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Letter From The Editor

THE PROSPECTS FOR MAHA 1976-77, in the traditional rice producing areas of Sri Lanka, do not seem to be good. These areas depend on the Northeast Monsoon not only to grow paddy during the Maha but also fill the tanks for a smaller Yala crop. For seven years now, that is from the 1970 Maha, the Northeast Monsoon has been partial whenever it was not a near-complete failure as in some years. During these seven years, the monsoonal rains have been erratic in their occurrence and volume and also in their distribution—only some parts of the rain-fed areas have received adequate rainfall in some years whilst others were afflicted with total drought conditions. This is the seventh Maha running since the Northeast has become weak and disappointing. The Southwest in Sri Lanka this year was, at best partial in some parts, and many had hoped that the country would at least be blessed with good and heavy Northeast Monsoon rain. It was argued, wishfully no doubt, that the spell of drought conditions would end with the Maha this year. Those who claim wisdom in such matters have proclaimed that the luckless spell of drought will end in the seventh year. But others, more Biblically inclined, remembering the "seven lean years" cycle under the Pharaohs gloomily indicated that seventh year would be the last, and could well be the worst. *Tribune* is not competent to pass a verdict on these speculations bordering on mysticism and the occult, but *Tribune* has become painfully aware that Northeast Monsoon this year has been unduly delayed, and that the customary harbingers of the northeast monsoonal rains have so far not appeared. Before the monsoon sets in, there are what climatologists call "inter-monsoonal rains", and the first showers usually came towards the end of August, and farmers throughout the centuries begin their ploughing then. This year, these inter-monsoonal rains have been unduly delayed and, as we go to press, reports have begun to come in of a few such showers in some parts of the region—in a few and widely scattered parts. (It is strange that unusually heavy, and totally unseasonal, rains fell in many parts of the region towards the end of July this year. There was immediate jubilation among many, especially the bureaucrats, that a good Northeast was round the corner. But village folk in the Wannu shook their heads and said that unseasonal July rains boded no good because such July rains had in the past been always a warning on the wall for a poor monsoon. Whether such traditional village wisdom has any validity still—in these days when the climate has gone haywire—is yet to be seen. Even if the Monsoon sets in in the next few days, rice-growing operations have already been thrown out of gear. Last Maha these traditional harbingers dead on time in many parts of the region and everything had begun with a bang, but the rains had fizzled away in several important sectors. This year, there has been no Yala except where Mahaveli water has been diverted and an *in-between-yala-and-maha* crop has been grown. Such efforts with Mahaveli water are no more than popular gimmicks to keep some voters happy. The propaganda barrage by government's mass media about Mahaveli water going to the rescue of the Rajarata is only a dubious smokescreen to hide the realities of the situation. People may live in the belief that Mahaveli will save them—and not do the things they could do to minimise the effects of the continuing drought—much can be done if only the planners and the bureaucrats do not delude themselves about monsoon-round-the-corner (it is a good thing if the monsoon comes down in plenty) and expect the worst and prepare to meet the situation as has been done in many other countries. The only remedy that planners and bureaucrats have so far fallen back upon is relief works and charity—and in an election year this has to take monumental dimensions to keep voters extra happy. While political authorities, planners and bureaucrats continue to battle with the problem of keeping the voters alive and kicking for the next elections it is necessary to realise that the delay in the traditional pre-monsoonal rains will adversely affect paddy production for Maha 1976-77. The rain-fed crops will be poor and unless there is sufficient rain to fill the tanks even irrigated paddy will be difficult. The failure of the end-of-August rains has already delayed ploughing operations, and if and when the rains do come the available tractors will not be able to cope with the situation. This delay will make it difficult for farmers to sow and reap the high-yielding varieties that take 4 to 4½ months to mature. Many farmers are likely to switch to crops like black gram, green gram and cowpea which can grow to maturity on the dew which is thick, heavy and plentiful in years when the rainfall is low. The prospects for paddy for Maha this year, with the monsoon already delayed, are uncertain.

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EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

Coming Struggle For Power In China

WITH THE HIGHLY ROMANTICISED EUPHORIA, generated by the death of Mao Tse-tung, and induced by the vigorous propaganda barrage from Peking, slowly fading out—as all these things do—the realities of the political situation in China have begun to emerge. Though official propaganda has made out that there was no "succession" problem and that a collective group had taken over, the almost hysterical outbursts against Teng Hsiao-ping is clear indication that the challenge from the groups identified by some foreign observers as "moderates" is obviously strong enough to cause concern in the present ruling hierarchy dominated by the Shanghai "radicals." The propaganda and polemical onslaughts against Teng and his followers need not be as much as it is today if they were a dead force.

Dovaid Bonavia, one of the most knowledgeable writers on Chinese affairs, in the *Far Eastern Economic Review* of September 24, has pointed out that "with the death of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, China now lacks a head of the Communist Party and a Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces. In addition there is not even a titular head of State, and no Chief of Staff has been named to succeed Teng Hsiao-ping. The ministries of Coal and Railways and Education have no named ministers. The head of the New China News Agency seems to have been purged, as has the First Minister of Machine Building. To fill these posts, a Plenary Session of the Party's Central Committee and a Session of the National People's Congress are required by the Constitution and the Party Statutes. But the ruling group is split by both disagreements over fundamental policy matters, and by personal animosities likely to break out into open conflict in the near future. The 11 people likely to be involved in any forthcoming struggle for power are..."

Bonavia then sets out the following eleven names: Chiang Ching, Hua Kuo-feng, Wang Tung-Ising,

Chang Chun-Chiao, Wu Teh, Li Teh-Sheng, Hsu Shih-Yu, Yao Wen Yuan, Li Hsien-Sien, Wang Hung-Wen and Chen Hsi-Nien. About each of them Bonavia has written a short note which are worthy of record in regard to the power struggle likely to erupt in the not-so-distant future.

CHIANG CHING: Aged 62, real name Luan Shu-meng, native of Shantung. She was sold to a theatrical troupe at age 15, later attending drama school and coming into contact with the communists through a lover in Tsingtao. She became a film actress in Shanghai in 1934 under the name Lan Ping. Chiang Ching joined up with the Red Army at Sian in 1939 and met Mao in Yenan. She joined the Party in 1940 and became Mao's mistress, eventually bearing him two daughters (she was his fourth mate). Chiang Ching was active in ideological and cinema work until the early 1950s, when she went into obscurity for eight years, emerging again in 1962 to begin her "reform" of the Peking Opera. In 1965 she went to Shanghai to assist Yao Wen-yuan to prepare his article attacking the play *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office*, signalling the start of the Cultural Revolution. By 1967, Chiang Ching had taken over full responsibility for cultural matters as head of the literary and art section under the Central Cultural Revolution Group, and identified herself with cultural work in the PLA. She was appointed a Politburo member at the Ninth Party Congress in 1969, but was eclipsed by Chou En-lai after the fall of Lin Piao in 1971. She evidently masterminded the campaign to overthrow Teng Hsiao-ping, culminating with his dismissal on April 7, 1976. Chiang Ching used to have a strong following among radical youth, but is widely hated by old-guard intellectuals, commanders and Party veterans. She is regarded as the temporary rallying figure of the radical group.

HUA KUO-FENG: Age uncertain, perhaps about 60, native of Shansi. Hua was active in Party and administrative work in Hunan from the early 1950s on. He helped to foster the Mao cult at the Chairman's birthplace, Shaoshan, and was later criticised for this by Liu Shao-chi. He has been a Central Committee member since 1969,

and First Secretary of the Hunan Provincial Party Committee since 1970. He helped to investigate the Lin Piao incident in 1971, and perhaps as a reward was made First Political Commissar of the Hunan Military District and a Commissar of the Canton Military Region (to which Hunan belongs) in 1972. At the 1973 Party Congress, Hua was elected to the Politburo, and is thought to have had important responsibilities in agricultural affairs. He was named Minister of Public Security by the National People's Congress in January 1975, and in a surprise move became Acting Premier in February 1976, following the death of Chou En-lai. In April he was appointed Premier and First Vice-Chairman when Teng Hsiao-ping was stripped of his powers. Believed "middle-of-the-road."

WANG TUNG-HSING: Aged 60, native of Kiangsi. Served in the Guards Bureau of the Communist Fukien-Kiangsi Military District, 1933, and as Mao's bodyguard in 1935. Wang made possible the escape of Mao, Chou En-lai and Chiang Ching when they were almost surrounded in the Yenan area by Chiang Kai-shek's forces in 1947. In 1949 he was entrusted with guarding Mao in Peking and was made Director of the Guards Department in 1950, also taking on responsibilities in the Ministry of Public Security (police). In 1955 Wang was named Vice-Minister of Public Security under Lo Jui-ching, but was moved to Kiangsi province as Deputy Governor in 1958, returning to Peking to take up his previous posts in 1960. Wang is believed to have arrested Lo, then Chief of the General Staff, in 1965, and shadowed Liu Shao-chi on his visit to Asian countries in 1966. He was made Director of the Central Committee's administrative office in 1967 and was active in the Cultural Revolution under security chief Kang Sheng. Wang joined the Politburo as an alternate member in 1969 and was promoted to full member in 1973. Commander of the 8341 Bodyguard Corps which helped to put down the Tien An Men riots in April. Regards as a political, a hit-man who will back the winning side.

CHANG CHUN-CHIAO: Age uncertain, believed in his 60s. Chang rose to prominence as a

journalist and propagandist in Shanghai between 1950 and 1964. In 1965 he was made Secretary of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee and attended Red Guard rallies in Peking in the second half of 1966. He was identified as Vice-Leader of the Cultural Revolution Group in December of that year, and in 1967 played a key role in calming down the chaotic situation which had developed in Shanghai. Chang was appointed a "leading member" of the Municipal Revolutionary Committee, and later First Political Commissar of the Nanking Military Region and the Shanghai Garrison. He joined the Politburo in 1969 and was made Chairman of the Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee in 1970, and First Secretary of the Municipal Party Committee in 1971. Chang became a member of the Politburo's Standing Committee—the highest "in" group in China—in 1973, and a Vice-Premier and Director of the PLA General Political Department (chief armed forces commissar) in January 1975. He thus controls the key link between Party policies and army discipline. Chang is considered a radical with some moderate sympathies.

WU TEH: Aged 62, native of Hopei. Trained under Kang Sheng in undercover work at Yanan in 1940, Wu had military commands until 1942, when he was sent to head the communist labour movement in northeast China. Wu helped to draft China's 1954 Constitution, and was Party boss of Kirin province from 1956 to 1966, holding the rank of alternate member of the Central Committee. He has also had experience in river control and worked as a military commissar. From 1966 he rose rapidly through the Peking Municipal Committee after the fall of Mayor Peng Chen, became a full member of the Central Committee in 1969 and a Politburo member in 1973. While retaining his duties as head of the Party and administrative apparatus for Peking, Wu has partially taken over the ceremonial State functions fulfilled by Marshal Chu Teh until the latter's death in July. Considered a moderate.

LI TEH-SHENG: Aged 60, native of Hupei, Li joined the Communist Party in 1933 and participated in the Long March. After numerous commands in the anti-Japanese war and the Civil War, he led the 35th Division into Korea

and captured Seoul in 1951. In 1955 he received the rank of Major-General. In 1963 he was made Commander of the 12th Army, and in 1967 was sent to suppress violent disturbances in Anhui, subsequently becoming Chairman of the Anhui Provincial Revolutionary Committee. In 1970 Li was appointed Director of the PLA's General Political Department—the key post in the chain of political command over the Army (now held by Chang Chun-chiao). In the reshuffle of early 1974, he was sent to Shenyang as commander of the north-eastern Military Region, which was generally considered a demotion. Although he remains a member of the Politburo since 1969, he is thought to have lost his membership of the Standing Committee. Political leaning uncertain, but believed radical.

HSU SHIH-YU: Aged 70, native of Honan, peasant background. In his youth, Hsu studied "shaolin boxing" or kung fu and had warlord experience, joining the Red Army in 1932. Protege of Hsu Hsiang-chien. He held a series of com-

mands until 1949, latterly specialising in coastal defence. Hsu was made Commander of the Shantung Military District at the end of the Civil War, and joined the National Defence Council in 1954, being appointed Colonel-General in 1955. He was elected to the Central Committee in 1956, made Commander of the Nanking Military Region (taking in Shanghai) in 1957, and Vice-Minister of National Defence in 1959. In 1966 he became Chairman of the Kiangsu Provincial Revolutionary Committee and a Politburo member in 1969, unscathed by the Cultural Revolution. In early 1974 his transfer to command the Canton Military Region was announced, and some thought this a slight demotion. Considered moderate.

