 10 years. This is comparable to most estate schools. (45)

Some estate owners, including Brooke Bond Liebig, have asked the Government to take over the responsibility for estate schooling, but so far no practical steps have been taken to absorb this private sector into the state system. And so, as yet, there is no way for estate children to fight their way out of the present situation. Instead they drift into employment at the age of 12 or 14.

Most estate children speak Tamil, but normally schooling in the Tamil language is not available in the villages around the estates even for registered citizens. Higher education and scholarships are not generally available and from a total university and polytechnic student population of over 10,000, it is believed that less than 20 are from the estate sector. Those are mainly the children of clerical or technical grade workers.

4.8 Comparison with other sectors

Conditions on the estates are indeed grim. It is frequently claimed that estate workers are no worse off than other sectors of the community. This is not true, as can be seen from a summary of the contrasts.

Only in the actual percentage of people employed does the estate sector appear to have favourable figures. Seventy seven per cent of the total estate population are employed with 6.2 per cent registered unemployed. In the whole island 47.4 per cent are employed and 7.3 per cent registered unemployed. (46) Even so, unemployment is more noticeably acute on the estates because of the high density of population (almost 700 per square mile as against 200-250 per square mile in rural areas of Sri Lanka). These figures are misleading also because non-citizens are not eligible to register at an employment exchange and the figure of 77 per cent employed included underemployed workers.

The Socio-Economic Survey of Ceylon in 1969/70 showed the average monthly income of households as follows:

Urban household	Rs 453/- per month
Rural "	Rs 264/- " "
Estate "	Rs 211/- " "
National "	Rs 289/- " "

The estate sector was appreciably worse off. In 1972 the daily rate for tea workers was Rs 2.95, whereas for an unskilled worker in engineering it was Rs 6.25. In

terms of minimum wage legislation for unskilled workers, the tea workers have not done well. Between December 1954 and January 1968 the tea workers had an increase of 27 per cent, whilst unskilled government workers had an increase of 63.4 per cent and unskilled employees in the engineering trade had an increase of 90.6 per cent. (47)

All the population have access to health facilities, and the government is proud of the State Health Service. The estate workers, however, are penalised because drugs are especially scarce in the private sector, and notes for hospital admittance are difficult to obtain. Although facilities are provided on the estates, these are often antiquated and badly run, with the best personnel being siphoned off into the state sector.

In education the estate sector suffers. Of all people employed on the estates 38.9 per cent have received no schooling. This compares most unfavourably with the 17.5 per cent of population of the whole island who have had no schooling. Secondary and higher education is not readily available to people on the estates. Non-citizens were not taken into account when the language used in schools was determined in 1962. Hence most schools became Sinhalese whereas most of the estate population is Tamil.

5. Sri Lanka and Britain

5.1 *British involvement*

Britain is the largest importer of Sri Lankan tea, importing 28 per cent of Sri Lanka's exports from 1968 to 1972. (48) The average price of Sri Lankan tea has not been maintained in recent years and is expected to continue declining. (49) The main reasons for this are that world demand of tea has not been growing faster than world supply and there has been a rapid expansion of tea production in non-traditional areas such as East Africa. Since the East African situation is under the direct influence of Britain, the warning to Sri Lanka is clear: Sri Lanka should be careful not to offend her major buyer of tea.

British investment, and all people in Britain are intimately involved with Sri Lanka's failing tea industry. A quarter of the tea consumed in Britain over the last five years came from Sri Lanka, (50) involving companies which are household names, such as Brooke Bond, the Co-operative Wholesale Society and Lonrho, which grow and buy Sri Lankan tea. Although Brooke Bond grows only one per cent of Sri Lanka's tea, it exports over a third. For the year ending June 1972, Brooke Bond Liebig, on all its operations, made a profit of £14.3 million, which included £228,000 from its Sri Lankan operations. (51) In 1973 Brooke Bond increased its overall profit by an extra £4 million. (52)

The Co-operative Wholesale Society, which markets '99' tea, made an overall profit of £1.1 million in 1972. Lonrho made an overall profit of over £19 million, but no-one from Britain has visited its Sri Lankan estates for five or six years and the Managing Director, Mr. Roland Rowland, says that no income is received from any of the estates. (53)

Altogether, about 30 per cent of Sri Lanka's tea is grown on estates with British connections. It should be remembered that whilst it is easier to obtain information on the larger companies, it is normally on the estates of the smaller companies that the worst conditions exist. A list of British companies with investments in the Sri Lankan tea industry can be found in Appendix A.

