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Letter From The Editor

AT THE MOMENT, there is a great deal of jubilation that the rains had come to the Wannu and that there would be a plentiful harvest on an increased acreage with the added water from the diverted Mahaweli. Though we are not professional pessimists, *Tribune* has, over recent years, seen the slow climatological and meteorological changes that have overtaken the island and we are doubtful whether the traditional patterns of cultivation based on convectional rains and the monsoons are feasible any longer. We have, in this issue, we had hoped to a very thought-provoking article by Herbert Keuneman on the question of RAIN. But owing to the exigencies of space it will appear next week. In the article he raises a series of questions concerning rain and the new rainfall patterns which have begun to manifest themselves. In the last seven or eight years, the Monsoons have been erratic (they had failed in many areas in patchwork style), but more disastrous has been virtual disappearance of the convectional rains which over the centuries, had been the basic provider of water for agriculture in this island. Nobody talks of convectional rains anymore. Meteorologists are satisfied with describing all non-Monsoonal rains (even during the periods of the Monsoons) as cyclonic rains caused by low-pressure depressions in the Bay of Bengal or the Arabian Sea. Sophistication in terminology is not of much help in the absence of adequate rainfall. But, today, we can be happy that there is a new awareness of the importance of trees and forests. The governmental endeavour to plant more trees starting from next December is something which deserves the fullest support. But, as we have often pointed out, it is not enough to plant more trees: they must be looked after, and cared for, until they reach maturity adequate for self-growth. In the meantime, there continues the indiscriminate felling of forests under cover of colonisation, of village expansion and the "emergency" cultivation of food. Little do the government agents and others, who are still distributing forest lands with reckless abandon, realise that an overwhelming majority of the allottees do not have the financial resources to develop the land they have been given. On-paper, departmental programmes suggest that an investment of Rs. 1000 to Rs. 2000 per acre would be enough to bring jungle land into cultivation. This is a myth. With this sum, the land could be cleared of trees: it could be fenced and a small hut put up. And unless water is provided from a tank, the allottee is at the mercy of the rains. Only a very small number can afford to sink wells and an agricultural well (surface, with a depth of 30 feet) would cost anything from Rs. 3000 to Rs. 8000 each. Such a well would serve an allotment of about 3 to 4 acres for all-year cultivation. But, this would send the cost of development, even for a 3 acre allotment, to over Rs. 4000 an acre. But this is not enough to make cultivation worthwhile. A water-pump is a "must" together with some lengths of alkathene hose. Implements like mammoets and alavangoes have to be bought and often replaced. Livestock is needed to have organic manure and if a small allottee has a two-wheel tractor his cultivation can be made more sophisticated and become more than marginally profitable. Experience has shown that in most Wannu areas a total investment of Rs. 10,000 per acre is a "must" to get a decent income from an allotment of three to five acres: that is the total investment of Rs. 30,000 to Rs. 50,000. Even an infinitesimal number of those who receive allotments of land today are not in a position to invest this capital. Because of their subsistence-level way of life they will never be able to generate surplus income from the land for the purpose of accumulating capital for further development. It is a notorious fact that most colonisation schemes and even peasant and middle class schemes have failed because of under-capitalisation. A very large number of allottees in innumerable schemes have abandoned their plots, and even if they have stayed on they eke out a living below the poverty line on governmental relief work extended to such derelicts of our land colonisation schemes. (In an election or a pre-election year they get a little more of the good things of life, but this is only an occasional windfall). Whilst this process of contemporary (large-scale) destruction of our forest wealth goes (on governmental subsidies, not enough for agricultural development), the denudation of trees needed for attracting convectional rain continues apace. It will be another generation or more before these abandoned allotments grow a forest cover to attract rain. ON THE COVER, this week, we have a picture of a small chena allotment with a straggling fence around a meagre paddy plot not more than a tenth of an acre. The situation has an idyllic touch, but unless the couple can grow a narcotic like ganja (and not paddy) can they hope to make both ends meet.

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EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

• Budget • Lake House

THE BUDGET presented by the Minister of Finance, Mr. Felix R. Dias Bandaranaike, on November 3, calls for little comment and practically no hard analysis. It is a non-controversial budget of the most insipid character. It is certainly not sunshine budget to win an election. No government can hope to win an election on this budget alone—quarter pound of sugar more per month on the ration at the subsidised price of 0.72 cts (with the regular price as Rs. 6 a lb as before), a slight reduction in the price of flour and bread and an indefinite promise of more jobs. The nationalisation of three foreign-owned banks (private, meaning non-government-owned) is not likely to induce any enthusiasm even among the leftists and radicals. These foreign banks must be greatly relieved to be taken over because their business had shrunk (with the near-monopoly given to the two government-owned banks, the Bank of Ceylon and the People's Bank) and the foreign owners were in difficulties about meeting their overheads from the earnings of the local branches. After this, apart from our two state-owned and three nationalised banks there will be three India-government owned banks and also one Pakistan-owned bank operating in Sri Lanka. In addition, two Sri Lanka public-company banks, the Hatton National and the Commercial, will also do business in this country. Much was made of the collection of default income taxes, and also the fact that no new taxes had been imposed—not even the customary increase on tobacco or liquor.

The reality is that taxation of every kind has reached saturation point (especially under the misconceived enthusiasm of the LSSP which had fondly imagined that it was possible to effect a socialist transformation through a punitive taxation system) and any new or additional taxation would have been counter-productive. Even in regard to BTT, the point of no-return had been reached a long time ago, and any increase would have been passed on (as always)

to the already long-suffering consumer. The Minister of Finance proclaimed with pride that no new taxes or increases on existing taxes had been imposed—but the simple position is that any new taxation on the stagnant economy now gripping Sri Lanka is not just possible.

The *Daily News*, of November 4th, heroically, endeavoured to present the Budget in the best possible light. The main headline was MORE MEASURES TO EASE CONSUMER BURDENS, and the subsidiary headlines were: FELIX PRESENTS SEVENTH BUDGET WITH NO NEW TAXES, NO PRICE INCREASE: AND MORE SUGAR ON RATION, FLOUR, BREAD PRICES DOWN, MORE IMPORTS OF TEXTILES and TAKE-OVER OF FOREIGN BANKS.

The *Daily News* summed up the BUDGET AT A GLANCE in the following way:

SUGAR: Ration increased from 3/4 lb to one lb per person. Price same at -/72 cents. Off-ration price remains at Rs. 6/- per lb.

FLOUR: Price reduced from -/86 cents a lb to -/80 cents a lb.

BREAD: Brought down to -/75 cents per lb from -/80 cents.

TEXTILES: More will be imported and made available.

COMMONWEALTH PREFERENCES: Preferences extended by Sri Lanka will be withdrawn, placing all imports from developing countries on the same footing.

FOREIGN CURRENCY ACCOUNTS: Sri Lankans living abroad can open accounts with local banks in selected foreign currencies to operate without any restriction. Interest will be exempt from income tax and balances from wealth tax.

LAND REFORM COMMISSION: Gets grant of Rs. 50 million for accelerating land reform program and paying compensation.

BRANCHES OF FOREIGN BANKS: Those not nationalised in their own countries will be nationalised. Legislation will follow.

TAXES: No changes announced.
BENEFITS AND INCENTIVES TO WORKERS: Last year's announcements to be implemented for 1) provision of adequate terminal benefit, to workers in State enterprises 2) provision of

incentives to workers through implementation of profit sharing scheme, 3) worker participation in the ownership of public and private enterprises, 4) prevention of unhealthy concentration of economic power, growth of monopolies and restrictive business practices.

The *Daily News* then printed the whole of the Budget speech which was only an uninspiring recital of petty achievements which have really made no contribution to activate the presently moribund economy of the country. A great many statistics were pest forward in support of the budgetary thesis that the Sri Lankan economy was in a healthy state and that it was on the verge of a breakthrough into prosperity, but it seems difficult to accept them without further verification. The public has been so often be inundated with false, bogus, exaggerated and inaccurate statistics from official sources, and there is always a lurking suspicion that even the Minister of Finance might have been taken in by bureaucratic jugglery of statistics. The debate in the NSA is bound to focus attention on some of these statistics and the verdict regarding their validity must await the debate.

The *Daily Mirror*, 4/11/76, was much more cautious in its approach to the new Budget. Its headlines were confined to the only positive measure: FOREIGN-OWNED PRIVATE BANKS TO BE NATIONALISED, with minor headlines: MORE SUGAR ON RATION, FLOUR DOWN BY 5 CENTS. The *Daily Mirror* did not have the space or the newsprint to publish the full budget speech, but it drew attention to two salient features on its front page: viz. ON BRIDGING THE GAP and also the Ministerial (Felix's) claim: MY ARITHMETIC CORRECT THIS TIME SAYS FELIX. The second headline was in respect of the Lobby Notes, and the Minister's apology was because of the fact that in the last Budget he was guilty of major arithmetic bloomer the correction of which had cast a shadow on the budget.

It is worth placing on record the Minister's way of bridging the gap of Rs. 3,500 million.

Foreign Investments?

The Minister of Finance explaining how he proposed to bridge the budget gap said:

Estimated revenue for 1977 is Rs. 5,951 million which is higher than the sum of net recurrent expenditure by Rs. 124 million, thereby generating a current account surplus of the same magnitude. The net capital expenditure inclusive of the provision for Sinking Fund and amortization payments totals to Rs. 2,844 million. The overall budget deficit, estimated as the difference between total expenditure of Government—Rs. 8671 million—and Government revenue of Rs. 5,951 million amounts to Rs. 2,720 million.

Mr. Speaker, the amount of Appropriation Act loans that would be available for financing the budget deficit would be Rs. 1,300 million. The amount that would be available by way of Commodity Aid Counterpart Funds will be Rs. 850 million, while Project Aid and Grants together would yield Rs. 500 million. That latter includes the contributions from the OPEC Special Fund that would become available in two equal tranches during the fiscal year 1977.

As of now the budgetary estimates for 1977 appear as follows:—

	Rs. Million
Recurrent Expenditure	— 5946
Less under expenditure at 2%	+ 119
	— 5827
Advance Account	
out-payments (net)	
Revenue	+ 5951
Current Account Surplus	+ 124
Capital Expenditure	— 3509
Less Sinking Fund	
contributions and amor-	
tization payments	+ 848
	— 2661
Less under-expenditure at 25%	+ 665
	— 1996
Add back Sinking Fund	
contributions etc.	— 848
	— 2844
Budget Deficit	— 2720
Financing	
Appropriation Act Loans	+ 1300
Administrative borrowings	+ 70
Commodity Aid	
Counterpart Funds	+ 850
Project Aid and Grants	+ 500
	+ 2720

the rest of his Budget speech.

The Daily News on the next day, November 5, editorially tried to salvage the Seventh budget of the "United Front" Government from the morass of commonplace insignificance with a heading:

NON-ELECTION BUDGET?

The seventh budget of the United Front Government was presented in the polished and confident style characteristic of Mr. Felix Bandaranaike. This budget too, proceeds from the conviction in the government ranks that the hard and difficult road that is being traversed since 1970 to achieve national self-reliance has entered a more rewarding stage. When Mr. Bandaranaike presented last year's budget in the context of very high living costs caused by world recession and also substantial unemployment among educated youth, he provided a wide range of relief unmatched in the history of budget making in recent years. In this year's budget the cuts may seem fewer and less spectacular, but in one important respect affecting the common man's purse, this year's budget does improve on the 'unbeatable' performance of last year: there are no new consumer taxes, no increases in prices whatever. In other words, Mr. Bandaranaike has found it unnecessary to take away with one hand what he has given with the other, a practice not unknown to Finance Ministers.

The Finance Minister has not failed to observe that there were people who expected him to produce an election budget, full of goodies intended to persuade the voter, no matter what the cost to the national coffers would be. It is not difficult to recall that such shortsighted and anti-national measures impoverishing the economy have been tried in the past by governments with no record of real achievement to show, as the election deadline approached. If there was an election budget at all, it was last year's one which was clearly designed to win an election—but only in about 18 months' time' as Mr. Bandaranaike said. The Mulkirigala bye-election speaks for the success of these policies. In any case, the refusal to play to the 'gallery' at the time when the Opposition would have expected it, shows a rare self-confidence and the Government's wish to be judged on

the record of seven years of radical social reform and economic growth rather than on last minute handouts.