YAO WEN-YUAN: Age uncertain, believed in his mid-50s. Yao has been active in youth work, propaganda and journalism since at least 1951. His article "Comments on the New Historical Play, *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office*," when published in the *People's Daily* on November 30, 1965, served

COVER

IF THE RAINS, which usher in the Maha and the Northeast Monsoon had come in time, the tractors which are still useworthy would have already worked overtime to get the land ready for sowing. As it is, all paddy lands in the rice belt served by the northeast monsoon—except a small acreage receiving Mahaveli water—are still bone dry. Unless the rains come soon (one hopes that they will come before this appears in print), large scale cultivation of paddy must be abandoned in many areas. Apart from this, the last consignment of four wheeled tractors which suit our conditions—Massey Fergusons, David Browns and Fords—had come in 1970. Now, only a small percentage of them are good enough to stand up to a season's strenuous ploughing programme. Stupid delusions by bookwormish bureaucrats about doing away completely with the four-wheeled tractors (to depend on buffaloes and two wheelers) had prevented further imports. Symbolic imports had come from some socialist countries. These tractors, which were handed over to the new state-sponsored youth farms, co-op farms, janawasama farms, collective farms, APO centres and the like, have not proved popular or successful. And finally, the bureaucrats have now begun to realise that large-scale paddy cultivation on modern lines to obtain high yields was not possible without four-wheeled tractors. And on some International Aid Scheme, the Government is arranging to import 1000 new tractors manufactured to suit conditions in countries like Sri Lanka. But prices have gone up four to five times what they were in 1970. Farmers and farming organisations (even state-owned) would not feel the heavy crunch of the new prices if tractors had been imported during the intervening years and the country would now have a large residuary stock of usable tractors. As it is, most of tractors are now near-derelict and wholesale replacement will be a heavy toll on the national resources. It is unfortunate that bureaucrats, only fit to theorise on paper, enjoyed the power to disrupt paddy cultivation in the way they were able to in the last five years.

as the opening shot in the Cultural Revolution. Yao was identified in October 1966 as a member of the Cultural Revolution Group under the Central Committee, and emerged as a close collaborator of Chiang Ching. In 1967 he was named Deputy Director of the "Shanghai Commune" and a member of the Cultural Revolution Group's literary and art section. Yao attended a Red Guard rally in Peking and worked as a channel for transmission of directives from Mao, as well as carrying out state functions in 1968. He was brought into the Politburo in 1969. In 1975 he published an important article attacking "bourgeois rights", and was almost certainly active in the campaign to unseat Teng Hsiao-ping. Described as arrogant and domineering. Extreme radical.

LI HSIEN-NIEN: Aged 71, native of Hupei, working class background. Li is Peking's acknowledged "financial wizard", and a Party member since 1927. He held military and commissar posts from 1933 until 1949, when he became Governor of Hupei. In 1950, he was named Chairman of the State Financial and Economic Committee, and Mayor of Wuhan in 1952. In 1954 Li became a Vice-Premier and Minister of Finance, and has survived all the twists and turns of economic policy since then, apparently through sheer administrative ability and a low political profile. He joined the Politburo early—in 1956—and became a Secretary of the Central Committee (closely associated with Teng Hsiao-ping) in 1958. Li was attacked as a "capitalist roadster" by the Red Guards in 1966, but survived after Chou En-lai publicly defended him. He is still the chief Vice-Premier in charge of financial and economic affairs. Considered moderate.

WANG HUNG-WEN: Age uncertain, believed about 40. Wang is a former worker at the No. 17 Textile Mill in Shanghai, but is thought to have had a hand in security operations even before the Cultural Revolution. Rumours that he is related to Mao have never been substantiated. He was among the originators of the 1967 "January Revolution" in Shanghai, having personally travelled to Peking in 1966 to seek support from Mao. He later organised the "Shanghai Workers Revolutionary Rebel General Headquarters", and was chosen a member of the Muni-

cipal Revolutionary Committee in 1967. Wang was identified a year later as the Committee's Vice-Chairman, and was transferred (or retransferred?) to security work. He appeared on the Tien An Men rostrum on October 1, 1968, and was named to the No. 3 position in the Communist Party at the Tenth Party Congress in 1973, a move which astounded most observers. Subsequently, he has frequently been seen at major state occasions, usually in military uniform, and sat in on some of Mao's meetings with foreign statesmen. He is believed to be in charge of the national urban militias. Considered strongly radical and a supporter of Chiang Ching.

CHEN HSI-LIEN: Aged 63, native of Hupei, peasant background. Chen served in the Red Fourth Front Army in 1930, and followed Chang Kuo-tso into Szechuan after the split with Mao during the Long March in 1935. He reached northern Shensi, where Mao was, in 1937, and held various commands until 1949, when his forces captured Chungking. He served as Secretary of the Chungking Municipal Party Committee, and as Mayor. In 1951, Chen was made Commander of the PLA Artillery Force Headquarters, and was brought into the National Defence Council in 1954. He was made a general the following year. In 1956 he became a member of the Central Committee, and visited the Soviet Union in 1957. In 1959 Chen was appointed Commander of the Shenyang (northeast) Military Region, a post which he held until 1973. He apparently weathered the Cultural Revolution by consenting to attend "study classes" in Peking in the second half of 1967. In 1968 he became Chairman of the Liaoning Provincial Revolutionary Committee—a confirmation of his political authority in the northeast. He joined the Politburo in 1969, and in early 1974 was brought down to command the Peking Military Region. Chen appears frequently in public and is a political as well as a military figure. Believed moderate, and hostile to Red Guards.

David Bonavia in a *Comment* also stated: "If—as is widely predicted—a forthcoming power struggle sweeps away the 'leftist' faction in the Chinese leadership, it may prove the final working out

of a historical process which has been going since the end of the last century. This will be the shifting of the centre of gravity from the revolutionary leaders born in the southern or coastal areas to those born in central China. In sociological terms this is significant. The eminent Harvard sinologist, Professor John Fairbank, has pointed out repeatedly that the Chinese political tradition contains two disparate and often conflicting trends: the agricultural-bureaucratic tradition of the China continental areas of China, and the commercial maritime tradition of the coastal areas, particularly in the South and East. In the late 19th century it was the maritime or adjacent areas which produced some of the greatest revolutionaries, partly because they had a more modern outlook through their contact with Western influences, and partly because they were disgusted by the foreign exploitation of China, which emanated from the coastal regions.

"Sun Yat-sen, the 'father of the Chinese revolution', was a southerner who studied in Macau, Hongkong and England. Chiang Kai-shek was born in Ningpo in eastern China. Mao was from landlocked Hunan, and although he lacked direct contact with foreign influences in his youth, he was undoubtedly affected by them indirectly through his reading. During the Cultural Revolution, as is widely known, most 'radical' leftwingers were associated with the city of Shanghai, the very heart of the "bourgeois comprador" tradition at which the external aspects of the Chinese revolution were aimed. Shanghai was the symbol of the humiliation of Chinese by foreigners, and it is not surprising that it should produce a xenophobic revolutionary like such as Yao Wen-yuan. Chang Chun-chiao and Wang Hung-wen are also from Shanghai. Chiang Ching was born in the coastal province of Shantung and was trained as an actress in Shanghai. Lin Piao was from Hupei—and interestingly enough is considered a traitor to the Cultural Revolution. Mao chose a version of the agricultural-bureaucratic solution for China's development problems, and the 'Shanghai' group, with their hatred of the consequences of the maritime commercial tradition, backed him to

the hilt. Their favourite target of condemnation is still too much reliance on foreign trade, and their models are the barren hill villages of Shansi and Shensi (where they do not have to live).

"But in the coming power struggle it seems quite likely that victory will go to the group of leaders commonly known as "moderates", most of whom originated in Hupel, Honan, Hopei, Hunan and Szechuan. To them, revolution was essentially a question of overthrowing the decadent landlord system associated with the continental tradition. Their exposure to foreign influences in their youth was probably largely limited to missionaries. Some even had warlord backgrounds.

"The chief strongman thought to be a moderate is Chen Hsi-lien, a native of Hupel. Li Hsien-lien also comes from Hupel. Hsu Shih-yu was born in Honan, Wu Teh in Hopei. Chu Teh was a Hakka from Szechuan. Teng Hsiao-ping—the living symbol of 'moderalism'—is from Szechuan. Tung Pi-wu was from Hupel. Another outstanding feature of the presumed 'moderate' faction is that their road to power lay mainly through participation in wars against the Japanese and against Chiang Kai-shek from 1920s to the 1940s, after which they rose through posts military commissars, city administrators, economic planners and party apparatchiks, to join the Politburo. The Shanghai group, with the exception of Chiang Ching, has no known experience of the Long March or the early revolutionary war, and has risen to power through its domination of propaganda, media, cultural work and internal security. Of course no such simple model can unravel the complex politics of China's immediate future. But the likely shift of power back to the Party veterans born in the heartlands is a historical phenomenon which cannot be written off. It can be argued that Chou En-lai, who was born in Kiangsu and educated in Tientsin, was moderate in his behaviour, though unswervingly loyal to Mao on a personal basis. But this is understandable, because Chou spent many of his formative years in Japan and France, where he witnessed the virtues of technology and modernisation. Most significant of all, all of the

11 regional commanders were born in the heartland areas, if Hunan is included. Most of the future military contenders for power have travelled abroad only a little, mainly in the Soviet Union and other East European countries. Their training has been military and pragmatic, and they probably regret the break with the Soviet Union which resulted in the obsolescence of their equipment, with little early prospect of adequate replacements from or Western sources. They were also brought up on the Chinese martial tradition which emphasises land warfare. If they become the arbiters of the political power struggle, they will do their best to see to it that no Shanghaiese propagandist gets in their way."

Those who continue to believe that the leaders of Communist China have been purged of selfish motivations for power by the messianic virtues of Maoism will disagree with this analysis about a possible power struggle. They admit that "there may be differences of opinion," but they insist that the leaders were free of the personal quest for power such as is found in other countries among leaders who had not been baptised in the fire of revolutionary Maoism.

The *Time* Magazine of September 20 had a Mao cover entitled AFTER MAO. After setting out the main story of his death and reactions, the cover story went on to say:

"The fact remained, however, that only Lenin was Mao's rival for the title of the century's most successful revolutionary. Guerilla fighter and grand strategist, peasant organizer and oracular Marxist philosopher, Mao came to manhood in the 1920s when the once glorious Middle Kingdom was divided, weak, dispirited, a country prey to foreign colonizers and provincial satraps. When he died, China had been unified—admittedly, by brutal force and rigid discipline—and was an emergent super power. Mao's China was still poor by the economic standards of the West, but as virtually every foreign visitor in recent years had noticed with awe the country had regained its once, lost pride and was filled with a sense of purpose. It was Mao far more than anyone else who gave it that purpose.

"With his death, China entered a new and uncertain era in its

history. The Chairman departed the world with his succession uncertain, his party riven by rival claimants to authority, his country torn by fiercely contested and unresolved ideological issues. Mao had outlived most of his revolutionary contemporaries from the celebrated Long March of the 1930s, which was a watershed episode in the party's history. The most notable was Prime Minister Chou En-lai, for years his smooth, subtle, indispensable chief of staff, who died last January at 77, leaving unresolved the tension between pragmatic moderates in the bureaucracy and zealous radicals who favored permanent revolution. Mao's death set the stage for what may turn out to be a prolonged and destructive struggle for power between moderates and leftists.

"First, though, will come the mandatory obeisances to a national hero. Mao will lie in state in Peking's Great Hall of the People for most of the official eight-day period of mourning, ending on Sept. 18 with a solemn memorial rally held in Peking's Tien An Men Square. Until then, all flags in the country will be flown at half-mast. At 3 p.m. on the final day of mourning, said the official decree, 'people in all organizations, army units, factories, mines, enterprises, shops, people's communes, schools and neighborhood communes, should stand at attention wherever they are in silent tribute for three minutes.' During that period, ships, trains and factories throughout China will blow their whistles and sound their sirens."