5.2 *The pricing mechanism*

Over the last five years Sri Lanka consumed only nine per cent of her own tea, the remainder being exported. (54) The price of her exported tea is determined in three different ways; at the Colombo weekly auctions, at the London weekly auctions and at private sales (for example in West Europe, USA and Canada). In 1972 177,315 metric tons of tea were sold at the Colombo auctions and 23,315 metric tons of Sri Lankan tea were sold at the London auctions. (55)

Auctions are of two types: primary and secondary. Primary auctions are those held in the producing country between the producers and the buyers. The latter are mainly agents of foreign proprietary blenders. Secondary auctions are those held in London between blender and retailer. Frequently, the identity of the buyer and seller is the same. This enables the price to be manipulated for the purpose of transferring profits abroad.

A common feature of both Colombo and London auctions is the dominating presence of a very few powerful buyers, even though over 100 buyers are registered at the Colombo auction. A full description is given in "The Dossier" produced in 1972 by Broeder-

lijk Delen, Brussels. Twelve buyers handle three-quarters of all Sri Lanka's tea. "The handful of powerful buyers are agents of London based Principals who grip-control the whole process of production and marketing." The Dossier states that Brooke Bond Liebig, Lyons, Typhoo and the English and Scottish Joint Co-operative Wholesale Society determine the disposal of 85 per cent of the retail market in Britain. (56) A powerful ring of buyers is a serious problem but the situation becomes intolerable for the producer when buyers sell at both ends (ie. control both producer and consumer markets). For example, Brooke Bond Liebig in London is a producer in Sri Lanka and operates in Colombo and other producer markets at Cochin, Calcutta, Mombasa and Djakarta, controlling a third of the UK retail market (45 per cent of packeted tea and 27 per cent of tea bags). In 1972, Brooke Bond Ceylon exported 68 million pounds of tea, of which 15.8 million pounds went to Australia (57) where the main buyer was Bushells which Brooke Bond owns. (58)

Britain is heavily involved with the production, marketing and consumption of Sri Lankan tea and must therefore accept its own responsibility for the conditions which estate workers have to endure.

The traditional price mechanism, based on supply and demand, operates freely when the market is competitive. But how free is the market when buyer and seller are the same? To quote from an FAO Ad Hoc Meeting on Tea in May 1965, "In this situation manipulation has free play and the producing country, despite all her efforts to earn foreign exchange for development, is stalled at every point."

It is not surprising that the real price of tea for the producer is declining significantly. Between 1961 and 1972 the average annual auction price per kilo of Sri Lankan tea in London decreased from 50.9 pence per kilo to 45.5 pence per kilo, and in Colombo increased marginally from Rs 4.25 per kilo to Rs 4.39 per kilo. (59) This has benefitted the British, who pay little more for tea now than they did 10 years ago.

5.3 *Trade or aid?*

Although Britain continues to exploit tea and the tea pickers in Sri Lanka, she recognises that Sri Lanka is a developing country by giving it aid. In 1972 Britain 'aided' Sri Lanka to the sum of almost £4 million less loan repayments of £300,000. (60) But aid ties a country to certain conditions and terms which are not always favourable to the country as a social, political or economic unit. The concept of Britain helping Sri Lanka with 'aid' becomes an illusion when one realises that the price paid to Sri Lanka for the tea it produces is declining. If Sri Lanka had continued to receive the price paid in 1962 for its tea, then in 1970 alone it would have received an extra £24 million in valuable foreign exchange. Over the period of nine years from 1963 to 1971, the loss of foreign exchange earnings calculated on the same basis of the price received in 1962 was approximately £110 million. (61) If Britain had continued to pay Sri Lanka the same price that it paid in 1962, it would have to pay an extra £38.7 million for its Sri Lankan tea between 1963 and 1971. Figures for British Aid to Sri Lanka are not available for 1963 but between 1964 and 1971 Britain 'aided' Sri Lanka by £24.9 million (62) Only a fair price for tea will enable Sri Lanka to pay a living wage to its workers and become for the first time partners in development with Britain.