The budget has been described by Mr. Bandaranaike as an 'on-going exercise' which proceeds from the masterplan for development laid out in last year's budget. At that time he said on the Government's behalf that the transformation of our society to a socialist one would continue in the framework of a mixed economy; more relief to ease the immediate burdens of the high living costs, would be provided, side by side with the development programs that were intended to yield their benefit over a long-term period. Educated youths would be provided employment in very large numbers. The strategy of the decentralised budget would be exploited fully to ensure that there was popular participation in development and, for this purpose, adequate funds on a much bigger scale would be set apart. Foreign investment would be welcome on terms and conditions which guaranteed that there was full protection of national interests.

It is precisely because all these policies have begun to show definite results that the Finance Minister has been able to talk of Wednesday's budget as an on-going exercise in national development. At the same time, the enormous personal prestige of the Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, who has assumed the leadership of the Non-aligned World for the next three years has created a climate very favourable to the channelling of foreign assistance and investment in Sri Lanka. Through the policy of land reform, the take-over of large foreign owned estates, the more equitable distribution of income, the various measures taken to increase agricultural and industrial production and the diversification of exports, Sri Lanka has gained in prestige among progressive nations. As the Finance Minister has indicated, a spectacular increase in foreign investment is being negotiated with friendly nations even now and what is equally important, these capital inflows are to be used for accelerating development on the lines we have already firmly decided on and for increasing employ-

ment opportunities to absorb the energies of our youth who form the major sector of our population.

Other editorial comments or columnists' reactions are not yet available (at the time of writing these notes). The only comments worth looking for will no doubt be found in the *Daily Mirror* on the *Sunday Times*. It is surprising why the *Daily Mirror* has not yet commented on the Budget—even or the second day after the budget the *Mirror* was editorialising on the chaos in the University. The *Daily Mirror* and the *Sunday Times* will no doubt endeavour to "sell" the Felix Bandaranaike budget but it will be a difficult and unenviable task.

WITH THIS NEGATIVE BUDGET one must review the election chances of the Government and the SLFP-CP United Front in the next elections. A positive forward looking budget would have been a totally different matter. But this is a "classic" budget of invisible good things and promises which one does not know how they can fulfilled. The gap is bridged with a little arithmetical jugglery, based on loans and aid from sources not fully disclosed without any specific commitment about the quantum from each source. The promise of employment is public welfare, with, no doubt, on the highways and the irrigation works. With Rs. 50 million more for Land Reform it is likely that temporary and casual jobs will be found for a lucky few in janawasamas and the like.

But how all this will help the economy of the country or increase its productive capacity is more than doubtful. The best chance for the Government to pull off the gamble inherent in this flaccid and colourless budget is to hold the elections immediately after the chosen have drawn the dole for a month or two—and before the realities of the jobs in question dawn upon the youthful recipients of public largesse.

The UNP can make capital of this inability of the Government to present anything better than a stay-put budget. The LSSP will also be able to score heavily on the failure on the part of Minister Felix Bandaranaike to formulate a more inspiring budget. All this will have profound repercussions

on the elections. If the LSSP is allowed to go it alone, the increased vote it will be able to collect (primarily as a result of the lacklustre Felix Bandaranaike Budget) will enable the UNP to win many more seats in three-corner contested seats. It is yet too early to say how the UNP or the LSSP will use this Budget to win more votes, or whether they will be able to exploit the situation because of ineptitude or incompetence stemming from political arrogance and cocksureness, but there is no doubt that the chieftains of the SLFP and the CP will have to don their thinking caps and map out their election strategy anew.

In the meantime, the journalism of Lake House, the *Daily News* in particular, is slipping from bad to worse. The campaign launched by all Lake House papers against the doctors has reached depths in slanted and mischievous journalism never before known in this country. How newspapers of any worth can descend to the lower depths of vulgarity to call doctors twerps, terrorists, killers and butchers just because they have sought to protest through a work-to-rule campaign beats understanding. The Lake House papers pay pooja to pimps, brothel keepers, hoteliers, travel agents and other parasitic elements in our community even when they are circumventing our laws in every possible way in order to flaunt vulgar and ostentatious opulence never known even in the heyday of British rule or the decadent days of the Brown Sahibs. Elsewhere in this issue, a *Tribune Investigator* has examined the background in which the problems of the doctors must be viewed. In subsequent articles he will examine the specific grievances of the doctors in the light of what the Government has said.

Whilst Government spokesmen have adopted an unrealistic and unimaginative attitude towards the doctors, they pamper many anti-social and parasitic sections of the community who serve no useful function. Lake House could have extended support to the Government's tough line against the doctors in a balanced and decent manner, but they did not so. Our Special Investigator will in future articles examine the propaganda tactics of Lake House against the doctors

to show how Lake House has begun to manipulate journalism in a manner unknown even in the worst days of the Wijewardene. In the bad old days, Wijewardene's Lake House had a special branch to concoct "letters to the editor" in order to support a campaign. This technique was so badly exposed that it was discarded after a time. But, now, in the campaign against doctors, concocted letters to the editors seem to vie for pride of place with concocted interviews with patients and others—remember the fictitious interviews on the PM's role vis a vis the Nonaligned Summit which led to the dismissal of one reporter for writing the copy. There were also other dismissals as a result of this episode which are now the subject of legal inquiry (and we therefore withhold comment about these dismissals until the inquiries are over).

Lake House journalism has degenerated so badly that its new weekly WORLD TODAY has, with two issues, become the "laughing stock" of the discerning English reading public in this island. Why the Lake House should have ventured into English-language journalism is not understandable. The opening editorial paragraph, entitled the *World Lost Week*, of the first number, 29/10/76, was in idiom that sounded strange and stilted even to those who have a tender approach to "ceylonisms".

It was decided that the social, political, economic, cultural currents criss-crossing the globe needed careful watching and so World Today was launched to give readers in Sri Lanka a weekly close-up view. The standpoint is not necessarily Colombo but an all-sided, omnipresent, simultaneous picture of events in keeping



HELD OVER

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

—Carter, Thailand, Nonaligned

VILLAGE HOUSE

—Questions On Rain

with the many-sided and sometimes many-splendoured pattern of our globe of black, white, brown and yellow people.

Schoolboy infantilism could have produced a better "essay". Or take the two paragraphs about China and the USA. They are priceless.

As usual the world was in turmoil last week. The geo-physical rumbles that heralded the death of the Great Helmsman last month were causing wide tremors in the political landscape of China. A wall poster in Peking announced that Madame Chiang Ching had tried to murder her husband in his death bed, but a despatch from Peking said that though the hand was the hand of Chiang the voice was the voice of Chan Chung-chiao a Vice Premier, and both are now under arrest. It was being rapidly identified, however, that the current political shocks were the work of a "gang of four" who it was who was trying to cause the plotting and the splitting. In another part of the globe Mr. Ford and Mr. Carter were getting down to their starting blocks in another

kind of battle for political power. The question being asked as they got on their marks was, will history repeat itself? The history being 1884 when an ethnic offending remark made by Republican Blaine made him lose his seat narrowly to Democrat Grover Cleveland. But experts predicted that the candidate who put his foot least amount of times into his mouth would win. Let alone the foot Mr. Ford was finding it even difficult to get his tongue right. Asked what he thought of Mr. Carter's attack on him Mr. Ford twisted his tongue in excitement and said, "People who throw stones should not live in glass houses", and a Polish American asked, "What kind of a President is this guy, if he don't know what even a kid in the eight knows?"

The World Last Week in the second issue of November had other wonderful gems but none better than:

The scrawl on a Peking wall was familiar but difficult to read. The ideograms translated into Roman letters went like this—Gnaihc Gnihc

New-gnuh Gnaw, Oaihc-nuhc gnahc, Naay-new oay. It was the Chinese mode of dealing the ultimate insult to Mao Tse-tung's wife Chiang Ching and the three other members of her 'gang', Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chung-chiao and Yao Wen-yuan. Peking continued the precedence of rejecting messages of condolence by rejecting messages of congratulation sent by leaders of the socialist bloc of countries to Chairman Hua on the principle "we have no party to party relation with them". But the New China Agency Bulletin called for "the study of and translation in China of literature from other lands", and accused at the same time the 'gang of four' for "worshipping things foreign and fawning on foreigners".

And as far the rest of the contents, there is only one word for this kind of journalism, "scissor and paste". Some are from obscure feature services. But of analytical articles there were none. The less said about the contents of the World Today the better.

Whither Lake House?

SRI LANKA CHRONICLE

Oct. 22 — Oct. 27

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; ST—Sunday Times; DM—Dinamina; LD—Lankadipa; VK—Virakesari; ATH—Aththa; SM—Silumina; SLD—Sri Lankadipa.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 22: The Price Control Department has decided to launch raids on distributors of soaps to ferret out hoarded stocks following a dearth of poular brand soaps—CDN. Mr. N. W. Gamage, a journalist of Independent Newspapers Ltd, was fined Rs. 1,500 in default 18 months rigorous imprisonment by Mr. Bertram Senaratne, Additional District Judge of Colombo, yesterday, for failing to disclose the source of information required by the Exchange Controller regarding a story he wrote in the Weekend Sun of September 3, 1972: it was the first case of its kind against a journalist: the article written by Gamage said 1,432 Ceylonese were having accounts in Swiss banks in contravention to Sri Lanka's exchange control regulations: subsequent to the appearance of this article the Controller of Exchange issued a directive on the journalist to reveal all information which Mr. Gamage refused—CDN. Sri Lanka and Canada yesterday concluded an agreement providing for a Canadian

Government Development loan of \$ 10 million for the agricultural sector—CDN. Dr. N. M. Perera speaking at a meeting in Yatiyantota said that the Minister of Finance, Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, will not be able to bring down the prices of goods even through his next budget: he said the SLFP MPs and Ministers blamed him when he failed to bring down the cost of living—CDM. Five employees of the Government Press were yesterday produced before a Magistrate and remanded in connexion with the recent violence there—CDM. Mr. T. B. Ekanayake, ASP Amparai, Police was stabbed to death when he made a visit in the night to the Police barracks: a constable has been arrested in this connexion—CDM. Hindus all over the world will celebrate Deepavali today: it is a public holiday in Sri Lanka—VK. According to the Virakesari the Government was considering price reduction in essential consumer items like sugar, flour, rice and textiles—VK. Dr. Hector Fernando, a former LSSP MP for Negombo in the 1956 elections died yesterday—ATH. Celebration were organised in Colombo in connexion with UN Day which falls today—LD. Government has decided to implement the report of the Salaries Anomalie Commission to call categories of government servants with restrospective effect from April 1, 1975: the decision was taken on the recommendation of Mr. T. B. llangaratne, Minister of Trade and Minister of Public Administration and Home Affairs—DM.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 23: The President of the Peradeniya Campus of the University, Professor, P. W. Vithanage, has refused to resign his post as requested by Dr. Badiuddin Mahmud, Minister of Education: the

Minister has called upon professor Vithanage to tender his resignation in view of the findings of the committee appointed to probe the incident at the Campus—CDM. Officials of the Government Press yesterday estimated the damage to machinery and office equipment at the Press as over Rs. 300,000; meanwhile detectives investigating the violence have made several arrests—CDM. A special Police team has been despatched to the Amparai Police Station to investigate the killing of the ASP Mr. T. B. Ekanayake; the dead officer had sixteen stab injuries on him and a suspect Police constable, Mahindapala, has been arrested in this connexion—VK. Government will use Rs. 680 million as short-term credit for the purchase of essential consumer items this year—CDM. A Summit of the SLFP and the CP will be held on November 1 at Temple Trees to prepare the future program of the government and an election manifesto—VK. Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, Leader of the Opposition and the President of the UNP, told a meeting in Kurunegala that none of the sacked party members will be taken back to the party—VK. Mr. T. B. Llangaratne, Minister of Trade, has ruled that in future no commission should be granted to the private sector for goods imported by the government on a government to government basis—CDN. An emergency meeting of the representatives of the employees unions of the Peradeniya Campus and the officials of the Ministry of Education will be held on Monday to discuss the demands of the employees—CDN. According to the *Daily News* another judge of the Supreme Court will be appointed in place of the Chief Justice, Mr. Victor Tennekoon, to the five-judge Bench of the Court which is hearing the two applications of the Attorney General against the order of a High Court at Bar which ruled that the Emergency Regulations are not valid—CDN. Mr. T. B. Llangaratne, Minister of Trade, left for Algiers to represent the Prime Minister who has been invited for the Club of Rome meeting next week—CDN. *Aththa* in a comment on the Government Press said the Government should not allow the Press to be closed and shut at the whims and fancies of one Minister and the whole Cabinet should consider the repeated incidents at the Government Press as a national question and take appropriate action to solve the problem.

