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Letter From The Editor

ON THE COVER we have a picture of a neatly-kept village home in the lush wet, all-the-year green foothills of the Kandyan hills. A mother, daughter-in-law and her two children are seen completing the transplanting of the small plot of terraced paddy field they own. The man of the house works in Colombo town in a government department as a peon, called otherwise in this era of the common man which eschews any taint of colonialism in the nomenclature of minor official functionaries. Without this income from government employment, this peasant household, which owns just over an acre of paddy land and about two acres of highland, cannot make both ends meet. With the regular salary from the peon's job and the little that the land produces, this family lives just barely above the subsistence (or poverty) line. The house was lime-washed and newly thatched with a "windfall" he got as a *santosam* for helping a *mudalali*—it cannot be called a bribe because a peon does not (and he did not) make the decisions, but it is a peon who moves files around, talks to subject clerks and is otherwise in a position to get things done. Except for such occasional "windfalls"—which some people, without a true understanding of the realities of life and living in this country, call "bribes", this household would have been pushed well below the poverty line. There is now much talk about the Bribery Act and the anti-bribery activities of the Special Department entrusted with the task of "cleansing" our public life by bringing bribe-takers and bribe-givers to book. In the last six years a large number were prosecuted, many (mainly small fish and even smaller fry) were convicted, but a sizable number were absolved in appeal because over-enthusiastic judicial officers (judges) failed to a judicial view of the evidence furnished by an over-zealous prosecution which believed that it could justify its existence only by securing convictions by hook or by crook. Historians and political observers will record that in spite of the special legislation and special courts like the Bribery Court and the Criminal Justice Commission (Exchange Frauds), bribery (visible and invisible), corruption (covert and overt), narcotics traffic (through locals and "tourists"), the amassing of black money (here and abroad) and the whole gamut of anti-social and anti-national activities have increased in the last decade, and even in the last six years. The unashamed robbery of government goods has reached limits unknown before: witness, for instance, the forty odd thousand (or is it eighty odd thousand), bags of cement which disappeared in transit from the KKS Cement Factory to the stores of the Buildings Materials Corporation in different parts of the island within a period in the second quarter of this year. One can list a whole lot of other "sins" to show that greater moral cleanliness has not been achieved in public life in spite of special legislation and special courts. A few VIPs have been hung in public and their characters assassinated with the help of the press and the radio. No one would have sympathised with anyone so punished or disgraced but for the fact that greater rogues, blackmarketeers, black money hoarders and the like, spawned by the CRA and the new Export System, have become the most influential topmost elite in the country. It would require a new Government and a new type of special legislation to bring these Six Sri (and now Seven Sri) racketeers to the gallows in—reality, public scrutiny under the glare of the mass media publicity. In the meantime, without a *santosam*—starting from the lowest to the middle levels—nothing can be done in the Government or Corporation administration. The top men are not satisfied with mere *santosams*, they extract a much higher price in more sophisticated ways. There is no private sector worth speaking about today, but even here (with the current shortages) a little palm greasing is necessary to get things done. Such is the state of Sri Lanka. It is no worse or no better than anywhere else, America, Britain, Canada, India, Malaysia and elsewhere. In America with the Lockheed, United Fruit, the Oil Monopolies and other payoffs, such greasing of the system is part of life. In socialist countries, the administration (even with its rigorously puritanic enforcement of the criminal code) has to be oiled and greased in special ways—that have emerged to meet the special requirements of the system. This is not a sermon on the futility of man: it is only to reassert an old truism that human nature cannot be changed by a penal or criminal code. All Messiahs—from Christ to Mao—have failed to change human nature with a moral or ideological code. Zealots may parade in power for a time—kill, conquer, legislate, issue emergency dikrats—but the soul of man has remained unchanged (except for temporary lapses—50 or 100 years at the most—into religious, jingoistic, political or ideological fervour).