Time then went on to discuss the problems of leadership.

"There will probably be no announcement of any change in leadership or direction for China until after the mourning ceremonies are properly concluded. But changes there will be, and China watchers last week were scrutinizing the official obituary for possible clues. It appeared to be a carefully balanced document, tipped slightly toward the moderates. The obituary emphasized the 'unity and unification of the party'—code words for the need to bury factional differences. But there were bows to the radicals in the obituary's exhortation that China must 'persist in taking class struggle as the key link.' Official broad-

casts announcing Mao's death also contained one touch pleasing to radicals: ousted Deputy Premier Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the pragmatic chosen successor of Chou En-lai, was explicitly condemned. The first key question facing China and its leaders is: Who will succeed Mao? Attention focused on five people. The leading contender is Premier Hua Kuo-feng, who as first vice chairman of the party, is technically Mao's successor. Hua seemed to have the support of much of the country's government bureaucracy, including such key officials as Foreign Minister Ch'iao Kuan-hua and Defense Minister Yeh Chien-ying.

"Another key figure is Shanghai native Chang Ch'un-ch'iao, who is both Vice Premier and head of the political department of the People's Liberation Army. One possibility is that Chang will become Premier, while Hua moves up to Party Chairman. Other candidates include Minister of Defense Yeh Chien-ying and Politburo Vice Chairman Wang Hung-wen. But Yeh, at 78, may be judged too old and feeble to replace Mao—except possibly in a purely ceremonial sense—while Wang, at about 40, is probably too young and too radical. Few Western experts believe that China can avoid a power struggle, sooner or later between the radicals and the pragmatists, who have been mortal enemies since the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of 1966-69. The moderates were often victims of the Cultural Revolution who, in recent years, have been returned to top jobs in the bureaucracy. The old bitterness lingers. Besides, there are genuine ideological differences between the two groups: the radicals favor repeated nationwide propaganda campaigns to ensure ideological purity; the moderates want a reduction of energy-wasting political convulsions and more attention paid to increasing production for its own sake."

Time analysed some of the problems which were involved in the emerging problem of China's leadership.

"Chou En-lai, for all his diplomatic skill, could not bridge that gap of enmity. Mao ever fearful that the pragmatic bureaucrats might undermine his revolutionary

dreams, would not let the tension be resolved. One result is that China today is institutionally weak with a host of top positions left unfilled and the party itself still not completely recovered from the traumas of the Cultural Revolution. In the all important Politburo, for example, only 16 of 22 positions are now filled. Moreover, the purges of top leaders like Liu Shao-ch'i and Teng Hsiao-p'ing, carried out with barely a passing nod to legal procedures, have left China with no effectively functioning constitutional forms that could help with an orderly succession. Hua Kuo-feng presumably became Premier with Mao's blessing, but there is no evidence that the Chairman anointed him as his own successor. Thus the chances are that it may take weeks if not months before the divided leadership can agree on a new head of the party. The consequences of this could be serious for China. For one, it would be difficult for the country as a whole to formulate new policies in such areas as industry, education and agriculture. More serious factional strife at the top could well pave the way to widespread disorders similar to those of the Cultural Revolution, when fighting groups in schools and factories had to be separated and pacified by the army. Most analysts acknowledge that as a real possibility, but doubt that a similarly destructive period will come to pass again. One reason is that the radicals—despite their control of the press and the Politburo in the capital—seem to be weak in the provinces. Thus if the radicals press their aims too hard, power brokers in the local areas may simply resist or ignore them. In addition, though nobody knows for certain whose side the army is on, key military commanders in the past have tended to side with moderation."

There is, no doubt, that the Time is fully aware of the dynamics of the power equation, developing in China after Mao. It went to say: "Beyond that, as Time's diplomatic editor Jerrold L. Schecter reported from Peking last week, the factions seem to have agreed, for now at least, to avoid open conflict. The dominant conclusion among foreigners in China, Schecter cabled, is that a *modus*

vivendi has been struck between radicals who sought the ouster of Teng Hsiao-p'ing and the more moderate forces of order and discipline. There are 'no struggle groups' and the admonitions in the People's Daily editorial of Sept. 7 are against the formation of such groups. The editorial mentions the word production or the need to increase production 25 times, an indication of Hua's skill at following a tough general ideological line while maintaining a moderate, pragmatic approach to economic problems.' Barring an immediate power struggle in which one side emerges a clear winner, most experts believe that China has almost no choice other than to follow the major policies of the past several years. One reason is that with Mao gone from the scene, no leader is likely to emerge soon with enough authority to enforce major changes in direction.

"In domestic matters, that will mean continued emphasis on increasing production, in both agriculture and industry, and probably on technical expertise in education. One long-term danger of this, from the Maoist point of view, is a possible loss of some of the spirit of the Chairman. Mao's stress on egalitarianism, on shaking up the bureaucracy, will no doubt endure in the minds of millions of people, like the former youthful Red Guards who served as the Chairman's strike force during the Cultural Revolution. But without his immense authority, it may become more and more difficult to prevent the emergence of precisely the kind of technocratic elite he abhorred."

What will happen in China in the immediately foreseeable future is difficult to say, but some of the probable trends are indicated in the Time.

Tribune will refer to discussions in Time and international magazine in the coming issues—regarding possible changes in policy in china—domestic and foreign.

NEXT WEEK

● MORE ABOUT CHINA

Sept. 13 — Sept. 19

A DIARY OF EVENTS IN SRI LANKA AND THE WORLD
COMPILED FROM DAILY NEWSPAPERS
PUBLISHED IN COLOMBO.

CDN—Ceylon Daily News; CDM—Ceylon Daily Mirror; CO—Ceylon Observer; TOCSI—Times of Ceylon Sunday Illustrated; DM—Dinamina; LD—Lankadipa; JD—Janadina; VK—Virakesari; ATH—Aththa; SM—Silumina; SLD—Sri Lankadipa; JS—Janasathiya.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 13: The Political Group of the LSSP decided to prepare the people against any move by the government to postpone the general elections further than next year: the party also decided to take up from time to time all matters in this regard with Constitutional Court—VK. When asked by Virakesari Dr. S. A. Wickremasinghe, President of the Communist Party (Moscow wing), said that he cannot say anything just now regarding the postponement of general elections. Mr. Anura Bandaranaike, Chief Organiser of the SLFP Youth Leagues, speaking at a public meeting in Rambukkana said that the government should impose severe punishments on black-marketeers by imposing a minimum sentence of ten years hard labour, sealing of shops and confiscating properties to arrest the cost of living: referring to Dr. N. M. Perera's statement on the postponing of general elections Mr. Bandaranaike said when the coalition government was defeated in the elections in 1965 Dr. Perera urged the Prime Minister not to resign but to cling on to power—CDM. In an effort to obtain information on private capital formation in the entire private sector of the economy of Sri Lanka a comprehensive survey of private investments in Sri Lanka will be conducted by the Central Bank—CDM. An official committee of Ministers will discuss this week the future of the Rajakariya system of land tenure: the Public Trustee will submit to the committee a detailed report on the Rajakariya lands now being administered by trustees of temples and devalas—CDN. Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, and the President, Mr. William Gopallawa, paid a visit to the Chinese Embassy at Dharmapala Mawatha and signed the condolence book kept there: meanwhile, several trade unions and other organisations have arranged for condolence meetings on the death of Chairman Mao Tse-tung: the government has ordered that the national flag should be flown at half mast in all government institutions—LD. Aththa in an editorial comment referring to the speech by the Prime Minister in Anuradhapura where she said that she is not prepared to nationalise ventures that are properly functioning said that the reason for the failure of nationalised ventures was because of their maladministration: the paper further said that certain nationalised ventures have proved profitable owing to the proper administration and such type of administration should be followed for all nationalised ventures. Today is the 83rd day of the strike at Lever Brothers Limited—ATH. Police investigating the Rs. 200,000 Kollupitiya a tavern robbery recovered Rs. 4000/- from a house but no arrests were made—DM.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 14: The Criminal Justice Commission (Exchange Frauds) yesterday found Messrs Farouk Sally and Razeen Sally guilty of violating exchange control laws: the three member commission sentenced Mr. Razeen Sally who was tried in absentia but on whose behalf a lawyer was present throughout the inquiry to five years rigorous imprisonment and to pay a fine of Rs. 1,450,000: Mr. Farouk Sally, brother of Mr. Razeen Sally was sentenced to two years rigorous imprisonment and was ordered to pay a fine of Rs. 591,000: two months time was given to pay the fines—CDN. A top level conference was held at the Ministry of Justice yesterday to consider the verdict of the Trial-at-Bar which discharged Mr. A. Amirthalingam and upheld an objection by the defence that the Emergency Regulations were invalid: the conference was attended by Mr. W. T. Jayasinghe, Secretary Ministry of Defence and External Affairs, Mr. Nihal Jayawickrema, Secretary Ministry of Justice, the Army Commander, Lt. General Sepala Atygalle, the Inspector General, of Police, Mr. Stanley Senanayake, Mr. S. A. Dissanayake, Additional Secretary, Mr. Siva Pasupathy, Attorney General, Mr. Ian Wickremanayake, the Solicitor General and Mr. O. M. de Alwis, Legal Draftsman: later, Mr. Nihal Jayawickrema, Secretary to the Ministry of Justice, told that no action will be taken by the government at this juncture but the Emergency Regulations will continue pending a ruling by the Supreme Court on the verdict of the High Court-at-Bar—CDN. Mr. Siva Pasupathy, Attorney General, will file appeal action today in the Supreme Court against the verdict of the Trial-at-Bar which ruled that the State of Emergency is invalid—VK. Mr. Neale de Alwis, Deputy Minister of Finance, speaking in a meeting in Galle said that if the people wished the government would postpone general elections—VK. The administration of Janata Committee members will in future be handled by Government Agents: in the past the administration was handled by Assistant Commissioners of Local Government—LD. Work recommenced at the timber complex of the Kosgama State Timber Corporation's factories from yesterday—DM. A 5-day seminar of the Colombo plan bureau will commence an September 27 in Colombo—DM.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 15: The United Nations Environment Program (UNEP) is sponsoring a project to promote the use of renewable sources of energy in the villages of developing countries in Asia and under this program the first rural energy centre employing solar energy, wind power and biogas will be established in Hambantota in Sri Lanka if government approval is given: the village of Pattiypola in the Hambantota district is earmarked for the project—CDN. Police investigating the Kollupitiya tavern holdup nabbed four suspects and recovered over Rs 100,000 of the Rs. 215,000 robbed: the leader of the gang is said to be a dropout of a leading Colombo school—CDN. According to the Daily Mirror government decided to do away with the present system of exit permits required for those leaving the country: a gazette notification to announce the decision will be issued this week. Mr. Neville de Silva, News Editor of the Sunday Observer and former Lobby Correspondent of Daily News, has been removed from Lake House: he is the fourth journalist to be sacked from the Lake House since the "interview with the dead" appeared in the Observer of August 23: Mr. Neville