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 24: Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, addressing the rally at Attanagalla yesterday arranged to felicitate her for bringing international fame to the country said special place would be given to the so-called elite; she also said that she would take stern action against all those who try to sell the name of the party, however high they may rank even within the SLFP; Mrs. Bandaranaike declared that she was sure that the UNP would not be returned to power again—CO. Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, will visit the Philippines on an official four-day tour commencing on November 8—CO. A research project known as "Deviant Bureaucratic Behaviour" financed by the Canadian International Research Centre in Ottawa will conduct investigation in Sri Lanka to test how much bribery and corruptions have become an institutional feature of bureaucracies in developing countries; the Ministry of Justice okayed this project; the departments and corporations that will be investigated are being kept a top secret by the organisers—ST. The Most Rev. Lakdas de Mel died yesterday; he was earlier Bishop of

Kurunegala and later Metropolitan of India, Burma, Pakistan and Ceylon before he retired from that post in 1970—ST. According to the *Virakesari* following a special request by the Prime Minister, Libya and Qatar will give the country foreign aid to the tune of Rs. 890 million; Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike had discussions about this aid when he visited these countries recently; this amount will be used to offset a section of the budget deficit; Libya has agreed for \$ 40 million and Qatar for \$ 2.4 million as aid to Sri Lanka. According to Health Department sources the rate of venereal diseases in the country has increased sixfold during the last four years—ATH. The Ceylon Federation of Labour has requested the Prime Minister to bring the Government Press under a different Minister; at present the Government Press comes under Mr. R. S. Perera, Minister of Information and Broadcasting; the Federation further requested the opening of the institution for ATH. According to the *Sri Lankadipa* teaching appointments to G.C.E. qualified has been postponed indefinitely as the Treasury has not so far allocated the money for these appointments.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 25: Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, speaking at a rally in Attanagalla yesterday said that it was necessary for a small country like Sri Lanka to develop friendly ties with developed nations and establish trade contacts and the like for our own benefit; she said this referring to a statement by Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, leader of the Opposition who said that foreign policy is of no use for a small country like Sri Lanka; this meeting was organised to felicitate the Prime Minister for bringing international fame to the country by being elected as Chairman of the Non-aligned nations; the Premier further said that she would not permit any special privileges being conferred on MPs and if there were any faults of party supporters she would take stern action and correct them; she also said if there were corrupt people in the party she would remove them to protect the name of the party; referring to strikes and trade union disputes which have brought a disruption of work in factories she said there were attempts to sabotage nationalised ventures—CDN. The Government Medical Officers' Association and the Medical Specialists yesterday decided to launch a work-to-rule campaign from today in support of their demands placed before the Ministry of Health; the talks held earlier between the representatives of the GMOA and AMS with the Minister of Health, Mrs. Siva Obeyesekere, ended in failure—CDN. Police has been called in to investigate allegations of fraud in the Peradeniya Campus involving over Rs. 250,000 and forgery of degree certificates issued by the Campus; meanwhile, Dr. Badiuddin Mahmud, Minister of Education, said that he had not given any instruction to remove the President of the Campus Professor P. W. Vithanage from his post; Mr. Vithanage confirmed that he had not got any instructions from the Minister to resign his post; a meeting between the trade union representatives of the Campus and the officials of the Ministry of Education has been fixed for today to discuss the demands of the employees of the Campus—CDN. Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Finance and Minister of Justice, speaking at the Attanagalle rally yesterday said that if the leader of the Opposition wanted an election next year he should keep the ranks of the Opposition intact because if the government gets a two-third majority in the Parliament

it could postpone elections—*CDN*. According to the *Daily Mirror* Tamil trade unionists who have close links with the Tamil United Liberation Front have begun organising trade unions on a linguistic basis in a bid to bring Tamil workers under one banner: recently the workers in Tamil speaking areas are being organised under this scheme—*CDM*. Mr. Justice T. A. de S. Wijesundera has been nominated to fill the vacancy created by the illness of the Chief Justice Mr. Victor Tennekoon to hear the applications of the Attorney General in the case against Mr. Amirthalingam, ex MP for Vadducodai: Mr. Justice G. T. Samarawickrema has been appointed Chairman of the newly constituted five-judge Bench to hear the applications—*CDM*. Seven people including four in a family died of suspected cholera in Beruwela—*VK*. Thirty-nine people are seriously injured and warded in the hospital after a CTB bus fell down a cliff in Dickoya: one died in this accident—*CDN*. *Aththa* in an editorial said that the Minister of Education has privately requested the President of the Peradeniya Campus to resign his post: the paper further said if the President fails to resign he should be removed. A joint communique issued by the trade unions front of the Government Press states that the recent incidents in the Press were a well-planned coup to victimise permanent employees in the Press and to frustrate them—*ATH*. The agricultural Insurance Board has paid nearly 4.2 million rupees for the year 1975/76—*DM*.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 26: Mrs Siva Obeysekera, Minister of Health, yesterday referring to the work-to-rule campaign launched by doctors in government hospitals said these doctors were jeopardising the lives of thousands of patients by prescribing drugs that are not available and also by ordering time consuming laboratory and clinical tests before effecting diagnosis of seriously ill patients: the Minister further said that the government has done whatever possible and action has been taken on 11 of the 13 demands submitted by doctors—*CDN*. Yesterday's meeting of the representatives of the Peradeniya Campus Employees and Education Ministry officials ended in a deadlock: employees said that the subject could not be further discussed until the President of the Campus Professor P. W. Vithanage is removed from the Campus—*CDN*. Mr. Rukman Senanayake, leader of the Dudley Peramuna, the break-away group of the UNP, commenting on the peace moves to unite the party said "the tiger won't change its spots, though J. R. would have peace with us it will be the same J. R. policy-wise"—*CDM*. Mr. Siva Pasupathy, Attorney General, making his submissions in the TULF case said that in interpreting the Constitution one should look to what the framers of the Constitution wanted: Mr. S. Nadesan Q.C., arguing on behalf of the TULF said the court should base its verdict on the Constitution and not what the framers wanted when they framed the Constitution—*CDM* & *VK*. The President, Mr. William Gopallawa and the Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, send congratulatory messages to the Chinese Prime Minister, Mr. Hua Kuo-feng, on his being elected as Chairman of the Communist Party of China—*VK*. Estimates of the 1976 budget will be presented to the National State Assembly by Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Finance, this evening—*ATH*. The Ministry of Public Administration and Home Affairs, decided to increase the number of administrative districts in

the island under the decentralised budget scheme—*DM*. Mr. Dharmadasa Wanniarachchi, MP for Pelmadulla and Deputy Minister of Industries and Scientific Affairs, told a meeting organised in connexion with the inauguration of the Kaluganga Diversion scheme at Ratnapura that the government should postpone elections for another six years as there are so many problems to be solved—*LD*. According to the *Daily News* the Government will assist the public in launching an island-wide consumer resistance campaign against hoarding and blackmarketing of essential items.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 27: According to the *Daily News* many doctors have indicated that they will not join the work-to-rule campaign launched by the GMOA and the AMS because it violated all principles of medical ethics: Mrs. Siva Obeysekera, Minister of Health, told the National State Assembly yesterday that a "stunning and shocking" circular had been sent out to doctors by the GMOA and the AMS instructing them how the campaign should be launched: Dr. Rajah Cooke, President of the GMOA, said by the work-to-rule campaign the patients are not neglected out the shortcomings in government hospitals are made known: hospitals in the Colombo area are worst affected by this campaign—*CDN*. According to the budget estimates tabled in the National State Assembly by the Minister of Finance, Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, the deficit for the year 1977 is Rs. 3,503.8 million: the estimated income for the year is Rs. 5,951.6 millions and the estimated expenditure will be Rs. 9,455.4 million: Forces Police, Planning and Economic Affairs, Irrigation, Education, Labour, Local Government, Agriculture and Lands, and Health will incur more expenditure and the income for the year will be on increased taxes in productive fields—*VK*. Health authorities have warned the National Milk Board that what the Board sells as flavoured milk is not milk: health authorities also instructed the Board to change the name "flavoured milk" and to name them as beverages or flavoured drinks failing which legal action would be taken—*CDN*. The *Aththa* in an editorial comment expressed doubts about the trips by Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, leader of the UNP, to Spain and Mr. R. Premadasa, First MP for Colombo Central (UNP) to America: the paper said both these leaders have returned to the island from these countries in time for the general elections and every progressive minded citizen should be careful about the manoeuvres of the UNP. Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam, Senoir Counsel for the Defence in the TULF case, in the course of arguments said there was no reference in the Public Security Ordinance to the declaration of a State of Emergency: Mr. Siva Pasupathy, Attorney General, in the course of his submissions said it was not legally necessary to refer to the connected provision of the Constitution to proclaim a State of Emergency: Mr. Pasupathy said the power of proclaiming a state of emergency was found in section 2 (1) of the PSO and Section 134(2) imposed a duty—*CDN*.

INTERNATIONAL DIARY

Oct. 22 - Oct. 27

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 22: British Foreign Secretary, Mr. Anthony Crosland, told Parliament yesterday that there was no certainty that the Geneva conference on Rhodesia's future beginning on October 28 could succeed: Mr. Crosland also said that Britain's economic sanctions on Rhodesia would be lifted once black majority rule was "certain beyond any shadow of doubt." The Ministry of Economic Co-operation of West Germany announced that it would be supplying Sri Lanka with 6,622 tons of wheat flour to overcome the problems following drought. A well-known British Journalist, Mr. C. Gordon Tether, has been sacked by the management of the *Financial Times* for writing an article with a pro-Indira Gandhi view about India: the article still unpublished was a commentary on a television program on "Mrs. Gandhi's India" in which the author had expressed regret at the media's lack of readiness to pay appropriate attention to Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's view on the Indian situation: Mr. Tether has sent copies of his article to the Indian High Commissioner, Mr. B.K. Nehru, and to Mrs. Indira Gandhi. State meetings of the Indian Congress Party called for the setting up of an Assembly to revise and rewrite the Indian Constitution: meanwhile Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister, has said that the general elections already postponed by one year is not likely to be held in the near future. Mr. Ian Smith, the first to arrive in Geneva for next week's conference on Rhodesia, said he would "bend over backwards" to make the conference a success: he also said he believed the talks were in danger of being undermined by others. Mr. Gerald Ford said yesterday that America no longer considered Israel as a military burden on America: he said as a result of his own policies of giving or selling Israel arms for about 2.5 billion dollars it has now become a strong power in the Middle East: he further said Israel need not have any further military support from the US if the need for a war in the Middle East should arise: Secretary of State, Dr. Kissinger, said America considers Israel not as a liability but as a staunch bastion of democracy. North Korean diplomats ordered to leave the country by Finland on charges of smuggling duty free cigarettes and liquor into the country refused to leave: they said the charges are unfounded and wanted a full inquiry into this.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 23: According to a recent bill passed in the American House of Representatives the number of foreign doctors allowed to practice in the US will be reduced from 8000 to 1000 or 2000: the bill is primarily aimed at reducing doctors from the Philippines, India, South Korea and Taiwan. Mr. Ian Smith, Prime Minister of Rhodesia and British Conference Chairman Mr. Ivor Richard arrived in Geneva for next week's conference on Rhodesia: they both said that they were determined that the talks should be a success. Speaking to reporters in Georgia, Mr. Jimmy Carter, US Democratic Presidential candidate for the November elections said his Republican opponent Mr. Gerald Ford has brought America's popularity in Europe down to its lowest level in nearly a quarter of a century. Iraq, one of the main supporters of the Leftists in Lebanon, denounced the accord reached

in Riyadh last week on peace in Lebanon: Iraq said the Riyadh conference was concluded by a group of leaders most of whom have no concern but to save themselves from the wrath of their people. Mr. Michael Foot has been elected as the Deputy leader of Labour Party in an election last week: he beat the Education Secretary, Mrs. Shirley Williams, by 161 votes to 46 votes. Bangladesh had a record harvest of 13 million tons of rice this year: this is considered to be a 16 per cent increase from last year. The United Nations General Assembly approved a resolution strongly condemning France's continued presence on the Indian Ocean island of Mayotte and calling for its immediate withdrawal: the vote was 102 in favour, only France voting against: there were 28 abstentions. According to an estimate by the Pakistan Public Health Education Society, Pakistanis each day spent more than five million dollars on smoking. American Novelist, Saul Bellow, was awarded the 1976 Nobel prize for literature. China officially announced that Chairman Mao's wife and the three radicals have been liquidated from the Communist Party.