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CONTENTS

EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

—Transition p. 2

CHRONICLE

—Nov. 5—Nov. 14 p. 4

INTERNATIONAL DIARY

—Nov. 5—Nov. 12 p. 8

YUGOSLAVIA

—Federalism P. 11

VILLAGE HOUSE—99

—Building Costs p. 13

POINT OF VIEW

—Ecclesiastics P. 15

TEA ESTATE

—Kangany's Prediction P. 16

INANIA

—The Doctor P. 17

AFTER THE ELECTIONS

—In The USA p. 17

PRESS FREEDOM

—And UNESCO P. 18

PRESIDENT FORD

—Review P. 19

CONFIDENTIALLY

—Beedi & Brahmins P. 20

EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

- ◆ China ◆ USA
- * Middle East * Budget
- * University

EACH WEEK we are pressed for more and more space as topical articles of great relevance are kept out. We have no way of increasing our pages unless we can get more advertising or double our annual subscribers. We have, now, only one way of publishing all the articles of significance, and what is by asking all our contributors, columnists and commentators to restrict the number of words in each piece. For the present, we will run the blue pencil through repetitions and the purple patches of high literary rhetoric and only allow the punch points that must be stressed in print. We shall ourselves enforce these rules on ourselves in our columns most rigorously.

This week, on the international scene, we see the efforts at the transition from one administration to another in two of the most important countries in the world: China and the USA. In Peking, there has been a new (mild) earthquake with prognostications and warnings that more serious ones were around the corner whilst the transition from the Mao dynasty to the Hua regime rolls on in typical Chinese fashion. Chairman Hua is the new hero—the new emperor father figure—in Peking. The Hua personality cult is being built on the thesis that there had never been any doubt that Hua would be successor of Mao. In this effort of a universal buildup, even the vigour of the posthumous praise for Mao has suffered. This is offset by the fact that Hua is said to be the specially selected successor of Mao. A group of Filipino journalists, one of the first such groups to visit China after Hua, were told that Mao had picked out Hua Kuo-feng as the future No. 1 as early as 1958/59 and also that certain party leaders were informed of this in the years that followed. It is now said that Mao did not want him to move from his administrative post in Hunan because he needed more

"provincial experience" before being moved to the centre (and that it was for this reason that Hua did not become a well-known political figure until recently). The Filipino journalists were also told that the struggle against Chiang and the Shanghai Mafia had been going on much longer than hitherto admitted: that, in fact, it had been going on since the Cultural Revolution for a full ten years at least. In retrospect, it was made out that this "conflict" and "contradiction" had been the most intense of any of the inner party struggles since the Party's inception in 1920 and that throughout the relevant period Hua had shown himself to be a "great and correct leader."

To show what the new dynasty had in store for the great Chinese people, an atomic bomb was exploded shortly after Hua had come to power and the radicals had been arrested. Another two have since been exploded; one of them being a hydrogen bomb. (US experts say that it is in the 4-megaton class). These explosions not only indicate that China has made fresh advances in nuclear technology (as was expected) but it also shows the influence and the strength of the military in the new governmental setup. In the old days, the accession of a new Emperor, or a new dynasty, was heralded by a display of fireworks. For countless centuries before the rest of the world woke up to the potential of gunpowder, China was the greatest maker of fireworks of the most intricate and spectacular kind. What the nuclear fireworks that have heralded the Hua dynasty portends is difficult to say, but man made nuclear explosions in Lop Nor and god-made earthquakes in the Peking-Tangshan area should make anyone sit up and think, including Mao who is reported to have said in his last months that he was ready to meet his God, and also join Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin in regions still unknown.

THE CHANGEOVER IN THE USA, from Ford to Carter is being done under the full blaze of the publicity that an open society like the USA thinks essential for the working of American democracy. The media is full of stories about the steps being taken by Carter to "prepare himself" for White House. Much publicity has been given to

the fact that he was briefed by the CIA chief, the FB chief and the Secretary of State (the redoubtable Kissinger who had been the special target of Carter's attacks). The point being made is that the "transition" is smooth—without earthquakes and nuclear explosions: that bitter confrontations, like Carter and Kissinger (and Ford), were shown as jointly singing the tune "he's a jolly good fellow" meaning Uncle Sam. and that now the elections were over, everyone had to pull together to make the USA richer, more powerful and more "immortal" than any country in the world so far.