6. Summary

1. Introduction

Britain is the world's largest importer of tea. The report reveals the real price Sri Lanka is paying for providing Britain with cheap tea and provides sufficient information for a sustained campaign on behalf of tea workers.

2. Historical background

2.1 Colonial heritage

Ceylon became a British Crown Colony in 1815, and Britain was responsible for introducing tea. Unskilled labour, particularly Tamils from South India, were imported to work on the plantations. By independence, the most significant part of the economy was completely controlled by Britain.

2.2 The Tamils today

Twenty per cent of Sri Lanka's 13 million population are of Indian origin and 80 per cent of the plantation population are Tamil. These people are not integrated into the wider community of Sri Lanka and about one million are stateless.

3 Tea in the economy

3.1 Exports

Tea contributes over 60 per cent of Sri Lanka's foreign exchange earnings. Fluctuations in tea price are vitally important to the economy.

3.2 Imports

The cost of imports is greater than the value of exports. Food accounts for twice as much as any other single item on the import bill.

3.3 Tea

Sri Lanka is the world's second largest tea producer providing 20 per cent of the world's tea. Costs of production are high and profit margins negligible. The volume of production and exports has grown slowly, but because of falling world prices total export proceeds have stagnated. The tea growing and manufacturing industry is the largest employer of labour in Ceylon.

4. Tea workers' conditions

4.1 Unemployment

Six point two per cent of estate workers are unemployed, but the real figure is much higher than this because stateless people cannot register as unemployed. The situation is perpetuated as stateless people cannot find work in other sectors of the economy. Legislation insists that estate workers be given a minimum six day working week, but registered workers are normally underemployed.

4.2 Wages

Rs 190/- per month is the minimum on which two people can live, but the average monthly income for an estate household is Rs 211/-. Minimum wage legislation exists in Sri Lanka and in November 1973 the basic daily rate was Rs 4.18. Money is deducted from pay for rations, union fees and other services on the estates and workers can sometimes actually receive no money at the end of the month.

4.3 Household expenses

The average monthly household expenditure is Rs 254.10, with food accounting for 59.3 per cent of that amount.

4.4 Subsidies - fringe benefits

Sri Lanka is short of foreign exchange and because of this, rice, flour and sugar are rationed. The rice ration was cut by half to one pound per person per week in October 1973. Unfortunately, stateless people do not qualify for ration books and food on the open market is extremely expensive. Estates are obliged to buy food rations for the workers but food is difficult to obtain and companies do not always buy the rations.

4.5 Housing

Workers live in 'labour lines' which are seriously overcrowded. Buildings are not regularly repaired and maintained. Roofs leak. There is no proper sanitation and drains and latrines are blocked. Building operations however, are almost at a standstill because companies are trying to make maximum profit with minimum cost.

4.6 Health

Poor conditions leave workers vulnerable to disease. Protein and vitamin deficiency, anaemia and hookworm abound. Companies are responsible for providing medical facilities. Medical personnel are inadequately qualified and drugs are in short supply. Workers have difficulty in obtaining hospital treatment in the public government sector.

4.7 Education

Companies are responsible for providing schooling. Teachers are often unqualified and only three years of schooling are provided. It is extremely difficult for worker's children to obtain secondary or higher education, and schooling is not normally available in the Tamil language.

4.8 Comparison with other sectors

Estate workers are considerably worse off than other sectors of the economy. The average monthly income of estate households was Rs 211/- whereas the whole island average was Rs 289/- in 1969. In 1972 the daily rate for tea workers was Rs 2.95, whereas for an unskilled engineering worker it was Rs 6.25. Health and education facilities are worse in the private than the public sector.

5. Sri Lanka and Britain

5.1 British involvement

Britain is the largest importer of Sri Lankan tea and the average price has not been maintained. A quarter of Britain's tea comes from Sri Lanka and involves well known companies such as Brooke Bond, the Co-operative Wholesale Society and Lonrho. About 30 per cent of Sri Lanka's tea is grown on estates with British connections.