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 24: The mandate of the United Nations buffer force between the Egyptian and Israeli troops in the Sinai has been extended until October 24, 1977, by the Security Council: thirteen members voted for the resolution while China and Libya declined to participate in the decision. Irish President, Cearbhall O'Daigh, resigned after 22 months in office: the Dublin Cabinet went into emergency session, following the resignation, to elect a new President. Australia said that it would seek 70,000 migrants during the current fiscal year, 18,000 more than it recruited during the previous 12 months. Japanese Police said they are questioning an Australian by the name William Eric Drew, a trader by profession, on suspicion of stealing American aircraft engines and passing US military information to a Russian living in Tokyo. President Ford in his third and final television debate with Jimmy Carter said that if he won this year's election to the White House he would ask the Americans to tighten their belts and support increased defence expenditure to maintain peace: he also said there is a chance of reducing taxes for the middle-income wage earners. America made a clean sweep of the 1976 Nobel prizes: it won the prizes for Chemistry, Physics, Medicine, Economics and Literature: the Nobel prize for peace was not awarded this year: America is the first country in 76 years to make a clean sweep of the Nobel prizes. Commenting on US Secretary of State's statement that the US would oppose the admission of Vietnam to the United Nations because of the dispute over the Americans missing in the Indo-China war, Vietnam accused America of maintaining hostility towards it: this was reported in the Vietnam official daily *Nhan Dan*. During his official visit to Bulgaria Angolan President, Agostino Neto, said that his party, the popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) would soon take steps to make Angola a Socialist State. Several poems by amateur poets filled a page of the *People's Daily* with praises to the new Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party, Mr. Hua Kuo-feng and attacking the four radicals: about 20 foreign children mainly from Britain and Australia were also included in the demonstrations against the four radicals in Peking's Tien An Men Square.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 25: The Soviet Communist Party's official newspaper, *Pravda*, in a comment said the United States, France and Britain supported apartheid: the comment was based on the veto votes of these three Western powers used during a resolution presented to the United Nations Security Council calling for the immediate withdrawal of South African troops from Namibia and the restitution of the South West African treaty to its black majority. Massive demonstrations were seen yesterday for the third day in Peking's Tien An Men Square in support of the election of Mr. Hua Kua-feng as Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party. Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party, will be the first official guest of Yugoslavian President, Marshal Tito, when the latter resume official activities after a period of illness: Mr. Brezhnev is expected to visit Belgrade in November. Former Rhodesian leader, Garfield Todd, who will accompany the black African delegation to the Geneva conference as its political adviser told reporters in London that if Prime Minister Ian Smith accepts black rule in Rhodesia within two years then nothing else is impossible: he said many whites of Rhodesia feel that the conference should succeed. South African Prime Minister, Mr. John Vorster, commenting on the proposed independence of the black state of Transkei said the black homeland would be as independent as Britain or West Germany: Transkei will get its independence tomorrow. Mr. Robert Mugabe, Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole and Bishop Abel Muzorewa, three black African leaders arrived in Geneva yesterday for the conference on Rhodesia. Israel Defence Minister, Simon Peres, said his country would help residents of Southern Lebanon to defend themselves if requested: he also said Israeli forces will not cross the border into Southern Lebanon. The World Health Organisation will soon issue a list of all essential drugs to prevent the companies manufacturing drugs flooding the markets of developing nations with all types of useless drugs.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 26: Addressing a meeting of the Royal Commonwealth Society in London Sri Lanka's Secretary General of the Non-aligned Summit, Mr. Vernon Mendis, criticised the attitude of Western countries towards the Non-aligned movement: commenting on the attitude of certain countries which tried to pretend that the Movement did not exist Mr. Mendis said "the dogs may bark but the caravan of the Non-alignment goes on." President Ford launched a \$ 4 million publicity campaign to win the elections on November 2: the money represents one-third of the media advertising budget for his entire campaign for the elections. According to sources in Peking the four radical leaders including the wife of former Chairman Mao Tse-tung have conspired to assassinate Teng Hsiao-peng, the once powerful Chinese leader purged last April: for the first time since the arrest of the radicals Radio Peking officially attacked the "gang of four" yesterday. Bishop Abel Muzorewa and Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole, now in Geneva for the conference on Rhodesia said yesterday that the Rhodesian black nationalist leaders had agreed on the demands they would present at the conference: but both at separate press conferences said there are considerable differences within the nationalist movement. The Israeli government withdrew its nomination of Mr. Asher Yadlin as Governor of the Bank of Israel after he was arrested on suspicion

on charges of bribery: Mr. Yadlin, a top economist in the country, was allegedly involved in illegal land deals. Transkei, the tribal homeland in South Africa, which receives its independence today is regarded with suspicion by the international community which sees independence as a fraudulent attempt by South Africa to enshrine its policy of separate racial development: United Nations has warned earlier that it will indefinitely ban the recognition of Transkei. Dr. Henry Kissinger, US Secretary of State, in a television interview warned the Soviet Union for any military pressure either in Yugoslavia or China: but Democratic nominee for the Presidential elections on November 2, Mr. Jimmy Carter, said during a debate with President Ford that he would not send American troops to fight for Yugoslavia in the event of an invasion by Russia.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 27: Soviet Communist Party's General Secretary, Leonid Brezhnev, accused both President Ford and his rival for the US Presidential elections, Mr. Jimmy Carter, of making contradictory statements on relations with Moscow: Mr. Brezhnev made these accusations during a major speech on development plans and foreign policy to the party's Central Committee. A US official said that the United States advised Rhodesian Prime Minister, Ian Smith, to make his controversial demand for white control of the Ministries of Defence and Law and Order in an interim government: the official further said the US recommendation related only to the timing of Mr. Smith's demand and did not mean, as he insists, that the US and black African nations approved the idea of whites retaining the two key security posts. Black militants in Soweto, the black township of Johannesburg, bombed a Police Station and Railway line and called for a boycott of white owned shops and bars: four people were killed when Police opened fire on the crowd. An Arab League spokesman said Arab countries reached provisional agreement at a summit in Cairo on who should take part in a proposed 10,000 man Arab security force to cement the ceasefire in Lebanon. a Colombian airlines plane crashed in Bogota soon after take off killing all its 22 passengers and the crew. Soviet Union expects a record harvest of grain this year: according to the General Secretary of the CPSU, Mr. Leonid Brezhnev, the harvest could well exceed the record of 222.5million tonnes. A Federal judge in Buenos Aires found former President Maria Estela Peron guilty of embezzlement and ordered her to be held in preventive detention. The British pound dropped by seven cents against the American dollar: Chancellor of Exchequer, Denis Healey, told the House of Representatives that there had been no secret agreements to let sterling slide to this level as a condition for the 3.9 billion dollar credit Britain is seeking from the International Monetary Fund.



POLITICAL EARTHQUAKE IN
PEKING—2

"Radicals" Routed

By Kautiliya

IN THE LAST ARTICLE, we saw how the news about the momentous changes now taking place in China was released inside the country and also to the world. It is not possible to know fully or completely, how the news was first made known, inside China, but observers say that one of the traditional methods for the dissemination of such important news is through whisper campaigns through the tightly-knit system of street, house and village committees—a hangover of the old Confucian style "guild system". This apart, the new method which has come into vogue, after the communists had achieved total mass literacy, is the wall newspaper and the wall poster. The official media seems to come in only in last stages of any "struggle".

In the present instance, the official media, starting with the *People's Daily*, "signalled its change of management early on with its editorial attacking unnamed conspirators on October 10th. This week it published a second editorial carrying the campaign a stage further. Quoting the grand old leftist writer, Lu Hsun, it referred to 'maggots that had sneaked into the revolutionary camp' and 'sham Marxist swindlers who pursued their own selfish interests in the name of revolution'. That fine old phrase 'capitalist roaders' was not discarded; but subtly, subtly, the paper seemed to be using the label in a brand-new way. A very, un-socialist end for Mrs. Mao." (*The Economist*, 23/10/76.

It is not clear yet as to when the news was first leaked out inside China in "whisper" campaigns. But, the first international "whisper" was leaked out towards the end of the first week of October. Agency despatches (both *Reuter* and *AFP*) datelined October 9 from Peking Stated:

The Chinese Premier, Mr. Hua Kuo-feng, has succeeded Mao Tse-

tung as Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party and leader of the world's most populous nation, a top-ranking Chinese official said today. A Western diplomat told Reuter that the Official was asked by foreign visitors about the appointment of a chairman and he replied: "Mr. Hua has succeeded." Wall posters appeared on Peking streets proclaiming Mr. Hua's appointment as chairman of the party Central Committee, but hours later there was no official confirmation.

In a main street leading to the massive workers' stadium, foreigners saw a black and red banner which declared: "Resolutely support the resolution concerning the appointment of comrade Hua Kuo-feng as Chairman of the party Central Committee of the People's Republic of China and Chairman of the Military Affairs Commission." A Chinese bystander was asked by a foreigner if the poster was officially sanctioned and he replied "of course."

The post of Chairman of the Party's Military Commission to which Mr. Hua has also been appointed is extremely important since the Commission is the link between the party and the army. The decisions were probably taken at party meetings at the highest level—probably a meeting of the Central Committee—held recently in Peking. Mr. Hua's position was significantly reaffirmed here today in the announcement that the complete works of Mao Tse-tung would be prepared for publication "under the direct leadership of the Political Bureau of the (Chinese Communist Party) Central Committee headed by comrade Hus Kuo-feng." Although it does not give Mr. Hua any new titles, it is the first time he has been referred to as Mao was: Head of the Central Committee's Political Bureau.

The "top-ranking Chinese official" was undoubtedly a specially selected person to "leak" the news to the western press. In the next three days, this initial "leak" had snowballed into a world-shaking avalanche of hot news.

Easwar Sagar, in a despatch from Washington dated October 13, to the Hindu stated:

Official confirmation from Peking that Premier Hua Kuo-feng has indeed succeeded Mao Tse-tung

as Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party, and reports that some of the top radicals, including Mao's widow, Chiang Ching, have been arrested, are not taken here as conclusive evidence that the power struggle in China is over. Experts here have been pointing out that Peking is not China and though Mr. Hua and the moderates may seem to be in control in the capital, there are large numbers of radicals and independents in the provinces, whom it will not be so easy to purge. Also the very manner in which Mr. Hua's accession to the Chairmanship was announced—three days after it was reported in those anonymous and mysterious wall posters—has left the impression that the fight for the top position is by no means over.