There is no doubt that the American system works and has worked even after the travails of the Nixon era. The fact that the country was able to generate enough democratic power and vitality to overcome the suicidal potentialities of Watergate the Pentagon Papers, the Vietnam War and Nixon's White House is clear indication that the system can work. It is a two-party system based on the acceptance of capitalism and capitalist ideology by both parties. Third parties and non-capitalist parties do not fit into the system, and the USA is still rich enough to keep at bay socialist thinking and logic inside the country. What it would be like once its GNP is not enough to meet the consumerism of the mass of its populations is difficult to envisage.

In the meantime, the USA is determined to demonstrate that it is still top dog in the world (and there can be no doubt that it is although it has lost a lot of ground recently). It has vetoed Vietnam's application for UN membership: it has prevailed upon France not to sell plutonium producing plants to Pakistan and is threatening OPEC countries not to raise oil prices—at least not above 10%. While the world waits for the possible decisions of the OPEC countries, the conference in Geneva on Rhodesia has begun to drag. Whatever the decision—even if a formal decision is taken to transfer power to the black majority—the problem of Southern Africa cannot be solved without apartheid in South Africa being fully and completely liquidated. The Vorster government is seeking to perpetuate apartheid

through the device of surrounding itself with little bantustan states like the infamous Transkei—South Africa wants black labour for its prosperity—but this kind of rear-guard action will only put off Judgement Day which must come sooner or later.

In the Middle East, Israel is having a little breathing time while the Arabs resolve the problem of Lebanon and the militant Palestinians with Syria taking over Lebanon now under the full covering mantle of the Arab States and their Peace Force—with the full support of the pro-western Arab states like Saudi Arabia and Egypt and the sullen opposition of the pro-soviet states like Iraq, and independent maverick states like Libya. The central crux of the problem is Israel and its continued occupation of Arab territory. Sadat has repeatedly stressed, in recent weeks, that he was willing to sign a peace treaty with Israel ending the belligerency provided Israel withdrew from all occupied territory and co-operated in the setting up of a Palestinian State on the West bank and Gaza. Sadat was willing to guarantee full rights for Israeli ships in the Gulf of Aquaba, if necessary with UN supervision. But Israel seems slow to meet Sadat's offers. There seem to be too many powerful elements in Israel unwilling to withdraw from all occupied territory.

In this setting, many western observers have come to the conclusion that Sadat is preparing for war in 1977 or 1978. Reports have filtered to western papers that behind the closed doors of the recent Arab summit meetings, Sadat had indicated the need to resort to war to make Israel see sense. Many western commentators have tended to shrug off this talk as the usual rhetoric obligatory at such meetings. But other observers are inclined to think that the Arab heads had taken three major secret decisions at Riyadh and Cairo: and that at these meetings Lebanon, (contrary to press speculation), was only a minor item on the agenda as Sadat and Assad are believed to have worked out the basis of an agreement on Lebanon in advance of the Arab summit. The three key decisions are said to be: (a) the endorsement by the summit of the 1974 Arab conference decision

in Rabat that the PLO was the legitimate representative of the Palestinians in their struggle to reconquer occupied territories; (b) the agreement that in the event of a new Middle East war, the Arab armies would be placed under a joint command to be headed by Egypt's defence minister, General Gammasi: Egypt and Syria had agreed to form a bilateral military command under Gammasi immediately; (c) the agreement that all Arab states would take steps to increase their military potential including the acquisition of "unconventional weapons." It is in this context that the recent meetings between Soviet and Egyptian leaders must be viewed, and there is no doubt the new US President Carter will have to cope with the threat of another Middle East war early in his term of office.

IN SRI LANKA, the second reading of the budget was concluded on November 19. It was adopted by 91 to 1 with the entire Opposition walking out at division time. Government spokesmen sang the praises of the budget and with utter complacency repeated (to their own satisfaction) that the Budget would enable them to win the next general elections. The UNP attacked the Budget from its new stance of a leftist party (it called the budget one for the "mudalalis") and also from the conventional angle of capitalist budget-making in a developing country with a mixed economy. The LSSP did likewise. But the real postmortem on the Budget will come during the Committee stages of the Budget debate which has begun this week on November 23. It is when the vote of each Ministry and each department is taken up that the probe into the working of the administration is brought into sharp focus.