5.2 The pricing mechanism

Ninety one per cent of Sri Lanka's tea is exported. The tea is sold at the Colombo and London auctions and at small private sales in West Europe, USA and Canada. There are a very few powerful buyers and the situation becomes intolerable when buyers sell at both Colombo and London markets. This keeps the price artificially low.

5.3 Trade or aid?

Britain exploits tea pickers but gives Sri Lanka 'aid'. In 1972 Britain 'aided' Sri Lanka with £4 million less £300,000 loan repayments. But if Sri Lanka had continued to receive the price paid for tea in 1962, it would have received over £24 million in 1970 alone. Only a fair price for tea will enable Sri Lanka to pay a living wage to its workers.

7. What can be done?

The situation on tea estates is degrading and demoralising. Responsibility lies jointly with four main groups – the Sri Lankan Government, the companies involved, Sri Lankan and British Unions and the British Government. These groups must work together in an attempt to achieve a solution.

The following are main recommendations.

7.1 *Recommendations to the Sri Lankan Government*

- 7.101 Speed up repatriation and granting citizenship to the Tamil minority. Give non-citizens ration books.
- 7.102 Increase the minimum wage so that it is on par with unskilled workers in other sectors of the economy.
- 7.103 Take over estate schools and integrate them into the state school system. Provide scholarships and adequate secondary education.
- 7.104 Expand health personnel training throughout Sri Lanka and create approximately equal medical facilities throughout the country.
- 7.105 Impose a differential tax on those companies which do not comply with government regulations requiring the provision of at least one room for two adults and two children and those which do not offer workers a six day minimum working week. The fund thus created would be spent on providing adequate housing and supplementing workers' income.
- 7.106 Provide a low interest loan fund for estate workers to create 'side' employment (e.g. light services, industry, development of small plots).

7.2 *Recommendations to the Estate Owners*

- 7.201 Recognise that the estate is the community for all workers and families. Adhere to the two adults and two children only to a room legislation and recognise that the extended family situation exists by ensuring extra rooms for larger families are available.
- 7.202 Ensure that all lines more than 50 years old are replaced with good quality cottages and make sure that all accommodation is constantly repaired and maintained. Assist workers to build their own homes.
- 7.203 Ensure an adequate number of lavatories per line and that they are kept clean.
- 7.204 Cover all open drains and ensure adequate drainage.
- 7.205 Ensure a clean supply of water is maintained close to each line.
- 7.206 Ensure that adequate food rations are bought in and distributed fairly.
- 7.207 Provide free of charge, one protein-rich meal per person per day.
- 7.208 Provide land and subsidised seeds and encourage workers to grow their own vegetables to supplement their diet.
- 7.209 Provide compulsory primary schooling with a fully qualified teacher and negotiate with the Government to integrate estate schools into the state system.
- 7.210 Provide a qualified doctor, nurse and nutrition health visitor on each estate.
- 7.211 Ensure that the full quota of drugs is always available in dispensaries and negotiate with the Government in order to obtain extra supplies.
- 7.212 Encourage workers to plan adult literacy classes and use the health worker for educational purposes.
- 7.213 Encourage workers and the unemployed to establish subsidiary occupations on the estates. (e.g. bicycle repair shops, dairy and fruit farming, handicrafts, tailoring, carpentry, blacksmith workshop.)
- 7.214 Legislation insists that workers be offered six days work a week. Accept the need to provide a minimum weekly wage based on a minimum of six days.

7.3 *Recommendations to the Sri Lankan Unions*

The unions have an essential role to play.

- 7.301 Strive for a guaranteed minimum weekly wage.
- 7.302 Unions must see their responsibility extending to the whole community and encourage self-help activities by the workers.
- 7.303 Take advantage of any positive action by the Government in line with recommendations 7.101, .103, .104, .106 and by the estates in 7.201, .202, .203, .204, .205, .208, .209, .210, .211, .212, .213.

7.4 Recommendations to the British Government

7.401 The Sri Lankan tea industry is very heavily controlled by Britain. It is the responsibility of the British Government to ensure that workers employed by British Companies are not exploited. To further this aim a team of inquiry should be sent out immediately to examine conditions of tea workers on British owned estates.

7.402 Provide resources for tea research for improving technology in 'instant' tea production to enable better competition with coffee.

7.403 Press for an examination of the pricing mechanism and a fair price for the tea bought by Britain and to these ends press for an international commodity agreement for tea.