It is also noted that all the top-ranking radicals who are now reportedly under arrest (Washington still has no way of being certain that this is indeed true) have suffered political eclipse before only to emerge stronger. American officials are, therefore, content to assume that those who are now on the ascendant are the moderates and that they will continue a policy of improving relations with the US, though in recent weeks both President Ford and Mr. Jimmy Carter have used pro-Taiwan election rhetoric which must make the Chinese wonder about America's long term intentions.

The US intelligence community is also taking the view that the Chinese power struggle has barely begun. Former CIA Director William Colby speculated yesterday that when the radicals and the moderates really got locked into a struggle, the Chinese military establishment was bound to step in and take control, and that these army leaders might then seek a detente with Moscow through their counterparts in the Soviet Union. Mr. Colby's successor, Mr. George Bush, who was also America's first "Ambassador" to China, is reported to believe that the Chinese military will eventually take a more political role and Mr. Hua realises this.

The overall belief is that while these internal struggles are going on there will be no new foreign policy initiatives from Peking—Chinese Foreign Minister Chiao

Kuan-hua's speech at the UN last week, when he stuck to the old party line on most issues, was indicative of this approach.

THERE WAS, however, a great deal of confusion and uncertainty still about what was happening in China—as the following news reports, also of October 13, indicated:

"A **Samachar** message from Tokyo quoting a Peking-dated Japanese report says China's succession crisis is driving the country inexorably into a "civil war situation." The report speaks of a serious power struggle, while another says a nationwide hunt for the radicals is in progress.

"Yet another report suggests that the People's Liberation Army with its Chief Political Commissar, Chang Chun-chiao, already arrested with Mao Tse-tung's widow Chiang Ching, is still on the sidelines. Arrests are continuing in Peking, Shanghai and other major cities. Till midnight last night over 40 public figures including the Minister for Culture, Yu Hui-yung and Mao's nephew Mao Yuan-shin, Political Commissar for Shenyang Military District, had been arrested, according to the report. The arrests have so far not affected the military command, the report says.

"However, all reports from Peking indicate that in none of the 29 administrative divisions there has been any military action yet. London's **Daily Telegraph** reported from Peking that the Chinese Army had been arresting a number of left-wing students and writers, who were supporters of the Shanghai group led by Chiang Ching. It said the Army had surrounded a building at Peking's Tsing Hua University where a number of left-wing writers lived. The paper also reported that troop movement was seen in the capital at dawn and that groups of soldiers had been seen arriving in Peking in trucks and buses some of them carrying red flags. Earlier to-day reports reaching Tokyo said the Chinese Army was clashing at two universities with student supporters of Chiang Ching.

On the same day, (October 13) K. V. Narain, reporting to the Hindu from Tokyo stated:

Peking reports appearing in to-day's Japanese newspapers speak

of the scheming by Mao's widow, Chiang Ching and her Shanghai group to usurp power even before Mr. Mao's passing by resorting to such ruses as limiting Mr. Mao's handwriting, to issue instructions in his name and falsifying his will by taking advantage of the fact that other leaders did not have access to Mr. Mao after his health deteriorated. The reports quoting a Chinese source said the aim of the Chiang group was to install Chiang herself as Chairman of the Communist Party after Mao's death and to monopolise the top posts of the party, the military forces and the Government.

Involved in this plotting is reported to be Mao Yuan-Hsin, a nephew of the late Chairman. In the light of this development, the latest slogans to come out of Peking, namely, "Be open and above board and don't conspire and intrigue" begin to make more sense.

Other informed sources in Peking have been quoted as saying that Chairman Mao, while he was still living, had designated Premier Hua to succeed him but that the Chiang clique, dissatisfied with this, had resisted. After Mr. Mao's death, a serious confrontation is reported to have occurred within the Party's Central Committee. Mr. Hua is then stated to have decided to resort to force after securing the support of many members of the party's Political Bureau and the People's Liberation Army. Chiang Ching and the three other leaders of the so-called Shanghai group are believed to have been arrested on October 6 or 7 during a meeting of the Bureau.

And, on October 15, Reuter despatched a report from Peking in which it was suggested that the new hierarchy charged the "radicals" with a "Leftist Plot To Kill Hua Alleged". This was a clear attempt to invest the charges against the radicals with a touch of (attempted) "criminality" (however far-fetched or false) in order to effect the quick political liquidation of the Shanghai Four and their group. The Reuter report, obviously based on an official "leak", stated:

Chiang Ching, widow of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, and three other leftist leaders, Communist Party Vice-Chairman Wang Hung-wen,

Vice-Premier Chang Chun-chiao and propagandist Yao Wen-yuan, have been accused of plotting the assassination of Premier Hua Kuo-feng, according to a report circulating among the Chinese here. Reliable sources said to-day some Chinese had been informed that three people were killed in an incident connected with the plot. The three people allegedly killed were not identified and there was nothing to suggest they included Chiang Ching or the other three leaders, the sources added.

Asked about the report, a Government spokesman replied "no comment." The disclosure came as posters were plastered up in Shanghai and the central city of Wuhan denouncing the four Politburo members as an "anti-party plot group." The four radicals are believed to have been under arrest for eight days. To-day the foreign students in the Peking University were forbidden from reading the hundreds of big character posters put up by Chinese students and professors in special enclosed areas.

Diplomats here said that all the four radical leaders had gained political fame in Shanghai during the Cultural Revolution a decade ago and so it was logical that any campaign against them should be launched in Shanghai. Other wall posters appeared to-day at Peking University attacking "schemers" but did not name the four radical leaders. "Hit the dog which is in the water. The schemers will come to no good end," said one wall poster. Another slogan that was pasted up at Peking University declared: "The day the people will know the truth is the day when the schemers are finished."

Sources told Reuters that Shanghai was "plastered with posters." Many commanders of the Chinese armed forces have solemnly pledged solidarity with the new Party Chairman Mr. Hua Kuo-feng, Radio Peking reported in a broadcast monitored in Tokyo yesterday. It said: "Many commanders and combat forces of the People's Liberation Army, Navy and Air Force which Chairman Mao Tse-tung used to review often have solemnly pledged to unite in firm solidarity with Comrade Hua Kuo-feng and his entourage in the central leadership of the party in all things."

The pledge was made, the radio said, while the armed forces acclaimed with shouts the decision of the Central Committee to build a memorial hall to Mao and to publish his collected and selected works. The radio called on the officers and combat forces to observe the great teaching of Chairman Mao Tse-tung that comrades of the whole party must unite in solidarity around the Central Committee of the party. "Any action tending to destroy that solidarity is a crime and if upholders of communism unite and set their hearts on a single course, no enemy, however great and no environment however formidable can but surrender," it said.

THE FIRST NEWSPAPER attempt to offer a serious interpretative analysis of the imperatives of the "economic issues behind the power struggle" came from *Batuk Gathani* in a despatch from London on October 15 to the *Hindu*.

The Western world is still reeling under the psychological and political impact of the latest developments in China and although the media continue to endlessly speculate about the future shape of things in China, most analysts are comforted by the fact that Mr. Hua Kuo-feng's dexterity has saved the day in China. There are endless theories about what exactly is happening in Peking and drama is certainly not lacking.

But the general consensus is that the current power struggle is basically concerned with economic issues. The radicals and their fallen idols, like Mao's widow want to see speedy transition from the present socialist economy to true communism, while the moderates led by Mr. Hua Kuo-feng believe that this aim can best be achieved by transforming the country into a major industrial power.

The radicals talk of severe austerity and self-reliance underlined by minimum possible importation of foreign technology and capital equipment. The moderates would prefer to have a form of 'detente' relationship with the capitalist powers and make the maximum use of Western technology to usher China into the league of giant industrial powers.

Right now the Chinese economy has its limitations and although

China's masses are better fed, clothed and housed than masses in most third world countries. China is not yet an industrial power. Its technology, sophisticated in some areas, is still below average in many respects and most Western analysts would also concede that India, for example, may have a more sophisticated technological base than China.

China's radicals are annoyed with the late Chou En-lai's policy of having allowed the trade deficit to accrue over the last three years to \$ 750 millions. They accuse the present leaders of dissipating China's natural assets, especially oil and minerals to purchase ever-growing quantities of capital industrial equipment. China's coal production is now around 430 million tonnes.

With these resources, China is in a position to make a major leap towards the goal of technological self-reliance which could put it into the league of world's industrial giants. The radicals feel China must go on its own steam without foreign know-how while the moderates want a more pragmatic approach, without ideological hangups.

This essentially is the heart of the matter in the current power struggle in China, as the West sees it. Mr. Hua Kuo-feng has jumped on his opponents with the cunning and daring of a seasoned and ruthless politician. His move is both successful and popular among the masses and the apparent support from the army and from the rump of the late Mr. Chou En-lai's establishment would enable Mr. Hua to further consolidate his power.

The Soviets have given a soft pedal treatment to the events in China and officially describe the latest purge as the routing of "wild Shanghai boys". The Russians are going easy on China since Mao's death and although so far Peking has shown no willingness to end the propaganda war against Moscow, many Soviet experts feel that once Mr. Hua Kuo-feng is settled in power he will talk business with Moscow. This is also the view of Western Sinologists.

But what many analysts and commentators have been reluctant to say is that the People's Liberation Army had

played the most important role in the power struggle. It was the PLA, it will be remembered, that staged the Long March, that defeated the Japanese occupiers, that routed the US-backed armies of Chiang Kai-shek, that established communist power in Peking in October 1949, and ended the horrors of the Cultural Revolution in 1969.

There is no doubt that Hua Kuo-feng won the succession struggle in Peking on the power that comes from the barrel of a gun. It was clear that Hua was assured of army support before the arrest of Mrs. Mao. It is also equally clear that the radicals have not been able to retaliate or offer any serious resistance because of the all-pervading influence and authority of the Army which is undoubtedly one of the strongest units of the Communist Party. It is also necessary to recall that Army units were used by Teng Hsiao-ping to suppress disorder in Hangchow factories last year and Hua Kuo-feng used them for relief work in the Tangshan earthquake. It must be noted that Hua went out of his way to pay special tribute to the Army at Mao's memorial service.

MANY OBSERVERS and China-watchers have tended to ignore the fact that many of Teng's old army friends, who were rehabilitated from their cultural revolution disgrace, were firmly in their restored posts even after Teng had been pushed out of all his offices after the death of Chou. Among them may be mentioned: Su Chen-hua, alternate politburo member, and now believed to be the Navy's chief political commissar, Li Ta, the deputy army chief of staff, Ho Chen-wen, the Air Force commander, Ma Ning, commander of the Sinkiang military region, Yang Yuang, a senior army general, Kuo Lin-hsiang, the logistics commissar, and Chen Hsi-lien, now commanding the strategic Peking military region.

Other important notables who had been badly treated by the Shanghai Mafia during the Cultural Revolution and after and who had been restored by Chou are: Tan Chen-lin and Li Ching-chuan—

they were made vice-chairmen of the National People's Congress last year. But perhaps, the most important personage—one who had survived the Cultural Revolution because of the protection given him by Chou En-lai—is Li Hsien-nien who was a vice-premier. He is a close associate of Tan Chen-lin and Li Ching-chuan and also the rehabilitated Chen Hsi-lien. Together with them must be considered the Defence Minister, seventy-one year old, Yeng-li.

Many commentators and observers had overlooked one factor which was crucial in the power struggle: namely, the long-time rivalry between the army and the militia. The radical group had created the militia as a counter to the power wielded by the army; in fact the threat from the Soviet Union was used as a political excuse to set up and develop the militia to carry on a people's war against any possible Soviet invasion. The army looked upon the militia as usurpers and a threat to its position which the army felt it had earned by the fighting it had done against the Japanese and the KMT.