de Silva is the brother of Mr. Mervyn de Silva who was also removed from the Lake House recently. According to the Virakesari the Colombo Municipality will soon introduce a meter system to all water taps used for domestic, business and industrial purposes in the city: according to the Municipality this system will make the public to use water wisely. The Ministry of Health appointed a eight-man committee to recommend ways to grow, produce and distribute ayurvedic drugs in the island—DM. The National Pricing Commission has recommended to the government to impose price controls on red onions and buns made out of flour—DM. According to the Aththa though it was earlier decided to give teaching appointments to nearly 19,500 GCE qualified youth from the beginning of the next school term now it has been postponed for March next year owing to lack of funds. In a survey conducted by the Salusala and the Department of Small Industries it has been revealed that three-quarter of nearly 320,000 yards of textiles handed over to the Salusala by manufacturers have been damaged: the Salusala will have to face a loss of a few lakhs of rupees owing to this damage.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 16: The Attorney-General, Mr. Siva Pasupathy, yesterday filed two applications in the Supreme Court against the order of the High Court-at-Bar delivered last week in the case in which Mr. A. Amirthalingam, ex MP for Vadducoddai, was discharged on charges of distributing seditious literature: the High Court-at-Bar also ruled that the Emergency Regulations under which the Court was established were invalid: the two applications are listed to be heard today before a bench of three judges comprising Mr. Justice H. Deheragoda, Mr. Justice, I. M. Ismail and Mr. Justice R. S. Wanasandara: the two applications filed by the AG yesterday were firstly for a revision of the order of the High Court-at-Bar and secondly for a writ of certiorari to quash that order, and for a writ of mandamus directing the High Court-at-Bar to continue with the trial—CDN. A mass rally arranged for the 18th of this month to commemorate the silver jubilee of the SLFP at Ratnapura has been postponed: the Prime Minister will be present at the rallies at Kurunegala on September 17 and at Badulla on September 19—CDN. The United Nations General Assembly scheduled to open on September 21 and expected to be addressed by Prime Minister Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike will be chaired by Mr. Shirley Amarasinghe, permanent representative of Sri Lanka, in the UN: our Prime Minister is expected to make her address to the Assembly on September 30: this is the first time in the history of the UN a Sri Lankan will be presiding over the Assembly—CDN. The LSSP, in keeping with a decision of the party's Political Bureau appealed to the government to release all those who are held under the Emergency unconditionally: the party has called upon all those who value liberty and freedom to join in this demand: the Politbureau of the party decided on this after the verdict of a High Court-at-Bar which ruled that the Emergency Regulations are invalid—CDM. Mr. Michael Sirlwardene, Minister of Labour, requested employers in the private sector to make Saturday, September 18, a holiday with pay in view of the decision of the government to make this day a public holiday: 18th is the final mourning day in China on the death of Chairman Mao Tse-tung—VK. The Ayurvedic Medical College will be taken over

by the University of Sri Lanka from the 1st of October this year: this is being done in keeping with a decision to raise the status of this College to that of Medical Colleges functioning under the University—DM. The Competent Authority of Price Controls directed manufactures of electric bulbs to sell over 100,000 bulbs detected by the authorities to be below par at reduced rates to the public—DM. Two training colleges for the training of teachers in Buddhism will be established in Mirigama and Uyanwatte from next year: in addition to these colleges teachers of Hinduism and Islam will have their training in Palaly and Addalaichenai training colleges—LD.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 17: The Supreme Court yesterday issued notice returnable two weeks hence on the three judges of the High Court at Bar—Messrs J. F. A. Soza, H. A. J. de Silva and Siva Selliah and Mr. A. Amirthalingam, Ex MP for Vadducoddai, following submissions made by Mr. Siva Pasupathy, Attorney-General, in support of the two applications he had filed against the order of the High Court-at-Bar in the case against Mr. Amirthalingam—CDN. The Special Committee appointed by the Government to review the Rajakariya system has recommended that a bill be presented in the National State Assembly to abolish the Rajakariya system—CDN. Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike during his current visit to Libya will discuss with the Libyan leader the prospects of holding a Foreign Ministers conference of Non-aligned nations in Libya at the end of next month—CDN. The Criminal Justice Commission (Exchange Frauds) yesterday sentenced Mr. Najffer Jabir, former Special Commissioner for Beruwela, to two years rigorous imprisonment and to pay a fine of Rs. 155,000 for his involvement in foreign exchange violations: the sentence of jail was suspended for a period of five years—CDN. According to the Daily Mirror although a month has elapsed since the fifth Non-aligned Summit Conference in Colombo no film or news documentary about the conference has yet been screened in the country. The Government Medical Officer's Association which meets in emergency session on Sunday said that it would resort to direct trade union action to secure redress for many grievances: Dr. R. R. Cooke, President of GMOA, said that the membership had suffered in silence the injustices perpetrated on the Association by certain powerful administrators—CDM. After a conference chaired by the Commissioner of Labour to which representatives of the union and management were present the workers of Lever Brothers Ltd., decided to call off their strike which was over two months old—CDM. Admission to the University this year too, will be on the basis of 70 per cent on merit and 30 per cent on an area quota basis: Mr. Premadasa Udagama, Secretary to the Ministry of Education, told this to the Daily Mirror yesterday. Mr. G. B. Perera, Member of the Colombo Municipal Council, has resigned from the UNP: he has informed Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, President of the UNP, in a letter that the high principles pursued by the UNP since 1946 "had today been turned upside down"—CDM. Mr. Jayewardene, President of the UNP, will celebrate his 70th birthday, today: to mark the occasion members of the UNP have arranged a series of religious ceremonies monies in Kandy including the lighting of 84,000 oil lamps at the Dalada Maligawa—CDM. Mr. T. D. Francisca, unsuccessful UNP candidate at the Mulakirigala by-election, yesterday filed an election petition in the

High Court of Coombe against the election of Mr. Lakshman Rajapakse to this seat—VK. A eleven member delegation presided by the Prime Minister will leave for New York at the end of the month to address the UN General Assembly—VK. Aththa, editorially commenting on calls by certain government parliamentarians that elections should not be held next year and by certain other government members that elections will be held said, whether elections or no elections, without the unity of the United Front, the reactionaries cannot be defeated: the paper recalled the total number of votes polled by the UNP—1,900,000 in the general elections of 1970: the paper further said in the face of these facts it will be day dreams shouting for continuance without elections and to go it alone.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 18: Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, yesterday addressing a mass rally at Kurunegala said that the attitude of the LSSP toward the UNP would give new strength to the UNP: the Premier further said the LSSP is now joining hands with the UNP thereby helping facism: referring to a call by the LSSP to release all those who are held under Emergency Regulations Mrs. Bandaranaike said nearly 18,000 youths taken into custody during the insurgency were all released except for a few who are still being detained for security reasons: she said in India nearly 40,000 people including MPs of the Opposition are still being kept in detention for security reasons: the Prime Minister also said that the people have reposed their trust in the Sri Lanka Freedom Party because of the party's honest leadership—CDN & CDM. Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, leader of the UNP, speaking at a meeting in Kandy yesterday said that the Opposition comprising the UNP, LSSP and the FP will not permit the government to continue in office after May, 1977, without holding elections: Mr. Jayewardene further said that after May, 1977, the government will have to remain in power only with the help of the bullet and not by ballot: he also said that if the Government continued with the power of the bullet the Opposition will call upon the masses of the country to break the laws—CDM. According to a gazette notification issued yesterday by the government all members of Parliament who served for more than five years will be entitled for pensions and the pensions scheme will come into operation from May 22, '77—CDN. Mr. Rukman Senanayake, President of Dudley Peramuna and MP for Dedigama, speaking in a public meeting in Alutgama said that his party is opposed to the postponement of general elections—LD. The water-cut now imposed in the Colombo Municipal area will continue for sometime according to Mr. A. H. M. Fowzi, Mayor of Colombo—LD. Government decided that new entrants to public service after 1973 who wished to continue only on EPF benefits should be allowed to do so: this decision has been taken on the recommendation of Mr. T. B. Hengaratne, Minister of Trade, Public Administration and Home Affairs—DM. The C.G.R. will import 16 more railway engines at a cost of Rs. 60 million: in addition to this ten power sets will be brought to the island at the end of the year—ATH.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 19: The Controller of Emigration and Immigration yesterday told the Observer that the exit of exit visas does not mean that travel abroad is unchecked: he said that passport controls will be in force and any one wanted in the

country will not be allowed to leave the country. Police investigating the Kollupitiya tavern holdup has come upon evidence that there is a mafia style gang operating in the island that includes several notorious criminals, young women and educated young men: a 25-member Police team is on the hunt for the gang—CO. Eye clinics will be opened in the Colombo North and South hospitals in Ragama and Kalubowilla from next month to ease the congestion in the Colombo Eye Hospital—CO. The Sri Lanka-China Friendship Association has arranged for a Mao Tse-tung memorial meeting to be held at the BMICH tomorrow: Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, and several ministers are scheduled to address the meeting—CO. According to the Times of Ceylon Sunday Illustrated the Opposition parties in the Parliament will call for a full debate this week on the emergency: they will raise the question as a matter of urgent public importance and demand a debate after an early adjournment of normal business: the GMOA which meets today will decide whether to strike or not to strike to win their demands: Dr. R. R. Cooke, President of the GMOA, said that today's meeting is mainly because the dialogue between the Association and health authorities failed—TOCSI. Thai Airway International and Royal Nepal Airlines will be the latest addition to several international airlines operating through Colombo: these two airlines will commence operation through Colombo from January next year: already there are nine international airlines operating through Colombo—TOCSI. Mr. Malthripala Senanayake, Minister of Irrigation, Power and Highways, has drawn up a plan to obtain a Rs. 100 million loan from the Asian Development Bank to be utilised for purpose of inducing artificial rains in the dry zone areas where it is expected to help agricultural crops—VK. Bandaranaike Day celebrations will be held throughout the island on September 26: a public rally will be held at Galle Face Green on Friday, September 24, and religious ceremonies will be held at Horagolla on Sunday, September 26—SLD.

INTERNATIONAL DIARY

Sept. 13 - Sept. 16

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 13: The Indian Boeing 737 plane's hijackers were said to have hijacked this plane for political reasons: airport sources said the hijackers were understood to have made certain political demands on Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's government but they did not give details: Pakistani officials said they did not know the motive behind the hijacking. President Tito of Yugoslavia is said to be suffering from acute liver trouble which has forced him to cancel all public activities. It was announced in New Delhi that Indian Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, will leave for a ten-day visit to Mauritius, Tanzania and Zambia in the second week of October. United States Secretary of State, Dr. Henry Kissinger, said yesterday the chances of success for his peace mission to Africa were not high, but declared he must go there before the situation got dangerously out of hand. Fierce fighting was reported once again between rightist and leftist forces in Beirut: Radio reports from

both wings said Saturday night was one of the worst in recent times. Japanese Airforce officers were contemplating to dismantle the Soviet Mig-25 jet and send the parts to a nearby air base for detailed study; presently the plane is in Hakodate airport near Tokyo. Representatives of developing countries will meet in Mexico this week to discuss setting up their own joint economic projects without the help of richer nations: most members for the conference will arrive from the Group of 77 developing countries. Thousands paid their respect to the late Chinese leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung: his body was laid to rest in the Great Hall of the People in the heart of Peking.

TUESDAY SEPTEMBER 14: Soviet First Deputy Prime Minister, Kirill Mazurov and Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko yesterday went to the Chinese Embassy in Moscow and signed a book of condolence on the death of Chairman Mao Tse-tung. Five Croatian nationalists who hijacked a US airliner last week surrendered in Paris and were arrested by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and brought back to the US. British Energy Minister, Tony Benn, told a news conference that the British Broadcasting Corporation sometimes in its broadcasts incited racial feelings: this press conference was under a campaign called by the Labour Government against racialism. Following the killings of six blacks in riots in Johannesburg the blacks struck work: many industries in the city were paralysed owing to this strike. Libyan leader, Muammar Gaddafi, indicated in an interview published in the Newsweek that Libya would no longer provide arms to the Irish Republican Army. As part of the Indian Government's intensive campaign for family planning more than two million Indians were sterilised in the first five months of this year: India's population was 605 million at the end of April this year and it is expected to pass the 610 million mark in the second week of July this year. A group of eighty Churchmen called on the Australian government to halt the production of uranium development until there had been extensive public debate on the issue. Kaiyo Oil Company of Japan announced that it had started negotiations with the Vietnamese government about developing off-shore oil fields: two French firms, one British and an Italian Company were also involved. European Common Market Foreign Ministers meeting in Netherlands pledged to support US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's mediation mission in Southern Africa which began on Monday.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 15: Black militants in Johannesburg in South Africa have planned to hold a demonstration to show their strength at the end of this week: this demonstration is planned to coincide with the visit of Dr. Henry Kissinger, US Secretary of State, who is expected to arrive in South Africa to have talks with Prime Minister, John Vorster: three-day old strike by blacks of Johannesburg still continued but white employers said the situation has eased addressing a meeting in Pretoria to commemorate his 10th year of premiership Prime Minister John Vorster said whether America liked South Africa or not they have a common enemy-communism, and they would fight communism. United States Congress approved the Bill of the Pentagon's budget for the 1977 financial year of US \$ 104,400: considering the allocations remaining from the current financial year, the budget of the Department of Defence will run into