7.5 Recommendations to the British Trade Unions

7.501 It is the responsibility of the British Trade Unionists to ensure that co-workers employed by the same companies receive fair wages and are not exploited.

Appendix A

British companies with investments in Sri Lankan tea

Adams Peak Tea Estates Ltd.,
19 Leadenhall St.,
London E.C. 3

Anglo-Ceylon General Estates (Lonrho)
St. John Lyons House,
5 High Timber St.,
Upper Thames St.,
London E.C. 4

Associated Tea Estates of Ceylon Ltd.,
Tubs Hill House,
London Rd.,
Sevenoaks,
Kent

Brooke Bond Liebig Ltd.,
35 Cannon St.,
London E.C. 4

The Carolina Tea Company of Ceylon Ltd.,
James Worley & Sons,
35 Westminster Bridge,
London S.W. 1

Central Province Tea Holdings Ltd.,
Sussex House,
38 Queen St.,
London E.C. 4

Ceylon Tea Plantation Holdings Ltd.,
Crosby House,
36-37 Great St. Helens,
London E.C. 3

Co-operative Tea Society,
110 Leman St.,
London E.C. 4

Consolidated Tea and Lands Co. Ltd.,
22 West Nile St.,
Glasgow G.1

Craig Tea Estates Ltd.,
37 Queen St.,
London E.C. 4

Deltenne (Ceylon) Tea Estates Ltd.,
5 Queen St.,
London E.C. 4

Demodera Tea Company Ltd.,
37 Queen St.,
London E.C. 4

Dickwella (Holdings) Ltd.,
15 St. Helens Place,
London E.C. 3

Dimbula Valley (Ceylon) Tea Co. Ltd.,
Rowe White & Co.,
Tubs Hill House,
London Rd.,
Sevenoaks,
Kent.

Doloswella Holdings Ltd.,
37 Queen St.,
London E.C. 4

Duckwari Tea and Rubber Estates Ltd.,
36-38 County Chase,
Western Rd.,
Southend - on - Sea,
Essex.

East India and Ceylon Tea Co. Ltd.,
5 Queen St.,
London E.C. 4

Galaha Ceylon Tea Estates Co. Ltd.,
Sir John Lyon House,

5 High Timber St.,
London E.C. 4
General Ceylon Holdings Ltd.,
Tubs Hill House,
London Rd.,
Sevenoaks,
Kent

Halcyon Investments Ltd.,
24 King William St.,
London E.C. 4
Lunuva (Ceylon) Tea and Rubber Estates Ltd.,
1/4 Gt. Tower St.,
London E.C. 3

Mayfield (Dimbula) Investments Co. Ltd.,
21 Mincing Lane,
London E.C. 3

Mooloya Estates Ltd.,
21 Mincing Lane,
London E.C. 3

Namunkaula Tea Estate Company Ltd.,
80 Bishopsgate,
London E.C. 2

Nuwara Eliya Holdings Ltd.,
37 Queen St.,
London E.C. 4

Ouvah Highfields Ltd.,
21 Mincing Lane,
London E.C. 3

Peacock & Nilambe Tea Estates (Holdings) Ltd.,
St. Alphage House,
Fore St.,
London E.C. 2

Pelmadulla Holdings Ltd.,
5 Queen St.,
London E.C. 4

Ragalla Tea Holdings Ltd.,
Tubs Hill House,
London Rd.,
Sevenoaks,
Kent

Rajawella Produce Co. Ltd.,
37 Queen St.,
London E.C. 4

Rangalla Consolidated Ltd.,
80 Bishopsgate,
London E.C. 2

Rosehaugh Tea Holdings Ltd.,
37 Queen St.,
London E.C. 4

Scottish Ceylon Tea Co. Ltd.,
Regina House,
5 Queen St.,
London E.C. 4

Scottish Tea and Lands Co. Ltd.,
34 Charlotte St.,
Edinburgh

South Wanarajah Tea Estates Ltd,
and Tea Corporation Ltd.,
Tubs Hill House,
London Rd.,
Sevenoaks,
Kent

Telbedde Ceylon Investments Ltd.,
21 Mincing Lane,
London E.C. 3

Source: Stock Exchange Yearbook 1972.

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