So far as the Finance Minister is concerned, it would appear that the Budget he presented and which he piloted through the NSA is only a transitional one awaiting the decision of the OPEC countries regarding oil prices. More than once he had stressed that all calculations, all estimates and all projections would change and must be changed to meet the economic situation that would arise with the new oil prices. In the meantime, the Minister glossed over the fact that tea and coconut production

has begun to decline steadily—far more sharply and acutely than could be accounted for by the drought—by claiming that the export earnings on these products were the same as before (this was because world prices had moved upwards slightly). The reality is that the Budget can be properly discussed only after the new OPEC oil prices and the modifications Minister Felix Dias Bandaranaike would be compelled to introduce at that stage.

The Prime Minister returned from her Southeast and Fareast journey on November 18. There is no doubt that it was a triumphal tour for her as head of the non-aligned movement. She had stressed the "middle path" policies of Sri Lanka and had extended support to the idea of the zone of peace and neutrality in Southeast Asia (even Japan now seems to be enamoured of this idea). Her trip to Japan may generate more aid and investment from that country: some of the aid has already been mentioned, but there are expectations of greater things to come.

It was not the Budget which the Prime Minister had to cope with on her return but the confrontation in the University and the growing student unrest. The LSSP, with its usual cocksureness, thought that it was opportune to assert its right to lead the "progressive" forces unilaterally and (in a hurry) called for a token one-day strike from the midnight of November 18 to protest against the police shooting on November 12. The LSSP miscalculated once again and the strike turned out to be a damp squib, because the SLFP and CP—which have sizable strength in the trade union sector in spite of LSSP wishful thinking—refused to co-operate in direct anti-government strike action at a time when the Government was willing to accede to the reasonable demands of the students and the university teachers after appointing a high-powered Commission to examine these matters.

The LSSP now wants to take the initiative for strike action from November 26, but the LSSP by itself (even with the tacit support of the UNP) cannot pull off any major mass action. The SLFP and CP unions now point out, quite correctly, that the LSSP should have consulted them before an-

nouncing the token strike, and behind this cover these unions seem happy to play down the matter so that the students and others concerned are compelled to forget the matter. The Government also seems to seek cover behind a smokescreen that unscrupulous and disgruntled political opponents of the government were seeking to exploit the situation. If this smokescreen is used to protect the guilty—not merely police officials but leading politicians and bureaucrats—behind the additional facade of a Commission then there will be more trouble for a long time.

As far as we can see, the Government will be well-advised, to remove (transfer, promote to high jobs elsewhere, etc. etc.) the Hon. Mr. Badiudin Mahmud, Minister of Education, Dr. P. Udagama,

Secretary to the Ministry of Education, Mr. R. Paskaralingam, Additional Secretary to the Ministry of Education, and a number of officials responsible for permitting the situation on the Peradeniya Campus and other campuses to deteriorate to the deplorable levels reached. Further, the Government must rescind the transitional provisions of the Act of 1972, end the transition period, and ensure a democratic machinery of university administration by implementing the elective principles enshrined in the general provisions of the Act, until fresh legislation can be promulgated in accordance with the wishes of all sections of the university community to replace the 1972 Act. Thirdly, the Government must amend the 1972 Act to enable the Peradeniya Campus to function as a separate University, or take immediate steps to con-

vert Senate House into University Grants Commission, with autonomy for each campus—until fresh legislation to repeal the single university structure is promulgated.

These are a few of the major matters the Government must adopt if the spreading student unrest is to be ended and also to prevent the present crisis situation developing to a yet more tragic denouement. If the Government does not wish to see a repetition of the sad events of November 12, early action must be taken to remove the causes of dissatisfaction. Tough-line speeches and strong arm statements, especially by police officials—"we will not tolerate indiscipline among students", (but, what about police indiscipline, corruption, inhumanity and brutality?)—will do more harm than good.