nearly 113 million dollars, a sum unprecedented both for peacetime and wartime. President Ford instructed the US delegation to the United Nations to veto the membership application by Vietnam: this was stated by the Head of the US delegation to the United Nations, Mr. William Scranton. A Community Service Minister of New South Wales Government, Mr. Rex Jackson, said that his government was negotiating in South Korea, Philippines, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka to seek babies for adoption. Almost all the Heads of States around the world sent messages of condolences on the death of Chairman Mao Tse-tung and thousands of people in Peking and rest of the country paid tribute before the bier of the late leader. Hongkong Police seized raw opium worth 19 million H.K. dollars (about 2 million sterling) from a junk in Hong Kong in a continued drive against drug traffickers. Luis Corvalan, the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile, has been awarded the Order of Lenin by the Soviet Union.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 16: Mexican President Luis Echeverria, yesterday opened a centre for Third World economic and social studies in Mexico City: several leaders of Third World countries and Dr. Kurt Waldheim, Secretary General of the United Nations, were present at the opening ceremony. Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi of India, addressing a public meeting in Nagarkoil in South India said that she would use all the authority at her command to stop any move to separate the country: she also said separatism will not be tolerated no matter what it would cost. President Tito of Yugoslavia in a message of condolence on the death of Chairman Mao Tse-tung said the death of the leader is an irreparable loss not only for the People's Republic of China but for the whole of progressive humanity. The blacks of Cape Town too joined the strike by the blacks of Johannesburg and the harbour of Cape Town was deserted without any work being handled there: bread and milk deliveries too were badly hampered in Cape Town: meanwhile Prime Minister, Ian Smith of Rhodesia, returned to Salisbury after talks with Prime Minister John Vorster of South Africa: he did not tell reporters of the outcome of the meeting he had with Prime Minister Vorster: in a series of border clashes in Salisbury nine black nationalist guerillas and five Rhodesian soldiers were killed. Officials of the Japanese Defence Office are planning to move the Soviet Mig 25-Foxbat—to an airbase in Tokyo: fearing that the relationship between Tokyo and Moscow might be further worsened Japanese authorities are reluctant to seek US help to move the Foxbat to the airbase. Britain yesterday introduced its first total cuts of home water supplies because of prolonged drought: people walked to communal pipes to fetch water: latest reports from London said it has started to rain in many parts of Britain. The USSR launched a two-man spaceship, Soyuz 22, into earth orbit as part of a program of space co-operation among Communist countries.

MARGINALIA

* English * Tamil * Baby Export * Development

• MP's Letter

by Bryan de Kretser

ENGLISH. Inevitably after the non-aligned conference folks have started to extol the virtues of English. They write as though someone planned to make Sinhala the international 'talk' vehicle. But one must ask if the use of English to maintain international links also makes it necessary that instructions to drivers on highways in Colombo should be in English only, a language of which quite 90% of our native drivers are innocent. Towns welcome 'careful drivers' in English only, for all that the signs reads to the average driver in this country it might well mean, "step on the gas, all is well" how the hell is he to know it means what it says. Slowly but surely the English-speaking elite, somewhat in retreat after the 1970 elections, is beginning to assert itself again. Even to be a security guard English is a must. Does it mean that most of those likely to break into hotels and establishments today also can be brought to heel only if addressed in English?

Let it be made clear, no one advocating the proper place for Sinhala argues that English is not necessary. What we do say is that for the masses of this people to rise up and become men again their mother tongue must be developed, mature, adequate, and one of which they are proud. Alas our ruling elite are proud, not of their mother tongue which they use, imperfectly, and only when talking with menials, but of their 'Englishness'. A visitor to the non-aligned conference after listening to one of our leaders said "He is the perfect English gentleman." So much for Sinhala culture. Hurrah for neo-colonialism.

TAMIL LANGUAGE. It is tragically true that the Tamil speaking and Sinhala speaking peoples have drifted apart, and that there is a growing antipathy to learning the language of each other. One of our mistakes has been to put emphasis on the learning of English as a second language, when we

ought rather to have put it in third place. For Sinhala peoples Tamil should be the required second language. It is surely more important that we learn first to communicate with each other in this country before we start to talk to the rest of the world. My son is learning in a village school in the Kegalle district, he is just nine, and next year, arrangements are being made for him to learn Tamil. He now studies in Sinhala. We have got our priorities all wrong. We are planning to bring a disunited and unhappy nation into a world community of peace and justice for all. Let us first get ourselves put right. Let us learn to appreciate and accept each other, Sinhala and Tamil in this land, then we shall have a rich contribution to make to the world community. Now our international pronouncements against racism etc are just cheap empty nothings.

BABY EXPORT. Every now and then, our newspapers draw attention to the rapidly increasing number of babies born to Sri Lanka parents who are being sent overseas for adoption. It is strange that a hungry 'foreign exchange' nation has not seen the enormous commercial possibilities this new export offers. Suppose for instance the Minister of Finance made it obligatory on prospective parents to pay into the state coffers 5000 for each child to be adopted. Suppose also that we make plans to withdraw 'Pritchi' from the marketplace and invited the participation of Sri Lanka youth in a 'Produce more Babies' campaign. It might produce far more obvious results than the Grow More Food one!

But seriously do we not appreciate that this entire programme is an insult to our nation? Our politicians travel around the countryside assuring us that Youth are our most valued asset and then on the other hand we stand supinely aside and allow a fast-developing export trade in our babies. I know I shall be told that some of them are parentless, that the children will be better off elsewhere etc. If children have no parents, then the State must look after them. And by what crass materialistic standards do we affirm that Sri Lanka children are better off when taken away from their culture their history, their race and their people?

It is not by our proud affirmation at Non-Aligned conferences that we are best known across the world. No, it is by the day to day decisions which we take to protect our integrity and to conduct our affairs. It is a tragic commentary on our political and social bankruptcy that we almost enthusiastically participate in this latest Export drive.

THE PROBLEM OF DEVELOPMENT.

I am beginning to appreciate the many factors which together conspire to prevent the rural masses from getting off the ground. First, just look at the political setup. Factually, the local MP is the old feudal baron writ large. And factually also, the MP is often jealous to protect his exclusive control of the area which he represents. What does this mean? Quite often in an area there happen to be one or more chaps with leadership abilities, some of the Government servants, others employed in local enterprises. If these chaps show any public concern for village improvement and make suggestions relating to development, the MP fellow often grow jealous and, if it is at all possible, he arranges for the chap to be transferred or else puts every conceivable obstacle in the way of his getting anything done. Our structures have contributed much to build up the egocentricism of the MP and nothing panders to this more than the habit of consulting the MP in regard to almost every job, enterprise or project in the area. Another factor which help keep the villager in his place and prevents his development is the continuing dominance of English in the halls of power. The face which the villager sees when he meets top officialdom is an "english one", despite the fact that the last English now left the public service several years back. These men talk with each other when they meet at the office, at the club, in public places, in english. This habit leaves the villager unsure of himself. He feels and he is right to feel it, distinctly at a disadvantage. For the english-speaking group, as part of the neo-colonial heritage, look down on the native, distrust him, and generally maintain an unbridgeable social gap between themselves and the village folks. There is consequently no rapport. The poor villager chap

hears the top chaps hold conversation in the real 'rajaya basa' and all unwittingly is being told natives are second class citizens and must remember their place. It is this structure which leaves him psychologically uncertain and often aggressive in an adolescent fashion.

THE MP'S LETTER. I refer to this subject again without any apology. To my mind it is the most important single issue before the country at this time. Incidentally I sometimes have chaps come to me for a letter of recommendation. If I know the chap well, I am happy to oblige. But men have called here, men whom I have never seen before, and with a straight face have asked me for a letter of recommendation. Presumably I am expected to say I know them well and can support their application. I refuse to do so and try to explain that if I did put hand to such a letter I would be telling a lie. I'm afraid it does no good. They just do not understand what a lie has to do with this request. I cannot help feeling that plenty of our MPs must lie pretty often, for it is next to impossible for them to really know all the chaps to whom they give letters of recommendation. True the 'punchi mantri' can vouch for the applicants political authenticity but is that what these letters of recommendations are about? And, incidentally, once an election has taken place, all voters solemnly affirm they voted for the victorious party man. But it is the telling of lies which really has me troubled—*or am I not 'Mod' enough—does truth matter?*

* * *

BUILDING A VILLAGE HOUSE—92

Eden: Everything In The Garden's Lovely

— Part I —

By Herbert Keuneman

'I am not a Bad Girl', she said firmly.

The thoroughly level and frank look she directed at me and the wile, brown, soft but quite unprovocative and artless eyes she directed it from made the protest in any case superfluous. And yst,

of her own accord she had made me a proposition which even in the village, where such things are spoken of less salaciously than in the city—despite the vastly-grown import, even here, of urban hypocrisies—was, shall we say? 'unconventional': being the kind of proposition more customarily made by the man.

She had said: 'If you will pay me fifty rupees a month I'll come and cook your food.' Which is a euphemism—even the village, for all its more down-to-earth usage, employs such periphrases—equivalent to: 'I'll be your mistress.' Or, less offensively as well as probably more accurately: 'I'll be your common-law wife.'

Marriage-registration: *sister-karanava* (with a long 'i') has almost universally caught on save in the most sequestered rural areas, for the security—Marriage: a Ceremony in which a Ring is Put Round the Finger of the Bride and Through the Nose of the bridegroom—the woman is thought to gain. But almost. Far from in variably. Ehetuwewa, with its Rural Centre (true, now nearly three years unopened); its V.C.; its Rural Hospital; its steps on the way to becoming a small town, in short; has a very sizable proportion of common-law *menages*, I can think of half-a-dozen straight-away. Nilamma, who is elderly now and all passion spent, underwent registered marriage at the age of 13 and has married, but by *binna* custom, eleven times since ('Why?' 'Because a *sister* marriage is a whole lot of trouble to undo if it doesn't turn out right, Goodness! the trouble my parents and I had with that first man) nevertheless succumbed to the current prevalence and made her thirteenth marriage again a documented one! The happy pair are now a village Joan and Derby. But *sister-kirima* is no inflexible safeguard: I can think, again straight-away, of three deserted registered Ehetuwewa wives whose breadwinners are absconding; for to shirk maintenance is almost as easy as to skip bail. And five unmarried mothers. On the other hand, I can think of two survivals—one in this village and one in Pol-pligama—of the ancient custom of polyandry; and both teams are gladly growing grey in conjugal amity: which is a more lasting

happiness than 'conjugal bliss'. All verb. *sap.*

My mind has been directed towards these animadversions because I heard yesterday of one village marriage that has undoubtedly gone tragically wrong.

I had discovered some old photographs, from our first day (my wife's and mine) in Ehetuwewa, and I kept them by me to distribute as and when they came to visit me to the children—all now grown up—who had posed for them. Some of the subjects I could not even remember, and I have been showing the photographs round seeking identification. So it was that last evening one buxom and 'successfully' married young matron recognized a pretty little figure in a small group and said: 'Aah! Dipa!' I was pleased. But she added complacently, almost smugly: '*ane, dukpat: ane, pav: eki-ta dan pissi.*' 'Oh, poor thing! oh! what a shame. She's off her head now.'

Now I remembered the little girl and all too clearly, only too clearly for my complete peace of mind! This, then, was Dipa who three years ago made me precisely the same kind of offer with a description of which I began this article. It was, however, a quite separate offer. (And if to say so suggests to you that I enjoy an *embarras de richesse* of such preferred favours you would, within limits, be right. There have hitherto been four. But 'enjoy' is hardly the word.) I turned Dipa down, as I did the other three and must do any in the future, not because I am strait-laced about such things—after all, if that had been the sole consideration I could have gone through the form of *sister-karanava* and assured myself of companionship of a kind and reasonably devoted domestic care and service—but because I have been keenly aware that at 67 my attractiveness as a spouse to a girl in her twenties is likely small, and the motive is undoubtedly not romance but economics. And in that respect I am an even more broken reed than they know. I could hardly take charge of a girl without assuming some responsibility for her future; and all I possess is already assigned or earmarked promised away. In this respect the latest proposition—on a salary basis—presents problems of its own.

What troubles my conscience about Dipa is the thought that maybe, anyway, if I had not been so nice in balancing my responsibilities I may, in the end, have secured for her a few years of comfort and affection, physically a better fate than faces her now. It makes it worse to remember that what struck me first in answer to Dipa's suggestion was not the honourable recollection that further testamentary largesse was beyond my competence but the selfish consideration that she owned a baby...and a particularly unlikeable one.