Hua has undoubtedly come to power with the support of the Army and the new politburo also has the full support of the army (with more than adequate army representation). It is in this context that one must view Hua's attacks on the Shanghai party secretary, Ma Tien-shui, and the accusation that he planned to use the one million militia men in Shanghai in a revolutionary conspiracy with Chiang Ching's friends in Peking. Hua was able to outwit the radicals mainly with the assistance of Chen Hsi-lien, Peking's military commander (who it is alleged was foolishly approached by Chiang Ching to join her conspiracy to seize power).

THERE DOES NOT seem to be any doubt now that Hua had secretly negotiated with top army leaders who took this opportunity to end the process by which the militia was stealthily expanding into an independent power in the land with a view to challenge the army. Knowledgeable observers trace this process to about September 1973 (the so-called "Shanghai expe-

rience") when the local militia was placed under the command of the Shanghai municipal committee instead of the army. This example was followed in Peking, Tientsin, Canton and Anhwei province. But this switch of command was opposed by the Army and in many provincial areas local army officers continued to control urban and rural militia. "Co-ordinated leadership" was the terminology coined as a compromise in Kiangsu province, to cover the attempt to "unite" the regular army with the militia. Teng Hsiao-ping had criticised the "Shanghai experience" in no uncertain terms, and he had also sought to reduce the strength of the factory militia and its political activities in order to increase industrial production. At that point, the radical-dominated *People's Daily* (29/9/73) had praised party control of the militia and claimed that the militia units working with party street committees had "improved political education among the broad masses" and were "girding and guiding them in the smashing of the big counter-revolutionary political conspiracies" and the "uprooting of the dens of freaks and monsters." (It is significant that the same epithets of abuse are now being hurled at the Chiang Ching group).

Lin Piao wanted to abolish the militia. He failed. His army successors now want to command it. It has its uses: the workers could be disciplined in anti-invasion training and civil defence tactics. The militia could also be used to maintain law and order. The army is now likely to have its way and bring the militia under its command. The army background of Li Hsien-nien, who is one of Hua's closest associates (as he was of Chou, Teng and other moderate-pragmatists) is significant.

In 1931, at the age of 26, Li Hsien-nien, was a local military commander, in the Hupei province, and then, after the Long March, he became the commander of an army division. In 1949, he rose to the rank of Deputy Commander of Lin Piao's fourth field army. He was close personal friend of Chou En-lai (who protected him from Red Guard attacks during the cultural revolution) their association had really begun when both were

members of the People's Revolutionary Council in 1949. Since that time, Li Hsien-nien had specialised, with outstanding success, in financial and international economic affairs. But in spite of his working in the field of finance for the last 25 years, he is still the old army man and he will help to cement the new collaboration between the army and Chairman Hua.

This brief resume of the simmering rivalry that has existed between the army and the militia will provide the background to one of the most important aspects of the power struggle in China. The "radical" approach to revolution, the building of socialism and the creation of a new "socialist man" differs completely and totally from the concepts of the "pragmatic-moderates." With Mao as helmsman, the radicals were given an opportunity to put their theories into practice and many of China's difficulties, in the economic field especially, can be traced to the "experiments" tried out by the radicals.

With the control of the media, the radicals were also able to influence sections of the world communist movement and the upsurge of revolutionary thinking with ideas that have caused more harm than good. The abortive coup in Indonesia in 1965 is one of the major disasters caused by "radical" Maoist thought. There have been many modifications in this kind of Maoist logic after the Indonesian debacle, but the essential *ultra-ism* (often infantile) of the slogan-shouting Maoists armed with "barrels of guns" has created aberrations of the most peculiar kind in the international movement for emancipation from all forms of exploitation.

(To be Continued)



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SRI LANKA DOCTORS—2

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SRI LANKA DOCTORS—I

Work-To-Rule

—background—

by Tribune Investigator

THE RECENT WORK-TO-RULE protest staged by the doctors in the Government Service—members of the GMOA and the AMS—has evoked a great deal of hot air in some quarters which should have shown a greater understanding of the simmering confrontation which has persisted, for too long a time, between the doctors and the government.

The medical profession in Sri Lanka, especially the doctors in the government service, are today without the kind of political "pull" which other sections of the working population enjoy in what is termed the era of the common man. Hospital labourers and attendants, organised in their trade unions, are able to exercise political "pull" which has given them a privileged position in the community of health workers. The numbers and the voting strength they are able to mobilise has made them the new mandarins of the Health Services. Nobody will grudge the attendants and labourers the power they enjoy owing to the "pull" their unions exercise on Members of Parliament, but unless other groups, like the doctors receive comparable treatment frustrations and tensions are bound to grow. This power of the numbers—and numbers alone—can result in situations where the efforts and work of the skilled and highly trained personnel can easily become abortive and meaningless. In some instances, such lopsided manifestations political "pull" can turn counter-productive.

While it can be said that, at one time, in the past, the labourers and attendants in the Health Services had many legitimate grievances which had long been ignored, today the trouble seems to be that the trained medical personnel are overwhelmed with grievances which will be dangerous for the government and the country to ignore any longer.

The doctors of today suffer from one major handicap which

is neither of their own seeking or making. In British times and the early years of Independence, doctors in the government services and outside were part of the Brown Sahib hierarchy, and like the top elite in other professions (and in administrative and mercantile services) enjoyed privileges, benefits and invisible political power which were denied to the vast majority of the people.

But those days are no more. The rich, diehard, stuffed shirt, arch-reactionary, capitalist doctors are no more. Doctors are no longer in the top income brackets—this privilege has been handed over by a so-called socialist government to a new tribe of CRA exporters of traditional and non-traditional goods and also hoteliers and travel agents of a parasitic tourist trade which is doing the country more harm than good, economically, socially, culturally and morally.

Doctors today have fallen into a category which can be only described as under privileged—indeed they are among the depressed castes of today. In spite of his long years of training and highly developed skills, the doctor is compelled to adopt ways of living far removed from the elitist affluence of ignorant, loutish, vulgar and often anti-social and criminal exporters of gems, shirts or cardamoms who are flamboyantly and flagrantly permitted to flaunt their opulence in the face of other citizens in this country.

Doctors may be ordered to ride buses to attend to emergency cases and off-duty calls if the gem mudalali from Beruwela, or the hotelier from Bentota, or the brothel keeper in Colombo 7 are also compelled to do the same. Whereas doctors are told that they must forget cars and go around in CTB buses, more and more of the parasitic denizens of the gem and tourist underworld and new rich of the CRA elite switch from one six Sri car to another with every phase of the moon.

THIS NEW IMBALANCE created by the anti-socialist (and anti-rational) policies of a Government, which prides itself on being "social-

list", has let loose a Pandora's box of frustrations that has affected not only doctors, but also engineers, architects, accountants and a whole host of other trained personnel sorely needed in this country. The brain drain of trained skill from this country can be traced directly to such frustrations which have become more and more marked ever since successive "socialist" governments in this country have indulged in policies and programmes that have created new classes of ignorant vulgar rich who exercise more political "pull" and power than all the wise and learned people in the country put together. As long as a loud, ignorant, untrained (and uneducated)-elite dominate the social, political and cultural life of Sri Lanka—as they do now—the frustrations which has caused the brain drain will continue to increase.

The Prime Minister recently bemoaned the fact that youths from rural areas had also participated in the doctor's work-to-rule. The PM, like so many others in the ruling establishment, seems to think that the progeny of the "common man" in the rural areas must accept without question all the political and economic implications of the anti-socialist policies of a so-called socialist government and bow before the unenlightened elite now sitting on top of everything in this country.

To come back to doctors, it is true that some decades ago they constituted a section of the Brown Sahibry of this country. But they nevertheless performed their functions and discharged their obligations honourably. There were a few black sheep who extorted fees in the most unconscionable manner, but they were few and far between. Such black sheep have now passed either into the realm of the dead or have sought pastures new in other climes. Of this kind of black sheep there are a few left in the island as a hang-over of a decadent Brown Sahibry, but from all accounts they are not in the GMOA or the AMS—they are in the Private Nursing Homes now owned by CRA mudalalis for the benefit of the new elite and also those who do not have the political pull to get decent accommodation in government hospitals (such admission has also been

politicalised to a degree unknown before).

DOCTORS IN SRI LANKA also suffer from an evil "reputation" acquired in the past by a few black sheep in the medical profession. To end such evil, private practice was abolished for government doctors and this has given rise to the greater social evil in the form of private nursing homes, although in the jungle that is now the medical profession and the government's Health Services, the nursing homes provide a much-needed service to those who can pay the charges, or are willing to pauperise themselves in order to have a reasonable degree of cleanliness and attention impossible to get in the non-paying ward in hospitals—where attendants and labourers are not bothered about keeping the wards, or the rooms, or the lavatories (and the like) clean as they are in a position to tell doctors and administrators to go to hell because of the trade union power they exercise through powerfully placed MPs.

More recently, the medical profession has acquired a bad image because a large number had sought employment abroad. And more want to go. The doctors who have obtained employment abroad are certainly less in numbers than engineers, accountants, university teachers, administrators and other trained personnel who have emigrated, but while the other have not yet been missed the emigration of doctors has created a dearth which has been acutely felt. The Minister of Health—in fact, several Ministers of Health in recent times—have been wailing about this brain drain of doctors and have mentioned that the Government is already short of 450 odd doctors.

Whilst Ministers bemoan that doctors have fled the country, they do not seem to realise that, compared to other cadres in the public service, doctors are denied privileges which should have been accorded to them. Take the simple question of travelling. Officials in corporations, in Departments, in janawasamas and a whole host of other petty governmental undertakings, are provided with official transport to get to their place of work and to move from place to place. In Sri Lanka today we, have an elitist tribe of car-riding

officials—and nearly all of them do not perform work which calls for official transport. It is an open secret that this official transport is abused. But what is worse than the abuse, (officials it is reported send their official cars with official petrol to buy a few limes and vegetables in Colombo super-markets because they were not available in an outstation town like Panadura), is the socio-economic implication of the nauseating activities of the ever growing tribe of car-riding officialdom.

Doctors have good reason to entertain grievances about the travelling facilities they can command. Many young doctors want to go abroad only to be able to purchase a car to travel about when they return to Sri Lanka. When glorified foremen (elevated to staff grade through political pull) in state corporations and kanakapules and conductors in nationalised estates (now made superintendents by political power) are granted official transport, is it any wonder that doctors nurse grievances about travelling facilities?

To sum up, it must be stressed that if the Government had not permitted the ostentatious opulence of a new class of vulgar rich and a politicalised officialdom (for ever trotting round the world in jet planes or dashing around Sri Lanka in six Sri limousines), the frustrations which have now gripped the medical (and other professions) could have been avoided. And unless the Government is able to take (immediately) counter-remedial measures to impose and induce austerity in the CRA way of life and the horrible tribe of six Sri officials hanging on to the coat-tails (or the neck shawls) of political authority, these frustrations are bound to grow.

It is in this background that the recent work-to-rule of the government doctors and specialists must be examined.

It is also a factor to be remembered that the medical profession does not have a good press: in fact, neither the GMOA nor the AMS have been able to build

up good public relations and have failed to establish or maintain a dialogue with the press and other mass media. The doctors are also, unfortunately not able to influence any of the political lobbies in the country. In the modern era of the complex intricacies of the democratic parliamentary system, it is time that the doctors—(the GMOA and the AMS)—realised that they should build up a streamlined public relations department without delay. It will not be difficult for them to do this because they are in daily touch, (as mini-saviours), with hundreds of thousands of voters who come to them for treatment. In addition to the actual patients, the relations and friends of patients constitute a large segment of the population of this country.

The doctors, organised in the GMOA and the AMS, must step down from the ivory towers in which they had shut themselves up in recent times, and come down to earth to meet the common people who matter in the country. In the bad old days, the Brown Sahib doctors, had successfully maintained a powerful lobby among all sections of the population who mattered. The doctors of today should learn how this can be done in the present context. A few of them have "ties" with politically powerful people, but this kind of individual coat-hanging is both demeaning and futile. Patronage seeking on an individual basis and political kow-towing to individual politicians will not solve the problems of the profession.