SRI LANKA CHRONICLE

Nov. 5 — Nov. 14

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; JD—Janadina.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 5: Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Finance, yesterday met top officials of foreign banks in the country which are not nationalised in their own countries and held discussions regarding the transitional arrangements in connection with implementing the Budget proposal to nationalise these banks: the Minister told the officials that the legislation for the takeover will be drafted on a top priority basis: the bankers indicated that they were in constant touch with their principals and that they would confer with the Minister once again on the subject—CDN. Mr. Lakshman Jayakody, Deputy Minister of Defence and External Affairs, said yesterday that Sri Lanka is spearheading a United Nations General Assembly Resolution on Disarmament and will call for a Special Session of the General Assembly before May 1978—CDN. The President Mr. William Gopallawa, and the Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, have sent messages of congratulation to Mr. Jimmy Carter, President elect of the United States of America—CDN. The reduced price of flour and bread became operative from yesterday while the extra quarter pound of sugar given on rations will be operative only from next month—CDM. Answering a question at yesterday's press conference Mr. Lakshman Jayakody, Deputy Minister of Defence and External Affairs, said that his Ministry did not recommend Prime Minister, Mrs.

Sirima Bandaranaike, for the Nobel Peace Prize for 1976—CDM. According to the *Aththa* the Government has decided not to pay back the provident funds of all new entrant government servants who joined after 1972: trade unions requested the government to pay these monies back to the employees after it was decided in the Budget in 1975 to absorb all new entrants of the government service to the pensions scheme. Following representations made by Mr. B. H. Bandara, MP for Badulla, to the Minister of Transport, Mr. K. B. Ratnayake, a foundation stone laying ceremony for a new bus stand in Badulla has been cancelled: according to Mr. Bandara the CTB authorities in Badulla did not inform him of the ceremonies planned in his electorate—LD. Following crop failures in Sri Lanka the Sri Lanka Tobacco Industries Corporation decided to purchase one million pounds of tobacco from India—LD. The Deputy Minister of Defence and External Affairs told the press conference at the Ministry yesterday that Sri Lanka will not interfere with the incident in which a Sri Lankan, Mr. K. Amirthalingam, has entered Britain and sought political asylum: Mr. Lakshman Jayakody further said since Mr. Amirthalingam has entered Britain with a forged Indian passport this is a matter between Britain and India—VK. Rs. 60 million has been allocated to the Ceylon Petroleum Corporation for oil exploration work: this sum is in addition to the sum allocated earlier—JD. The work-to-rule campaign launched by GMOA and the AMS continued without any signs of settlement—DM.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 6: Messrs Ceylon Oxygen Ltd, a private owned company of British Oxygen Co. Ltd, England, was yesterday vested in the Government under the Business Acquisition Act: in a statement the Ministry of Industries and Scientific Affairs said the company is the only firm in the country that manufactured oxygen but the production fell short of the demand and there had been frequent complaints from users—CDN. Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, left Sri Lanka yesterday for Malaysia:

on her way to Malaysia she called on the Singapore Prime Minister, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, and had discussions with him for half an hour on matters of mutual interest: in Malaysia she was met by Prime Minister Datuk Hussain Onn and Mrs. Onn at the airport in Kuala Lumpur: after inspecting a guard of honour she was taken in a state drive to the official guest house—CDN. Miss Chandrika Bandaranaike, Additional Director of Janawasas, will be appointed Chairman of the Janawasa Commission: she will be the first woman to head a commission—CDN. The Australian High Commission in Sri Lanka announced that Australia would give 7,750 tonnes of flour under the Food Aid Convention—CDN. Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Finance, in a broadcast to the nation explaining the background to the United Front's 7th budget said that if the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries increased the price of oil the increase in the prices of imported items will become inevitable: Mr. Bandaranaike further said that it was likely that the OPEC will increase the price of crude oil in December this year—CDM. The annual intake of the University will be increased by 35 per cent from next academic year and the necessary facilities for the increased intake is being made by the University—LD. Doctors of the GMOA and the AMS met yesterday to decide on future action: doctors later decided that until a few demands are met they would continue the work-to-rule: meanwhile Mrs. Siva Obeysekera, Minister of Health, decided not to have any discussions with the two Unions until they resort to normal working: it has been estimated that each patient admitted to the hospital costs the government Rs. 60 per day—LD. Mr. Maithripala Senanayake, Leader of the House and Minister of Irrigation, Power and Highways, yesterday took oaths before the President as Acting Prime Minister—JD.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 7: Mr. T. B. Illangaratne, Minister of Trade and Minister of Public Administration and Home Affairs told the *Virakesari* that the TULF can have cordial discussions with the Prime Minister and other Ministers to solve the problems facing the Tamil speaking community: he recalled how attempts were made to solve the problems facing the Tamil Government servants by the TULF through discussions with him—VK. Following opposition shown at the General Council meeting the proposal brought by Mr. M. Thiruchelvam Q.C., to change the name of the TULF into TLO and to make certain changes in the rising sun flag of the TULF, was postponed—VK. Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike and Malaysian Prime Minister, Mr. Datuk Hussein Onn had discussions in Kuala Lumpur on bilateral and international issues including the Non-aligned movement—CO. According to the *Observer*, Sri Lanka and the United States of America have initiated action to enter into a bilateral income tax treaty and this treaty is expected to prevent double taxation of US investments in Sri Lanka and vice versa and the earnings of Sri Lanka citizens in the USA and US citizens in Sri Lanka. The debate on the United Front Government's seventh Budget will begin next Tuesday—CO. According to the *Sunday Times* the University of Sri Lanka (Amendment) Bill which was introduced in the Parliament was indefinitely postponed owing to pressure by the Communist Party: Mr. Pieter Keunemena, Minister of Housing and Construction, and the General Secretary of the Communist Party is said to have had several meetings with Cabinet colleagues and top level educational and University sources. The Federa-