Dipa was the daughter of a Malayali toddy-tapper (dead, decamped, or repatriated) and a Vanni wife, the latter a great black raw-boned woman with an ill temper and who would make a horrifying mother-in-law. Notwithstanding, there was a young man willing to accept this burden for Dipa's sake, Dipa being herself petite and sunny-dispositioned and, though very dark, possessed of a smile that could prestidigitate within anybody's heart: light candles, or ring little silver bells. He must have been rather a fine-spirited young man, too; for when Dipa found she was with child he insisted he should marry her. But her fearsome mother raised objections. The young man was a conservancy labourer in the local hospital. If you ask in this village they will tell you there is little, to their mind, to choose between a Sinhalese conservancy labourer and a Malayali toddy-tapper; yet Dipa's mother had lived here ever since she came as a bride, and —accustom is the thing in these cases—was soon as ordinarily accepted as any other wife, had set her sights higher for a son-in-law and thought she could still bag a suitable one even with a grandchild born out of any form of wedlock to drag her arm own.

She failed. And poor little Dipa, never very brainy nor calculating nor strong-minded gradually became one of the village's Ladies of Pleasure. Amongst the most popular, at that; for she is indeed a most engaging and innocent child. Shortly after she had applied to me for, so to speak, more permanent employment, I heard she was living with another man (more befitting her years). But yesterday I was told that as soon as a new

baby's arrival became imminent the 'husband' up and away—standard procedure—and Dipa 'became silly' (modavage vuna) and now she is pissi (insane). With two babies. And the same mother!

The story of the girl I began with is even more tragic; for it is more Greek; more foreordained and deliberate.

Kuma is wonderful to look at—strappingly tall and splendidly proportioned, one of the few village girls whose appearance you could justly describe as athletic (most of her village sisters tend to be either too much on the dumpy side or else a little too meagre) and is an athlete in fact, a noted runner and high-jumper and her school netball 'cafein', yet her face has the gracious reposeful look and the golden-brown colouring typical of the most engaging degree of Vanni beauty—but from one profile only. On her other cheek tragedy has made her handprint: a great dark blemish of the skin that somehow alters the lovely line of the bone, as camouflage does, and produces an effect little short of grotesque. And she is painfully, bitterly conscious of it. There, then, is our protagonist. The deuteragonist is, fittingly—almost as good-looking but repre, sends the other end of the village personality-scale. Lean, mean and asthenic, he is typically the inward turned self-regarding and selfish villager, already (though still a very young man) strongly bent towards the more outworn village prejudices and attitudes of mind and modes of action. He seems to have been prepared by Fate to be an agent of Kuma's adversity. Should the Chorus be telling this story.....

*Look where Mudiyanse comes forth!
Brave in his panoply of nylon shirt
and black bambu trousers,
Dark glasses hooked over his
pocket-edge, ball-point peeping,
And through the nylon the shadow
of a Rs. 50 note
Befitting his high status.
Is he not, besides the scion of a
gamarala's house,
A pro-deputy-sub-assistant Engineer
Able to filch, as Hercules the
Hesperidean apples,
Cement and other treasure from
the State's rich store
And show the empty bags (retained)
as proof of his bright honour?*

*Ah! here indeed is a youth that
maids must tremble for!*

*Who then is this? this maid all
trippingly*

*That steps gazelle-like from the
shade of the gnarled kiriya
tree?*

*See! She beckons, she smiles, she
runs toward the lonely rock
Where nods from secret hollow
the tip of noble Mudiyanse's
plume.*

*Maiden, run! Run the other way!
Seek not the sinews of thy tender
heart*

*To stretch against the spear blades
of passion. Are not*

*Thy virgin companions lonely for
thee? Bend thy not, wondering,*

*Over their prajacharaya text-
books, or maybe their saukya
ones, whispering*

*'Where is she? Where lingering?
Where.....'*

But darn this: let me tell the cold-blooded facts. Some years ago a cousin of Kuma's had eloped with a cousin of Mudiyanse's. Mudiyanse was not out of his teens then, yet he took it upon himself to vow vengeance. Not that there was anything socially unsuitable about the actual match save that Mudiyanse's own family was climbing, and a little better-to-do; and Mudiyanse always had big ideas.

When he came to an age of what he would call 'discretion', he saw a way; and when Kuma came to an age of suitable in-discretion he set about deliberately to seduce her.

One day Kuma did not return from school. Her parents, who seem at least to marginally aware of her affaire sought her dutifully and may have found her; but when the heat of the hunt was turning on the young man turned up at Kuma's home and protested nothing less honourable than marriage. Her parents, openly mollified and in secret tickled to death (for had not the young man a Good—or, even better, a remunerative—Job?) accepted the fait accompli. But three days later Kuma was returned. More accurately, she was merely abandoned. Naturally, some fuss was made; but, since Kuma's parents took the customary line that any such happening must be the girl's fault, not all that much fuss. A cash payment of Rs. 400 (they asked for five and were

knocked down) settled the matter as far as they were concerned.

As for Mudiyanse, he considers himself well profited. A short period of slightly more intensive speculation soon reimbursed his cash outlay; his reputation as a blood was gratifyingly enhanced amongst his peers; and his vengeance had been pretty thorough; he had not, perhaps, altogether and once and for all destroyed Kuma's prospects of marriage (she could marry an old man, or a really indigent one, or a man who would certainly forsake her after a time) but, together with her disfigurement and her besmirched reputation he had left her an undeniably damaged piece of goods.

He never meant, of course, any vengeance against Kuma personally. And perhaps that saves his conscience; for he goes about with a ready if faintly condescending smile and occasionally on a motor-cycle which he says he may buy.

(To be Concluded)

FORTY YEARS AGO
IN A TEA ESTATE—9

Curtains For The V. A.

By Ina Trimmer

A fresh gust of rain struck the tagram roof like a whip lash. There was no doubt that the little Bungalow was "getting it", but how wonderfully it stood up to this elemental punishment. Not a leak, dry as a hone.

My husband and I watched the V.A. disappear into his bedroom.

"I wish he wasn't so imposing. You know, kind of impressive and commanding", I said.

"Send a drink into him Sunny"

"Whisky or brandy?"

"Send both. On a day like this it's necessary to warm the cockles of your heart."

I gave the order to Palanimuttu.

"And what's my girl been doing today?"

"Nothing."

"Nothing?", he repeated, "What all this?"

He indicated the bowls of flowers, the table cloth, the curtains. "Never did the Small Bungalow look so dressed up. It's all the touch of a woman's hand. A hundred men make an encampment, but it takes only one woman to make a home..," he quoted.

I purred with satisfaction. Praise of any kind was like balm to soul that had been seared with so many years of disparagement.

"That's nothing," I said. "Just a few bowls of flowers; and the curtains are what you had in the old black box. All I did was to hang them up."

But I was pleased as punch, and a warm glow in my heart repudiated the elements without.

"Aren't you going to take off those wet clothes Teddy? Your hot bath will be cold and you know you like it almost boiling."

"Come on then, and talk to me while I change."

I followed him into our bedroom and sat on the edge of the bed.

"By the way", I began.

"Yes?"

"We're not having a cold lunch today"

"Oh why?"

"Well, Arumugam thought that as it's such a wet miserable day a cold mean would be unsuitable"

"Then what are you having?"

"He said he'd make a chicken pie and Scotch Broth".

"That's all right. His pies are fine."

"I'm glad you agree. I thought you may object."

"Cukoo! why should I? It is your province and not mine."

I was greatly relieved to hear this for sometimes my husband's ideas and decisions were like those of the Medas and Persians, unchangeable. In the matter of food particularly he had very definite views. I was silent while he walked around getting himself dry. Suddenly he turned.

"Why so quiet Sunny? Penny for your thoughts. Where are they? Kandy-Gampola?" This was his own peculiar way of expressing distance. Probably some cooly must have used it and it stuck in his memory.

"Not so far." I replied.

"Then where?"

"The V.A.'s room."

"What 'pon my word Sunny!"

"Don't be an idiot Teddie. I was just wondering how he'd like it. I put up some curtains."

"Oh!"

"Yes! And there's a vase of flowers too on the dressing table."

My husband looked his astonishment.

"Good Gracious! What will Williams think!"

"Why! what could he think?"

"Now, now, now! Don't get all huffed up and bothered. What a little bundle of prickles you are! Ready to do battle at a moment's notice. And challenge enough he Sunny?"

Shamefaced I looked at him. His eyes were soft and kindly, not flashing steel tipped points, but a deep bright blue.

"You se-e-e" I faltered. "It dates back to other days when everything I did was wrong."

"My poor little girl! Cheer up old dear! All I meant was that Williams wont be able to recognise himself in such comfortable quarters. Never before did he have a curtain in his honour, and as far a vase of vase in his room—"

My husband ruffled my hair and sent my fringe all haywire. "Be off with you now, my bath's getting cold."

I returned to the dining room and stood by the table when Arumugam came in.

"How's the pie Arumugam?"

"Lady don't worry. That pie my business. If not good, Arumugam going back to the lines today itself."

There was no doubt that the dining table looked attractive. My husband's beautiful cutlery shone burnished on the pure white damask cloth. The cut glass tumblers on coasters to match irradiated light even on that murky black day. A fire burned merrily in the one fire-place in the house; a wood fire that cracked as the water clobules in the little logs were licked up the flames.

It was a scene of warmth and cosiness; of hospitality that was genuine; of a homely home where kindness dwelt, and peace, and sweet content. What matter if the winds raged outside and the

skies spewed forth their wrath in violence and weeping!

Then suddenly, I heard a crash. Not from without but within! Above the sound of rain transcending the howling gales! A crash and arending! The tinkle of glass! Then more sounds! Some thuds! A muttered expletive, muffled but clear all the same! I looked round startled, wondering from where was it? Great Heavens? The visitor's room? Whatever could have happened? Did he have a fall? Impulsively I moved towards the door and without waiting to consider pushed aside the curtains.

What a sight met my eyes!

There stood the V.A. enveloped in the long curtains I had hung up at the window! He was completely smothered in the folds of brown material that I had dug out of the black box. And hanging from his head was the long pole. At his feet rolled the bottles of whisky and brandy, luckily stoppered, but the soda foamed on the matting. The vase of yellow roses lay prone, the water gurgling over a rug.

I looked—and looked—unable to say a word, aghast at such a catastrophe. Then I hurriedly pulled at the curtain, but the more I pulled closer it wrapped him round till the rod lay over his shoulders.

"Dear! oh dear! I muttered.

The heavy, wide, double curtains had of a truth entwined him in a pythonlike embrace.

My husband came running in. "Whatever have you done to him? Palanimuttu suruka va (come quickly)! Agentu Dorai!"

With our combined efforts he was set free at last. From out of the folds of cloth emerged the Tiger. His eyes met mine. Was there a twinkle in their fiery depths?

"Mrs. Trimmer," he said in his measured way. "I'm afraid I am the culprit. I pulled the two curtains together and..." He waved an arm to which still hung a length of curtain, "and—here's the result. Look here, Trim, I hope the drinks are safe."

I realised what had happened. The two nails that were used to hold up the rod were as bad as useless and the whole caboodle flew of its moorings at a touch. Why oh why did I imagine they would serve efficiently as holders!

He saw my confusion.

"Come, come!" said Mr. Williams kindly. "Let me congratulate you on these efforts for my comfort. I have never seen this room so cosy".

Then noticing the flowers on the ground, he picked them up. "I say, Trim, old man, you never did these things for me, or shall I say TO me." Then an unmistakable twinkle lit up his whole face.

"Thank you, Mrs. Trim, and please forgive my clumsy, elephantine movements that nearly broke up your home."

I gulped down my chagrin and mortification.

"Please don't say another word. It's all MY fault. What a silly I was to imagine the nails would do the trick".

Then all of a sudden the ludicrous aspect of this scene struck me. My husband's horror-struck face; my attempts to outdo all other preparations for the Big Dorai. With the ensuing result; Palanimuttu's usually serious countenance now funeral in its lugubriousness at such treatment being meted out to the Agentu Dorai whom everyone held in such respect; and above all, Mr. Williams himself inextricably mixed upcurtains and flowers and what-not, and moreover haltered like a bull with a long pole hanging on to him.