So far as the general public is concerned it is high time that the thinking sections of the community realised that trained and skilled doctors are essential for the welfare of this country. It would be foolish to be carried away by the romantic pictures of barefoot doctors (they may be necessary in China with its 850 millions spread over a large extent of earth's surface). Sri Lanka is small and her needs are small. We still have a reasonably good Health Service. We have excellent doctors and specialists (in spite of the brain drain). It is necessary to keep them here and also make it possible for those who have emigrated to return (before

they decide to make other countries their permanent homes).

This can be done.

But, it is necessary for the public to be educated about the realities of the situation.

It is because of the total lack of public relations on the part of the GMOA and the AMS, and the rather infantile and amateur memoranda they had issued from time to time, that the *Daily News* was able to editorialise on October 12, 1976 under the heading "Leaking Roofs and Crowded Buses", just before the doctors launched their work-to-rule without adequate propaganda cover. The editorial is cited in full below for the record:

The scalpels are being ground and the lancets sharpened for a major surgical operation tomorrow. But a word of caution before the knives plunge. The GMOA is surprised that only 680 doctors have "fled from our midst" considering the leaking houses they live in and the crowded buses they have to hurry in to work and a thousand other ills that doctors are heir to at the moment in Sri Lanka. It would not be fair, of course, to look too closely at the leaking roofs of the doctors and the crowded buses they have to travel in, not because such a study would not bear too close a scrutiny, but because it is true that the new generation of doctors leaving our medical schools are not as fortunate as the older medical men born to more spacious days and larger dowries. The younger men do travel by bus, a thing unheard of in those days for the Edinburgh returned man, and live under leaking roofs because the good things in life that used to circulate freely at one time are, sadly, becoming less and less. This is not, as the discriminating reader that the GMOA is imploring will readily understand, a phenomenon confined to this once resplendent isle now plagued with leaking roofs and crowded buses and MDs reduced to the status of, as the GMOA says, "suitcase-doctors", but a global phenomenon affecting largely countries emerging from colonial bondage.

We have won our political freedom, but it is the economic jackpot, as any man who has laid stakes on rouge et noir, or asking hitting

or that elusive treble knows, that keeps receding from the horizon as we advance. The pity is that such a clever, talented, educated body of men such as form the GMOA have not had the patience to examine how and why, not only doctors but many more hundreds and thousands of Sri Lankans have to suffer leaking roofs and crowded buses. The other day the Indian Prime Minister was deploring the fact that despite the Indian government's efforts to stop the leaks and the crowded buses those who have also "fled" from the Indian sub-continent in search of comfortable houses and air-conditioned cars have not been touched by the Indian government's gesture to return home. In the Philippines despite the government's effort to induce the thousands of Filipino doctors now serving in the States to come back they prefer to stay on doing what everybody knows are menial jobs in the medical profession. It is difficult to believe that it is the poor working conditions in the countries emerging from colonialism that are driving this intelligent body of men to flee their countries for lowly jobs. We are with them certainly when they refer to the 'Moghuls in the Ministry' as the villain of the piece in this melodrama. We have not looked too kindly on this species either who, as that vivid Sinhala saying goes, are 'like crows that pick the ear while perched on the horn.' They too are not a new phenomenon. One particularly brilliant metaphor used by the compiler of the Sidat Sangarava, which dates about a millennium back, compares the counsellors of the kings to snakes that take possession of the sandalwood tree and frighten those who approach it.

There may be a good deal of truth in the GMOA's complaint that the bureaucrats have been sitting pretty instead of attending to the wrongs that have been brought to their notice. But the spirit in which this problem is approached shows a total lack of sympathy and understanding for the country as a whole. For instance the GMOA is unusually scornful in scoffing at the post graduate institute of medicine. It is sceptical about an institute being born as it claims "within the confines of a single room in

the medical faculty." A curious observation, indeed, for a body of men who are well aware of the generation of life from single cells. Is the GMOA demanding a ten-storied birth all at once? It is not only the doctors of this country who have problems of status and less perks. Engineers too can make an equally good case for better roofs and smoother cars. So, do we wrangle about what looks to the average person as fringe benefits or do we settle our problems like a single family, each learning to be satisfied with his portion of rice simply because there is nothing more to go round, until we grow more?

This editorial is a piece of cynical demagoguery which will please only those who are unmindful of the frustrations and tensions which are building up in our country. The *Daily News* seems to feel that the doctors are a small minority with no political "pull" whose grievances can be lightly dismissed with cheap sneers about "leaking roofs and crowded buses". The *Daily News* chooses to preach an agitational type sermon about the said economic plight in the country and to invite the doctors to share the poverty.

The present bosses of Lake House in the luxury and splendour of their airconditioned rooms can pontificate on the virtues of "leaking roofs", but must our specialists (of world class) be compelled to work in such terrible conditions as obtain, for instance, in some of the rooms in prestigious OPD in Colombo that serves as clinics for specialists? What about the luxurious buildings and quarters built for a whole series of government and corporation employees? Why are they not asked to live under "leaking roofs" because this country is still "poor"?

Surprisingly, only the Communist daily *Aththa* came to the rescue of the doctors. In an editorial on 25th October, when the work-in-rule was in progress and a major campaign had been mounted in the official press against the GMOA and the AMS, the *Aththa* sought to set the problem in the correct perspective. (The *Daily Mirror*, unlike the Lake House papers, did not indulge in blood and thunder threats but appealed to both parties to find a compro-

mise solution). A "rough" translation on the *Aththa* editorial is as follows:

The suffering by the people, owing to the work-to-rule campaign launched by doctors, cannot be underestimated but the problem cannot be solved by criticising the doctors and instigating the people against the doctors. We feel that the doctors and the Ministry of Health should have cordial discussions and solve the problem. The Ministry should not accept what certain papers say about doctors. Doctors have been branded as blood sucking draculas, reactionaries and those who have waged a war against the government because they have lost their properties. The papers have also branded them as capitalists. Actually what the government papers have done is to instigate the people against the doctors and thereby prolong the campaign launched by doctors.

It is true there are UNPers, capitalists and other types among doctors but it is wrong to accuse the majority of doctors. Many doctors belong to middle class families and therefore they cannot be classed as people trying to work against the government and the masses. Doctors perform a specialised and very important service and because of this they must live in better circumstances than the ordinary working class people. Under such circumstances it is wrong to compare them with the ordinary working class and say the doctors are especially privileged. The service of doctors must be compared with the service of executives and directors of state institutions. Doctors work day and night to save human lives but executives draw higher salaries than doctors for just signing papers. Certain directors and executives in corporations are also drawing higher salaries than doctors and the only qualification they have is political patronage. Apart from the salaries the executives and directors they have immense benefits like official cars not only for them but for their families and even for the children to go to school. A doctor cannot even dream of such privileges. When privileges are given to unwanted people in higher positions why cannot these privileges be given

to persons who work to save the lives of people? By their campaign the doctors are exposing to the public the shortcomings in state hospitals and these shortcomings should be explained separately. Now the government should hold cordial talks with doctors and not only solve the difficulties the people are undergoing but also take action to do justice to the doctors. The problem should not be approached in the way the *Dinamina* and *Daily News* have done.

It must be said that the *Aththa* has sought to approach the matter in a realistic manner.

While this article sets out the general background to the problem of Sri Lanka doctors, it would be useful to examine a number of matters that constitute the central core of the continuing confrontation between the government and its medical personnel. This will be done in subsequent articles.

BULGARIA

Among The Foremost Countries In The World

Bulgaria is a small country, not unlike Sri Lanka. It is interesting to see how such a country has developed economically under the impact of Socialism. In this article issued by the Sofia Press Agency are revealed facts that will interest our readers.

In the growth rate of its national income Bulgaria ranks among the foremost countries in the world. The national income generated worldwide doubled between 1960 and 1974. For Bulgaria the increase was 2.8 times, as against 40 per cent for Britain, 79 per cent for the Federal Republic of Germany, 99 per cent for Belgium, 2.1 times for Italy, the Netherlands and France. In the 1961-1974 period the average annual national income growth was 7.7 per cent for Bulgaria as against 5.1 per cent for the world (Belgium—5 per cent, Great Britain—2.4 per cent, the Federal Republic of Germany—

4.2 per cent, Italy—5.4 per cent, the Netherlands—5.4 per cent, France 5.5 per cent).

In conformity with the main socio-economic task of achieving the fuller satisfaction of the material and cultural needs of the people, the larger part—nearly three-quarters of Bulgaria's constantly growing national income is streamlined to consumption.

The constant growth of production justifies the steady rise in the working people's nominal and real incomes. Compared with 1960 the real per capita incomes in 1975 had more than doubled. A basic principle of distribution and hence the main source of incomes in socialist Bulgaria is the quantity and quality of labour invested. In conformity with this principle about 75 per cent of the population's nominal incomes take the form of labour remuneration.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. In the first half of this year the Bulgarian industry produced 9.1 per cent more than it did in the same period last year. Electronics and electrical engineering marked the greatest success, one of more than 19 per cent. The other structure-determining industrial branches such as mechanical engineering, metallurgy, the chemical and the light industry also kept up high rates of development. More than 13,700 million kwh of electricity were generated in the first half of the year—a 12 per cent increase over the amount of power produced in the first half of 1975.

A characteristic feature of all the principal industrial branches is that their intensive development is based on the enhanced efficiency of production. In the past six months labour efficiency in industry was 7.4 per cent higher than the level reached in the same period last year. Over 83 per cent of the growth of industrial output was achieved through enhanced labour efficiency. These results give grounds to expect that the efficiency of the whole of Bulgaria's economic complex will be raised considerably already in the first year of the 7th five-year period (1976-1980). This is fully in line with her economic strategy at this stage of the build up of a developed socialist society.

The balance-sheet which was drawn up in other economic branches was favourable too. System

matic attention was paid to boosting the output of farm produce, to increasing the mechanization and automation of agricultural production and to developing it on an industrial-type basis. There was a considerable increase also in the output of the light industry as compared with that of last year.

During the first six months of this year over 2000 million leva were expended on the further build up of the material and technical base of the national economy. In this sphere too a line was followed whereby capital investments were to be made more efficient by directing them to the reconstruction and updating of plant and other production assets. In the different branches of material production 67 per cent of the investments were spent on reconstruction and updating of production plant and extensions to it. Housing construction is also developing at high rates and in these six months its output was 6.6 per cent higher than in the same period last year.

It is on the basis of Bulgaria's high rates of economic development that the people's living standards are being constantly raised. The average pay, for example, rose in this period (as compared with the first six months of 1975) as follows: in industry—by 3 per cent, in building—by 4.5 per cent and in transport—by 2.3 per cent. This year conditions have been created for enterprises and offices in all economic spheres to switch over to a reduced working week.

The increased production capacity of the Bulgarian economy ensures this country's ever wider participation in the international division of labour and is a guarantee for the dynamic growth of its trade. As a result of the intensification of integration within the framework of the CMEA and of the expansion of economic co-operation with non-socialist countries, in the first half of the year Bulgaria's foreign trade was 10 per cent higher than in the same period last year. Over 81 per cent of her exports went to the socialist markets, and 58 per cent of these to the Soviet Union. A characteristic feature of Bulgaria's foreign trade is the constant structural changes occurring in it, with industrial products playing an ever more important role. Production machinery and equipment form 43

per cent of this country's exports now.

OUTPUT OF METAL WORKING MACHINERY

During the 7th five-year period 30 per cent of the 12,000 metal-working machines in this country will be updated. It is expected that the manufacture of metal-working machinery in 1980 will be about double what it was in 1975. There will be a considerable increase in the proportion of unitized and special high-performance machines, machines with programme and digital-programme control, multi-operational machines, automatic lines, systems of machines controlled by computers and sets of machines and equipment for automated sections and workshops. The enterprises will be furnished with machinery which will make the application of new technological principles in metal-working possible.