tion of Trade Unions of the Peradeniya Campus states that since attempts were being made to "sling mud at trade unions and student struggles" and two weeks have elapsed since a committee appointed by the Minister has submitted a report which stated that the President is not fit enough to hold the post no action has been taken to remove him from the Campus: the statement further said that the President has come out with some irresponsible statements to the press and has made a case for him to continue in his position—ST. An ultra modern 40 inch solar telescope costing about Rs. 4 million will be installed at the University—SM.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 8: Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, will start her 5-day goodwill tour to the Philippines today: she will be received at the Manila airport by President Marcos and other diplomats: Mrs. Bandaranaike yesterday had one-and-a-half hour talks with Malaysian Prime Minister, Mr. Datuk Hussain Onn, on a wide-range of matters of bilateral and international interest: Malaysian Minister of Home Affairs, Mr. Gazali Shafie, called on the Prime Minister and thanked her for permitting the plane carrying Malaysian and Japanese hostages to land at the Bandaranaike International Airport for refuelling, thereby helping the Malaysian Government out of a very difficult situation—CDN. The Government Press which was closed three weeks ago following clashes between rival factions will commence work soon: according to the Government Printer, Mr. L. W. P. Peries, technical and clerical employees of the Press will be informed by letters and telegrams the date they should report for work: however, everybody will not be called upon at the present juncture—CDN. Sri Lanka will receive 200,000 tons of flour from America under PL 480 for the year 1977: this quantity is said to be the highest for any year received by the country under the PL-480—The CDM. Government doctor's work-to-rule campaign enters its fifteenth day today without any signs of a settlement: meanwhile, medical students of the Peradeniya Medical Faculty will boycott lectures and clinics today as a support to the work-to-rule campaign launched by doctors belonging to the GMOA and the AMS—CDM & CDN. The Coconut Research Institute has said that following heavy droughts this year the coconut industry will be badly hit next year and the production will be much less—CDM. The Tamil United Liberation Front decided to place before the Tamil speaking people the proposal by Mr. M. Thiruchelvam, Q.C., who wanted the name TULF changed into TLO and to make the organisation a widespread political one: the proposal will be taken up once again by the TULF in January next year—VK. The *Aththa* in an editorial drew the attention of the Acting Prime Minister, Mr. Maithripala Senanayake, to the current work-to-rule campaign launched by doctors: the paper wanted the Acting Prime Minister to intervene and propose the appointment of a Ministerial Sub-committee to study the issue. Mr. Maithripala Senanayake, Acting Prime Minister, addressing a meeting in Medawachchiya said that the government will definitely hold elections and said he was sure that the present government will be returned to power once again—LD. The People's Bank will soon open a jewellery shop at Sea Street, Colombo, and will engage in jewellery business: Sea Street known as the headquarters of the gold business is dominated by non nationals.—DM. The *Janadina* in a lead story said it has received reports that the government is engaged