The laughter came gurgling up, uncontrollable, perhaps hysterical. I unrolled in a chair breathless with laughing.

The two men looked at me, startled. Was she in hysterics? Their thoughts were apparent. The more they looked, the more I laughed, till at length they joined in. Palanimuttu retired, sure that we were all quite mad. Still laughing we sat down to lunch.

I can write much more about this first Visiting Agent that I met. Perhaps I shall refer to him again. There was never another to touch him. How can one write a panegyric on someone who, I believe, and hope is still alive! Our friendship with him and his wife continued throughout the years. We did not meet often, for in life many a cherished association is sundered by circumstances beyond our control. But memories that are dear can never be effaced.

So I drink a toast to these two, the toast for absent friends—"God bless them."

(To be Continued)

SAFARI

Neither Here
Nor There

By Alkardi Mugana

From the coconut estate to Colombo is thirty miles. Slave Island opened up a new vista this week. Years ago I walked through this part of it and I had forgotten it existed. When I visited it again, I was surprised at the network of roads which covered such a large area, and it had a life of its own, complete, the street providing entertainment for the youth. A ball game was being played. There were the reticent types of people, and those who, superficially, seemed not so reticent, with the mannerism that I rightly or wrongly associate with living by one's wits. Some of the older generation spoke fluent English, the youth appearing quite inarticulate at it, except those few who are inclined to shout the little English that they know when they see people whom they mistake for tourists. The people were vigorous, and no wonder if, as I believe, it is cheaper to live in Colombo than in the country. I suppose one very good reason for shopkeepers in Colombo keeping their prices down is the very real danger of riots. I have read that even the emperor Constantine felt that he could not push the people of Alexandria too far. I suppose all governments live with this fear, and that even the boldest measures of government have this underlying motive. Newspapers are there to distast the populace, which is why it is so, important that everybody should read, and why world-bodies put such a premium on literacy. In the older industrialized countries, the older people are glued to their television sets, while the youth, who prefer the open air, have motor-bikes galore to suit them, and motor-bikes cost money to run. Yet, juvenile

delinquency is an easier problem for the police to cope with than a population seething with discontent. Even periodic monetary crises can be a useful palliative, storm in tea-cups. And so to the estate.

Though private ownership of land has been broken up into units, I suppose there is no law which says that two or more of these units in the same family cannot be managed together. I know an estate which employs not less than forty-five people, which could be double the number that it did in the old days. All these people have to be paid, and there is still work for more than twice that number. It requires courage to employ so many, for after all, the money has to be found, and the money is not borrowed, not from outside sources. This, I think is very important. A priest, called Canon Drinkwater, put down the evils of the modern world to borrowing money, that is to the system of money-lending, and I think he meant usury. I suppose a mild form of usury is harmless, and usury is only mild when very large sums of money are involved. What the Canon objected to was that when the money-lenders lend money, the money that they lend is created with a stroke of their pen. It is even cleverer than a magician pulling eggs out of a hat. The interest that they get back is created with real hard labour, and it is paid for in hard coin. Anyway, think it is a mistake for anyone to accumulate money. Money is purely a means of oiling the economic system, and to hoard is like starving a machine of its oil. Yet, hoarded money can be very useful in one's old age when one is lying in bed with a broken back with four nuses to attend to one.

If all estates employed usefully more people then it can usefully employ, a puzzle that I think is called a conundrum, and the Editor will correct me if I am wrong, because I am beyond reach of a dictionary then, unless they are selfless or are really dedicated to their work, that is the land, there will have to be some kind of incentive, and an incentive that is meaningful. It will solve a lot of problems, but it will leave a lot unsolved unless there is also a change in attitudes, in the forms

of private ownership, all of which cannot be legislated or it will be doomed to failure, but which will have to be worked out by trial and error. Time must take its course, these matters cannot be rushed, yet time is running out. What is very important is that we avoid clichés, that every man tries to express himself in his own language without falling back on clichés, in other words that every-man should think.

We were hamstrung for a long time without small carts. The double-bullock carts were being called on for little jobs, and they were being taken away from their main job, which is hauling away husks. The husks accumulated. We have put our surviving small cart back on the road, and it nice to see all three carts transporting husks; you would be surprised how quickly the husks recede in places. Now the digging of husk pits will have to keep up with the transfer of husks. The husk pits have to be filled with the husks and not just huggly-piggly, and we shall have to wait for some substantial rain before closing the pits. We have had no rain for some time now, and the earth is dry and hard yet the inside of the heaps of husks is very moist, which goes to show how long heaps of husks retain moisture even when they are not buried. On another part of the estate we have been busy on another kind of operation very large drain to draw off water when it really does rain and the ground becomes water-logged. Our entire crop of chili was ruined by the prolonged rain, and it became difficult to harvest the cowpea, and even soya bean.

Parrots have started attacking the soya bean, and as in military warfare, they do so after dawn and before dusk, so that we have to stand to particularly at those times, requiring a reorganization of work-time. Our kangany has been asking for a gun, even an air-gun, for a long time, and we have got no nearer giving him one. As a lover of bird-song, I feel quite happy, but, as he says one has to choose between either the bird or the crops.

We are getting all the paralas or rafters we can from the fallen coconut trees and from the tall

trees in the replanted areas. We cut down the tall trees to keep the parala-men going, as they have to give way anyway to the young palms which are bearing nuts.

More of the young bulls are being trained. Some are going straight between the shafts of the small cart, now that we have a half-cart again, but the more obstreperous have to go first to the double bullock carts where they have a seasons cart bull to restrain them. Starving the buffaloes to make them more amenable did not last more than a few days; we realise it was a mistake; they were just as obstreperous as before. So we are still awaiting our true buffalo man to train them, a man who really knows buffaloes, a man who has a way with them.

This piece is being written in the Wannu, and I have visited the Rajangana again. The two families, who had combined, really have some cultivation to show, all sorts of things which will be good to eat; sorghum, maize, chillie various vegetables. They have even lined the inside of their cadjan house with brick. Their two homes have a common back wall. The newer family has just one room; the longer resident has two rooms.

When I visited another family, I was greeted with a low-toned, Brother, as is our custom. This family told me that it was four months since I had visited them. They had not had any tobacco even grown then, now they were harvesting it. They had two people, relations staying with them, a boy and a girl. Only the husband was in when I arrived, but the rest soon hove into view in the distance, they were carrying water and *pung*, that is reeds for weaving into mats. All seemed well fed, and yet they had their problems. The man of the house was treading tobacco leaves in string for hanging up to dry. It looked a highly skilled job. I asked him about it. He said they learnt the best ways as they went along with no one to show them. I slept on his bed for an hour, the first ten minutes with vivid dreams. They had even had another man staying with them, also a relation, and he was expected back.



MAHATMA GANDHI

A Message To The World

by Jayantha Somasundaram

Mahatma Gandhi's birth anniversary falls on October 2nd. In this article we review some of the highlights of his life and work.

Shortly after his return to India in 1891, Gandhi had his first experience of colonial discrimination and brutality when he was thrown out of a white man's office by the peon! In South Africa he would be thrown out of a first class carriage because no 'natives' were permitted to ride first class.

"These two episodes made the man, yet it is equally true that the man made the episodes. Other Indians had been expelled from a compartment", writes a commentator. But in Gandhi it awakened the hidden flames of defiance and rebellion. The Mahatma was born. Gandhi was to become the greatest revolutionary in British India. He was a true revolutionary because he never lost sight of his goal, Swaraj—Independence. But more important he never bore any kind of malice against the men whom he fought and broke. He fought the British Raj, not the Britisher. Fifty years later the great Latin American revolutionary Fidel Castro was to say: "We fight systems not men."

Many have misunderstood and misinterpreted Gandhi's weapon of Satyagraha. He described it as "the vindication of truth not by inflicting suffering on the opponent but on one's self." Yet Satyagraha was principally a political weapon. "Men say I am a saint losing myself in politics. The fact is I am a politician trying my hardest to be a saint." Thus Gandhi was first and foremost a social reformer. It was only his approach to the social problems that was original. Gandhi never sought to humiliate or defeat the Whites in South Africa or India. He wished to convert them. He hoped that, if he preached the Sermon on the Mount, General Smuts would remember that he was a Christian! In South Africa Gandhi used Satyagraha effectively

and obtained lasting concessions for the Asian communities in Africa.

On his return from South Africa, Gandhi set the pace for the cultural regeneration of Asia and the victory of the Indian people over their white rulers. A cultural resurgence was more important than constitutional freedom. Gurusdev Rabindranath Tagore "wept at seeing India the eternal ragpicker at other peoples dust bins!" To Gandhi true freedom meant the emergence of a new, free, Indian individual.

Indian Congress leaders were puzzled by Gandhi's teachings, by his dress and his overtures to the peasantry. They donned black cut-aways and striped pants and read petitions in impeccable English to polite English bureaucrats. "Our salvation can come only through the farmer. Neither the lawyers, nor doctors, nor the rich landlords are going to secure it" Gandhi pointed out.

Gandhi put pressure on the British Raj through his campaign of non-co-operation, a message he carried to the people. Hundreds of Indian lawyers quit the British Courts, University youth abandoned their class-rooms and teachers and students alike went to the villagers calling for the non-payment of taxes and non-consumption of liquor. When Gandhi addressed crowds they would shed their Western attire and Gandhi would set fire to the pile of Western clothes. He asked the people to spin, Gandhi himself became a most enthusiastic spinner. Yet the reforms did not come. The young radicals of India now called for violence. But Gandhi would have none of it. "If India takes up the doctrine of the sword" he said, "she may gain momentary victory, but then India will cease to be the pride of my heart." Meanwhile 10,000 Indians went to prison for non-co-operation. India was now in an ugly mood.

Among Gandhi's most famous actions was his 'Salt March'. The British had instituted a State monopoly on the collection of salt. Gandhi decided to defy the ban. On March 12th, 1930, he began his march to the sea. On April 5th he reached the sea; trailing behind him was a non-violent army—the future of India. As Gandhi stepped into the sea and

picked up a piece of salt, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu cried: "Hail Deliverer!" Gandhi had walked the 240 miles in the full glare of publicity. Subhas Chandra Bose has compared the Salt March to Napoleon's march to Paris after his return from Elba.

All over India Gandhi's example was followed as men, women and children defied the British Raj and collected salt. The British retaliated with arrests and censorship. When these measures proved inadequate, the British resorted to terrorism and brutality. Gandhi's son Manilal and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu led the march on the Dharsana Salt Works near Bombay. Gandhi himself fell in custody by then. The British broke up this march with unspeakable brutality. Wave after wave of marchers were assaulted by the police. But they did not flinch, they did not pause, they did not fight back. Gandhi had made it. India was now morally free! The pride and spirit of India was finally resorted. When a British Officer grasped Mrs. Naidu by the arm and said: "Sarojini Naidu, you are under arrest". She shook off his hand and said majestically, "I will come, but don't touch me!"

Tagore summed up the consequences of the March thus: "Europe has completely lost her moral prestige in Asia. She is no longer regarded as a champion...but as the upholder of Western race supremacy and the exploiter of those outside her own borders. Asia is physically weak...nevertheless she can afford to look down on Europe where before she looked up." When the Indians allowed themselves to be beaten with batons and rifle butts and did not cringe, they showed that England was powerless and India invincible!

It would be futile here to go into the violence that served as a mid-wife for the birth of Pakistan. It was a series of violence that culminated in the assassination of the Mahatma by a Hindu fanatic on January 25 1948. In the words of Tagore:

"A shadow is darkening over India like a shadow cast by an eclipsed sun. Mahatmaji through his life of dedication has made India his own in Truth. Each country has its own geography where the spirit dwells and where phys-

cal force can never conquer. The Great Soul continues his dominion even when he is physically no longer present. The penance which Mahatmaji has taken upon himself is not a ritual, but a message to all India and the World."



LETTERS

◆ Roads

Sir,

Three years ago I travelled by motor car from Colombo to Bandarawela whither I was going on transfer. As we passed Ratnapura town we felt the jerks and jolts caused by the deplorable condition of the bridge across the Kalu Ganga. But we were consoled to see the new bridge under construction. The understructure was all complete. Only the upper structure and the approach roads needed attention.