There will be a marked increase in the output of metal-cutting tools which ensure high speed and accuracy in machining and in the output of measuring instruments and devices, of instruments for assembly work, of unified, standardized and special technological equipment, and of hydraulic, pneumatic and other installations. The Peroun metal-cutting machines with digital-programme control are of special interest. They are 2 or 3 times more productive than all-purpose lathes and are already in demand abroad. One version of the Peroun machine is the multi-tool one. In this lathe the designers of the Metal-Cutting Machinery Institute have used a patented device for the automatic changing of tools. This Bulgarian device does this in 3 seconds. Similar devices used so far take 6 or 7 seconds to do it. The lathes have a digital programme with electric motors operating at a high frequency.

The FRD-02 machine for the initial turning of parts for lathes is also a high-performance one. PRD-02 can carry out three operations simultaneously and, of course, labour productivity is several times higher than that of the machines usually used.

...AND OF FARM MACHINERY. Preparations for serial production of a new self-propelling fodder combine-harvester are under way in the Farm Machinery Works in Rousse in North Bul-

garia. The new KSS-100 fodder harvester cuts 100 tons of green mass per hour and is on the same high level as the best machines in the world for fodder harvesting. The first 50 harvesters of this type are to come off the line in the latter part of August. Up to now the Farm Machinery Works have been producing the KIR-1.5 model of fodder combine harvesters which have a working capacity of 15-45 tons of green mass per hour.

Last year the Works brought out the pilot series of the new powerful IDL-50 sprinkler for semi-stationary irrigation systems. Ten or twenty IDL-50 sprinklers usually form a system which can be worked by one mechanical worker alone. This year the Rousse Farm Machinery Works will supply the Bulgarian farms with 400 of these sprinklers.

The designers of the Farm Machinery Engineering Institute in the same city, who work in conjunction with the engineering workers of the above-mentioned plant, have designed a highly efficient ventilator sprinkler. Its sprinkling scope is 40-60 m and it can sprinkle 10-12 hectares per hour. This new machine can do the work of 3 or 4 of the former sprinklers when working in wider vineyards, big orchards and big fields. Nearly 90 per cent of the output of the Rousse Farm Machinery Works is earmarked for export and is well known in the USSR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, the GDR, Egypt, Algeria, Syria and other countries. In the next five years different technological innovations and new technological lines are to be introduced in the works and the manufacture of new, highly efficient agricultural machinery is to be mastered. By 1980 the output of the plant is expected to double.

FRUIT GROWING. According to information released by FAO, Bulgaria ranks second in the world in the production of plums per capita of the population, third in the production of peaches and sixth in the production of apples. She is the principal supplier of fresh and processed fruit within the framework of the CMEA.

In the last five-year period (1971-1975) the average yearly output of fruit in Bulgaria exceeded 1 million tons. About one-tenth

of it was exported every year. This considerable export has consolidated the country's position in the international agricultural market. Irrespective of this, Bulgarian producers are still not satisfied with what has been achieved. They believe that it can be regarded only as a base, as a starting point from which the country's fruit-growing can go ahead. It is for this reason that the requirements for the current five-year period (1976-1980) are higher than ever before. The average annual output of fruit is planned at 1,400,000-1,550,000 tons and there is to be greater variety in it and it is to be of better quality.

By 1960 Bulgaria's fruit-growing had developed extensively, but its intensification began after that year. A number of low-stemmed apple and pear orchards were planted and they have made a wider use of machinery possible.

A new stage began after 1970. The agro-industrial complexes created the right conditions for concentration and specialization also in fruit-growing. The formation of large orchards of up to several thousands of hectares has begun. The size and structure of these plantations—highly intensive cultivation and low-stemmed fruit-trees planted in wide rows—have made it possible to use machinery and aircraft on a wide scale, to introduce whole technological lines of machines and to put fruit-growing on an industrial basis.

In pest control preference will be given to biological and combined methods. Machinery for picking stone-fruit for processing will be introduced on a wide scale, as well as more effective machinery for picking fruit for fresh consumption. Machines for the fully mechanized pruning of trees are now being tried out.

* * *

LETTER

* Police

Sir,

It is a pity that the *Tribune* (vide *Tribune* article of 9.10.76—Police—"One swallow does not..." by An Ex-Cop.) has not made better

use of the space allocated to Ex-Cops article on the Police, to go into the serious question of recent Police behaviour in relation to the civilian population of this country. Unfortunately Ex-Cop. digresses from the real issue, which is the alarming increase in the incidence of violence within Police precincts, to a discussion of the improbability or otherwise of heart disease within the Police force, its clinical implications and the historical antecedents which throw a humorous side light on the issue.

Such an approach would have been appropriate if it appeared in Mr. Herbert Keuneman's charming articles on Village life, which focus our attention on the problems of life in an entirely different way. But I suggest it is inappropriate for the discussion of a serious problem which many people, chiefly from the working or peasant classes, have to face in their daily lives. It is out of place in a responsible news review such as the *Tribune*.

Ex-Cop's article touches on reality only in one paragraph of his entire article, which is where he refers to the conduct of the Police during the 1971 insurgency, while not intending to take issue with Ex-Cops interpretation of Police action during that time, it is necessary to point out that the present issue is in regard to rebels or revolutionaries during the insurgency

A recent Police circular, published in the *Daily News* of last week (date not verified) refers to an admonition by the IGP to all heads of stations that a serious view will be taken of 'Police Misconduct', I recall reading a similar communique several months ago. (Perhaps *Tribune* Editor can substantiate this). These circulars were sent out because the IGP was concerned about the incidence of Police violence, and one has only to correlate the recent Alutgama CTB depot/Police clash and ensuing strike and the earlier Narahenpita incident (which is under inquiry now, where one man died and his son was paralysed subsequent to interrogation in the Police Station) to realise, that contrary to Ex-Cop's impression, all is not well within the Police Stations from a civilians point of view.

Ex-Cop's concern for the reputation of all those within the ser-

vice who are principled and humane is justified and I don't think anyone will take issue with him on that point. The examples he cites of Police bravery and decency are those which give the public hope that all is not lost in the Police Depot. But the alarming increase of violence within Police precincts only serves to undermine this hope. I don't believe it serves any purpose for Ex-Cop to go to such lengths of circumlocution to make out such a situation does not exist.

There is a parallel to be drawn between Ex-Cop's treatment of this problem and the IGP's admonition to his staff. In both circulars published in the *Daily News*, several injunctions were issued, the gist of which is that the proper procedure must be adhered to in regard to civilians brought for Police interrogation and awaiting due process of law. He said a very serious view would be taken of "misconduct" and the recent circular of last week (*CDN*) states that Police Officers should desist from 'Unwarranted assault' nowhere in either circular was there an injunction that Police Officers should not Assault civilians within or without Police precincts. The implications of the statement in regard to "unwarranted assault" is thought provoking, and one can only hope it was not intended and is not a statement of policy. The parallel I wish to point to is that both Ex-Cop and IGP are bending over too far backwards, and the moral that is implicit is that it is as dangerous as leaning over too far forwards.

I suggest that the problem of the Police and its relationship to the state and the civilian population is a proper study for sociologists and psychologists and all those who are gravely concerned with the tragic growth of violence in our societies. I also suggest that the *Tribune* initiate a discussion through its pages so that the readership can clarify their ideas on this problem.

Laki Senanayake

Diyabubula,
Dambulla.
13.10.76



Confidentially

• Land Reform * Social Justice * Cattle

IS IT NOT A FACT that Land Reform in Sri Lanka has, in a large measure, resulted in the fragmentation of developed land with income-yielding plantation? That in an era where the consolidation of land holdings into larger and larger productive units is a vital necessity for increased production and productivity, in Sri Lanka we regularly hear boasts over the Radio and in the newspapers that thousands of landless are now being given anything from one acre to three acres to satisfy their land hunger? That some of our best coconut plantations have already been fragmented into total destruction? That the same fate is slowly overtaking tea and rubber lands? That the small holder is expected to gather the nuts, tea and rubber on his tiny plots and carry the produce to a Government Factory or Processing Centre? That such expectations have not been fulfilled for the simple reason that such a task cannot be fulfilled by small plot-holders living below the poverty line? That, to extract the produce even from small units, labour alone is not enough? That capital is required for cultivation, care and maintenance and extraction? That, in spite of soul-uplifting sermons of the Coconut Authority that a rosy future was ahead of the industry, production is fast falling? That a coconut is now over 80 cents in the city of Colombo and that the once forty-cents kurumba is now seventy cents (if it can be got)? That a *thambili* is well over Rs. 1 or Rs. 1/25 each? That statistics in regard to coconut production are not available but one does not need much imagination to know that things are bad? That part of the blame can be attributed to the "drought" but the knowledgeable know that the real cause is slaughter plucking from the young kurumba stage without any fertiliser being applied to the land? That the price of a

coconut is expected to shoot up to Rs. 1 each soon, in spite of the built-in devices to contain inflation included in the latest Felix Dias Bandaranaike budget?

That statistics on the tea front make dismal reading? That the tea crop for the first nine months of 1976 (January-September) is 144,787,972 kgs? That the figures for the same period, January-September, last year (i.e. 1975) was 165, 185, 431 kgs? That the shortfall is 20, 397, 458 kgs? That in terms of "pounds" it is 44.9 million pounds? That this is something which those who believe in fragmenting developed and cultivated land should ponder on? That the bureaucrats, administrators and politicians who have launched this massive plan of land fragmentation evidently continue to believe in the now exploded theory that 5 acres and a cow would make a hardworking man happy and rich? That in the thirties and forties the Catholic Church had sought to stem the tide of communism with Chestertonian (cum Father Peter Pillai) "social justice" based on five acres and a cow? That today the Catholic Church has abandoned these unrealistic theories? That the Catholic Church has now sought to ride the pro-left wave in the world by going "left" itself? That within the womb of the Church itself has grown a strong radical, pro-socialist and even pro-guerilla movement which seeks to create a new synthesis between God and Marx? That whilst the Church is undergoing a new revolutionary transformation, in Sri Lanka bureaucrats are clinging fast to theories abandoned by the Church two or three decades ago? That our bureaucrats now seem to believe in three acres without a cow as a panacea for all our economic problems? That instead of the proverbial cow the poor landless Sri Lankan peasant is offered a few coconut trees, or a few rubber trees or a few tea bushes, on his fragmented plot, to make him wealthy, happy and wise (to vote for the donor party)? That *Tribune* has predicted that all this fragmentation will boomerang in a way that will cause serious setbacks to the economy of the island? That the first impact of this disastrous and suicidal three-acre theory (and now it is down to one to two acres as the craze

for fragmentation grows) has already been felt? That the mess in which this country will soon find itself cannot be fully envisaged at this stage?

That talking of bureaucratic bungling reminds us of the details we had given some weeks ago about the death of animals from a recent consignment of 850 Friesian cattle from Australia? That we had then invited the Department to furnish information which would correct any mistakes that may have crept into our statement of facts? That the silence of the Department makes us believe that we were not far from the mark? That this week we continue with some further details (once again inviting the Department to furnish information to correct any mistakes we make)? That we learned that of the consignment of 850 animals, 138 cows have already died? That we have no information of the calves which have succumbed (this is where the Department can help us)? That the latest Health Bulletin indicates that large boils with pus inside had formed on the joints of many of the animals? That when these boils were ruptured by Veterinary Surgeons, the pus had oozed out, and animals had died? That although many vets are now working on this problem, no identification of the disease has yet been made? That the Health Department of the V.R.I. has been called in to ascertain the cause? That in the meantime the Veterinary Officers' Association (the President is said to be in the Ministry of Agriculture) has, it is understood, addressed a petition to the Minister of Agriculture about the scandalous handling of the last consignment of animals? That, what is even stranger (than fiction) is that the disease has not confined itself to the animals? That we are informed that a VVIP of the World Bank Project in Peradeniya has also broken out in boils? That he too is plagued with a disease which manifests itself in boils—the same as in the case of the animals? That there is a fear that unless the doctors now on a work-to-rule resume normal working, the public may witness an uncontrollable eruption of boils on all those concerned with the World Bank Project on livestock in Sri Lanka? That this will be an unfortunate sequel to the latest import of pedigreed cattle from Australia?

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