in secret talks with the Federal Party to seek the latter's support to postpone elections: the paper further said the Federal party has indicated to the Government that if the latter grants the demands of the FP it would give its support to the Government to postpone elections.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 9: Prime Minister Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike who arrived yesterday at Manila's International Airport was given a 21-gun salute and received by President Ferdinand Marcos, Mrs. Marcos, Cabinet Ministers and other DPLs: The plane in which she flew in was escorted by four Sabre jets of the air-force: a ceremonial guard-of-honour was also given to the visiting Premier and she was greeted at the airport by singing and dancing children: in his welcome address President Marcos described the Prime Minister as a distinguished visitor and champion of the Non-aligned Movement and the Third World: both leaders will hold talks on Thursday and Friday—CDN. The debate on the Budget presented by M. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Finance, will begin in the NSA today—CDN. According to the *Daily Mirror* the Central Bank has imposed a credit squeeze on the lending activities of commercial banks operating in the country: this action follows a decision taken by the Central Bank's Monetary Board which was of opinion that ceiling on loans given by the commercial banks for non essential purposes will curb the inflationary pressure. Mr. Anura Bandaranaike, Chief Organiser of the SLFP Youth Leagues, has said that the battle between the SLFP papers and the Communist Party paper, *Aththa*, should not in any way affect the relations between the USSR and Sri Lanka—CDM. The Bank of Ceylon has given Rs. 23 million credit facilities to Lake House: the credit facilities given by the Bank of Ceylon to the Times of Ceylon is Rs. 50,000—CDM. Mr. K. B. Ratnayake, Minister of Transport, Parliamentary Affairs and Sport, has sought Rs. 476 million from the Cabinet to improve the railway services during the next two to five years—CDM. The GMOA and the AMS in a letter to all their members said that the work-to-rule campaign launched by government doctors was an "unqualified success"—CDM. The importation of textiles announced by Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Finance, in the Budget will arrive in the country in January: these textiles will be imported mainly from Czechoslovakia, Poland and Romania—VK. *Veerakesari* quoting the pro-Government *Ada* said eight LSSPs will cross-over to the Government and this will give the majority required for the government to amend the Constitution to postpone the elections. *Aththa* in an editorial praised the government for taking action to take-over the Oxygen Co. Ltd., and said that there are so many other private organisations which require to be taken over in view of the needs of the country. Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwa, Minister of Agriculture and Lands, has taken action to decentralise the manufacture of fertiliser to help farmers obtain their supplies easily—DM. Mr. R. S. V. Poulter, a former civil servant, Senator and appointed MP, died after a brief illness at the age of 82—DM. According to the *Janadina*, *Reuter* has boycotted the news coverage of the Sri Lanka Prime Minister's present visit to eastern countries: the paper said for the last four days *Reuter* has not reported any news of her visit to Malaysia and the local papers depended on other sources for their coverage.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 10: At a meeting of the GMOA and the AMS held yesterday it was decided