Three years have passed and much water has flowed down the river. Alas! the infrastructure of the new bridge remains, and nothing has been done for the completion of the bridge. The progress is literally at a snail's pace.

The Department of Highways deserves congratulations for its patience and perseverance and for the 'speed' at which its bridge building team works. Judging by the pace at which the work has been progressing during the past three years, I feel that by the time the bridge is completed the infrastructure would have rotted and heavy repairs needed. Or by that time the Archaeological Department might claim it as an ancient monument.

All of us would have been happier if the bridge had been given a good repair. And it would have saved the country a good bit of money.

C. M. Rupasinghe

Sacred Heart Novitiate,
Sidupiyani,
Bandarawela.
23.7.76



◆ Collective Agreement

Sir,

Today in the Trade Union World this term signifies a period of industrial peace entered into by an employer and his employee on certain specified conditions. Contrary to the said agreement there happens to linger in some managerial minds the "Sahib and Cooly" attitude of the past, even in this progressive age when labour participation in industrial management is much discussed. All the good intentions of a 'Collective Agreement' will be null and void if there is not going to be a change of heart among some of the present day management. Surely they must realise and learn to appreciate that they are dealing with men at work, not with animals or automations. It is only a change in the mentality of an employer and rendering due recognition to the status of his subordinate as an equal sharer in his trade, as in fact and justice he deserves, that the working classes in any organisation can be based on the firm footing of a happier labour relationship.

After all for any progressive venture to prosper, its strength must come from its working people. To achieve this supreme objective, it is time our modern day management once and for all give up this "Sahib and Coolie" colonial attitude, if they really wish to maintain a 'Collective-Agreement' in its true spirit and form. Otherwise any agreement signed by any popular Model Employer in our country will continue to remain only as a dead letter in paper.

Alwis Town,
Hendala.
2.9.76

N. SriKantha

◆ Caste In Jaffna

Sir,

We must thank you for the attempts made by you to enlighten us on the movement against caste, through the articles of your correspondent Mr. Arumainayagam. But one cannot wholly subscribe to the views put forward by him. In one instance he appears to have verbatim quoted the views told

by others, particularly the ruler, whose only motive was to divide the natives and rule over them. We refer to the view expressed that the election of the first Educated Ceylonese member was based on caste. That was the view held by Sir Hugh Clifford, one time Governor. He put forward the above view in his contribution on Ceylon to the 14th Edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica. Sir P. Ramanathan, the First Educated Ceylonese Member himself, described this assertion as an "allegation" and discussed it as "quite fallacious". He has this to say in his Memorandum on the Donoughmore reforms written on 18th July, 1930, published in London. "As between me and my only opponent, were not ruled by considerations of race or caste. Indeed Mr. (afterwards Sir) James Pieris, who belonged to the same religion and caste as Dr. Fernando, eschewed these biases when he wrote to the Secretary of State for the reforms of the Legislative Council as early as 1909. How then, could Sir Hugh Clifford say that from the time of the election of the Educated Ceylonese member in 1912, caste prejudices proved to be stronger passion than racial bias."

Was it because of this your correspondent used the phrase "it was rumoured". But judging from what Sir P. Ramanathan comments one cannot easily run into the conclusion to which Mr Arumainayagam leads us at this instance. Don't you agree?

M. Thayagunam, B.A. (Cey.)

Erlalai North,
Erlalai.
1.9.76



Inania of this, that and the other

Going Up In Smoke

By INNA

Most of us are short-sighted. Why is it necessary to burn our fingers in order to see that fire burns. Could we not learn from the burning of others' fingers?

Time was when TV was hailed in Europe and USA as a boon to

Atomic Waste

people. On second thoughts people speak of the break-up of family life and togetherness, of the tyranny or thralldom of the TV screen, but "Padukka" is upon us and the non-aligned Nations Conference might bequeath to us, at least to a few of the Colombo elite, the TV drive and its absorption of the young and old. Will the disparity widen?

It may well be that nuclear-waste regardless, we might also be eyeing India and aping the west, the affluent and now "effluent" west. I met a man who gloried in the recent Indian nuclear experiment and added "when will we get this to Sri Lanka?" A displaced question, an unnecessary, akusal thought.

Bernard Boudouresque a French physicist-priest at the Saclay Centre of nuclear studies said recently: "In fact, no one knows where we are going" (ICI, 504, juillet 76) and this, in the matter of disposal of nuclear wastes. If we embark on any such programme for Sri Lanka we will burn more than our fingers. We cannot afford to sit back and watch or to be unaware. Those who are aware have to speak out. We have to minister the word to one another.

Transportation and storage of the waste-products present serious problems. Because of their extreme radioactivity, some wastes must be kept under perpetual care for a half-million years, much longer than the life-time of any civilization. Within thirty years, the projected annual wastage will be equal to about 11,500 megatons of nuclear fission bombs. Even a very small loss rate would have serious effects on the human population (John Gofman, Time for a Moratorium). Over 80,000,000 gallons of atomic wastes are now temporarily stored in tanks which must be replaced about every 25 years while waiting for a safe permanent storage. And another 60,000,000 gallons will be produced within the next several decades. Gofman also mentions that the breeder-type reactor (the main type of reactor now being promoted) is that they produce plutonium—lots of plutonium—one of the most lethal substances known to humans. If spread evenly around the world, for example 10 pounds would soon cause every human being to die from cancer. Yet, a March 21st, 1974 Atomic Energy

commission report states that by the year 2020, there would be 5000 tons of plutonium in the atomic power program with 100,000 shipments taking place every year. What of road, rail and air accidents in transportation? Atomic plants cannot withstand jetliner air-crashes today. Skyjackers threatened the Oak Ridge reactor on November 11, 1972. Earthquakes are another threat: it is said that several atomic plants are built on or near geological faults, but also, it is true that earthquakes can occur where no such fault exists (Gofman, op. cit, p.7)

How I wish to show this page and its sources to those who rant over India's atomic feat of recent times and tell those readers to call the bluff off their rubbishy cancer campaign: trying to cure when the "healers" seem to be those most responsible by silence and neglect, by expressing public opinion far too privately—most responsible for the production of cancer and allied ills. Blind science, without a sense of direction and will-power says: "No one knows where we are going."

POULTRY FEED

Mango Kernel

With the spectacular increase in poultry development, problems have arisen in the matter of availability of feed. The high cost of the feed has, of late, curbed the enthusiasm of new entrants in the field. In some areas like Kerala it has called for a shift towards promotion of small-scale units like the backyard poultry. Efforts have also been made to find out alternative ingredients in the feed like tapioca waste, mohwa flour or salseed. Another material which is available in large quantities but has not been used for this purpose is the kernel in the mango seed. It has been reckoned that more than two million tonnes of mango seeds are available every year which can yield not less than one million tonnes of kernels. This estimate is nearly 30 years old and the quantity must be, if anything, higher.

Investigations have been made about the effect of mango kernels on poultry. Some findings showed

that admixture of the kernels with 20 parts, by weight, of yellow maize improved egg production without affecting their hatchability. In other cases there was no such impact. Experiments with broilers indicated adverse effects on growth rate. A new investigation to determine the level of incorporation of mango kernel meal in broiler ration was taken up recently at the University of Agricultural Sciences, Bangalore. The results have shown that mango seed kernel can be incorporated at 5 per cent level and upto 10 per cent in poultry feed for broilers. There is, however, no mention about the value of this supplement for egg layers. Results of recent experiments on the impact of this material on egg production could help to some extent in solving the formidable problem of feeds in rearing poultry for eggs.

—Hindu



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Confidentially

- Cattle Imports
- Bribery ?

IS IT NOT A FACT that our cattle population is fast dwindling? That agricultural technocrats privately admit that the situation has become alarming? That experts say that every animal that has so far survived is worth three times what it would have fetched six months ago? That in a few months time the price would shoot up even higher? That it would be surprising, they say, if even a fraction of the animals now left over are able to survive for a year? That experts have advised anyone having good cattle to look after them very carefully because they would be worth more than their weight in gold soon? That in this context some whispers which have drifted to the *Tribune* office about the recent import of cattle by the Government indicate that something seems to be wrong with the boys in charge of our livestock? That we repeat what we said last week that if the information on which we have based this story is wrong or slanted or false, we would be willing to publish corrections or officially authenticated information? That the scandal revolves around the animals imported from Australia recently? That this importation was funded by the World Bank? That a tender was called for as required by the World Bank Scheme? That as specified in the tender, the suppliers tendered for 3 to 5 months pregnant animals in March 1976? That indecision on the part of the recipients resulted in the delay of the shipment until July by which time the animals were in an advanced state of pregnancy? That under these circumstances a qualified technical officer should have been sent to Australia to ensure that proper prophylactic measures were adopted? That although World Bank funds were provided for this purpose, (for an officer to be sent across to Australia), no one was sent? That on previous occasions it had been the practice to send a technical officer from Ceylon to take over

and ensure their safe transport? That Australia shipped 850 animals of which 200 were in a very advanced state of pregnancy? That it is reported that there was an unseemly tussle between some heads of departments at Peradeniya over the question of inoculation? That tick fever inoculation was given to the animals just prior to loading or just on board? That by the time the vessel arrived in Colombo 4 animals had died? That at the time of unloading 2 more died? That en route to Harangama Farm 4 animals calved in the lorry and were trampled to death? That anaplasmosis set in after 18 days? That animals did not accept food (due to high temperatures and changes in food) for about a week on the farm? That distokia set in at calving due to high temperatures, weakness and environmental stress? That 34 Friesians died? That over Rs. 32,000/00 was spent on drugs in the first three weeks at the Harangama Farm after arrival? That now there were 280 calves and mastitis has set in? That each animal cost Rs. 7,200/00? That the estimated loss is \$ 28,000/00? That is about Rs. 392,000/00? That these are only a few among the avalanche of whispers that have reached the *Tribune* office to indicate the sorry state of the livestock in the tender mercies of our bureaucrats? That even technical officers become callous bureaucratic robots after being "government servants" for a time?

IS THERE NOT A GREAT DEAL OF TALK about the way the Tourist Board (or one of its appendages) had set about drawing the pound of flesh from local business houses in regard to an exhibition to be held when the 10th World Congress of the Universal Federation of Travel Agents' Associations (UFTAA) met in Colombo from October 18 to 22, 1976? That a circular letter from the Secretary of the Organising Secretary stated that "as you already know the 10th World Congress of the UFTAA will be attended by about 1000 delegates from 75 countries. On this occasion, the Organising Committee proposes printing a Shopping Guide in the form of a booklet for distribution to the delegates. This booklet will contain a list of names and addresses of shops recommended by the Organising Committee, both at the Shopping

Acc.de of the BMICH and in the usual places of business. This recommendation will be based on—whether the shop has paid the contribution toward the UFTAA fund; and whether they are agreeable to the payment of a commission on sales. The shops so selected will be identified by the display of material issued by the Secretariat. I am writing to find out whether you wish to be considered for inclusion in this booklet on the above terms. If so, please write in to this Secretariat on or before 4th September 1976 to enable us to finalise the arrangement. Thanking you." That the interesting point is that the stamp of approval and recommendation of the Government's Tourist Board was being given on two conditions (set out above) without any relevance to the quality of the goods, their price range, the reliability of the firm, etc. etc.—and all the other matters usually considered relevant before such a recommendation is ever given by any State agency? That what it amounts to (if our understanding is correct) is that the Tourist Board's Organising Committee was willing to sell a "recommendation" as a quid pro quo for a commission on sales (apart from being up to date with the member's contribution to UFTAA)? That this can well be brought under the purview of our rather amorphous bribery laws where a favour is being bestowed for a payment without taking into consideration the normal pre-requisites (quality, reliability, etc.) before such a recommendation is given to a shop? That apart from the ethics involved the shops which pay anything from Rs. 2000 to Rs. 3000 for stall space at the BMICH have begun to entertain doubts whether the 1000 delegates from 75 countries would attend the UFTAA conference? That for the Nonaligned Summit Conference, shopkeepers who put their goods on exhibition at special (and expensive) places were told that 6000 delegates were expected to attend the conference? That only a fourth or a little more of the expected 6000 came to Colombo and of these only a small fraction had time to visit shops?

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