that the present work-to-rule campaigns launched by government doctors should be extended to all hospitals in the island—CDM. At a state banquet in honour of Sri Lanka Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, Mr. Ferdinand Marcos, President of Philippines, praised Mrs. Bandaranaike for her international initiatives including the Indian Ocean Peace Zone proposal: in her reply the visiting Premier referred to President Marcos' initiative towards bringing about a new economic order: about 200,000 Filipinos turned out on the streets to greet the visiting Prime Minister during her state drive from Manila's international airport to the Malacanang Palace—CDN. Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, leader of the Opposition, who opened the Budget debate on behalf of the Opposition yesterday at the NSA said that according to the Constitution, if the present NSA is not dissolved earlier it will stand dissolved on 22nd May, 1977: Mr. T. B. Illangaratne, Minister of Trade and Minister of Home Affairs and Public Administration, told the NSA yesterday that the Constitution could be amended with a two-third-majority—CDN and CDM. Mr. Stanley Tillekeratne, Speaker of the National State Assembly, addressing a meeting in Nugegoda said that if the problems of the country are to be solved a government constituting the representatives of several parties should be formed or a national government should be formed—VK. Mr. Prins Gunasekera, MP for Habaraduwa, said in the NSA yesterday that the position of the Federal Party is still not known regarding the postponement of general elections—VK. During the last two months the Inland Revenue Department has collected nearly Rs. 2 million as taxes from tax evaders with the help of the tax court: since the establishment of this court several tax evaders are now rushing to pay the incometax for fear of prosecution—CDN. Dr. Colvin R. de Silva, MP for Agalawatte and former Minister of Constitutional Affairs told a meeting in Colombo that his party, the LSSP, will not join the UNP—ATH. Two Greek nationals who climbed a statue of Lord Buddha in the premises of the Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation to take photographs were taken into custody and remanded—LD.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 11: Saudi Arabia has contracted with the State Timber Corporation to buy the entire output: firm orders have also been placed for 50,000 doors and door frames valued at Rs. 32 million—CDN. The European Common Market has agreed to give 2.4 million dollars aid to Sri Lanka—CDN. About 2000 employees of the non-academic staff of the Peradeniya Campus of the University will launch a strike from today demanding the removal of the President of the Campus, Professor P. W. Vithanage: meanwhile Dr. Badiuddin Mahmud, Minister of Education, has decided to have Professor Vithanage as President of the Peradeniya Campus despite pressures from students and employees trade unions in the Campus that he should be removed from the post—CDN. The Five Judge Bench of the Supreme Court yesterday reserved its order on the applications of the Attorney General against the order of the High-Court-at-Bar which upheld a defence objection and ruled that the Emergency Regulations are not valid—CDN. Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, and President Marcos of Philippines yesterday held the first round of talks covering bilateral and international issues—CDN. Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, will inaugurate a tree-planting campaign on December 2 and every Ministry and Department which has contacts

with the people will be called upon to play an active role in this campaign—CDN. Dr. W. Dahanayake MP for Galle, speaking on the Budget debate yesterday at the NSA said arrangements should be made to conduct general elections in one day throughout the island—CDN. Pundit K. P. Ratnam, MP for Kayts, told the NSA yesterday that the Federal Party did not hold any secret discussion with the government to help the Government postpone elections in return to win its demands: he further said the Federal Party has passed the stage that it thought that it could get demands from the government by negotiating: he also said the Federal Party has now decided to launch struggles to win its demands—VK. Referring to the Budget proposals Pundit Ratnam said that the Tamils will never benefit by a Sinhala Budget and the Tamils will not be bothered whether "Ravana rules or Rama rules"—LD. According to the *Dinamina* President Marcos of Philippines pledged to supply Sri Lanka with its requirements of sugar: he has made this pledge at talks he held with Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike—DM. According to the *Aitha* the government is considering to do-away with certain aspects of the Emergency Regulations under which the country is being administered: the paper said there are also moves in certain sectors to persuade the government to make certain emergency laws permanent in order to make administration easy—ATH.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 12: Mr. C. Kumarasuriar, Minister of Posts and Telecommunications, yesterday appealed to the Opposition not to frighten the masses speaking about a postponement of general elections: he said that elections would be held when the law needs it—VK. Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama, Communist Party MP for Kalawana, speaking on the Budget debate in the NSA yesterday said the problems of the Tamil speaking people cannot remain unsolved: he further said as far as the Communist Party is concerned a self administration in the Eastern and Northern province within a united Sri Lanka is the best solution—VK. Following a strike by employees of the Campus, the Peradeniya Campus of the University was yesterday closed: according to reports reaching Colombo the authorities closed the Campus owing to the inability to supply food to the residential student population—VK. Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, will leave for Japan today on the conclusion of her Philippines tour: she is expected to be in Japan for six days—VK. According to the *Daily News* national newspapers in Japan have given wide coverage of the tour of the Sri Lanka Prime Minister. The UK and Europe branch of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party has requested the Prime Minister to probe the activities of Air Ceylon: the branches in a letter to the Prime Minister wanted a commission appointed to probe the constitution and formation of an Air Ceylon subsidiary in London—CDN. The Government has planned to spend Rs. 3,796 million during the next six years on 20 massive irrigation projects with the help of foreign aid: the IDA, Britain, US, Japan, Netherlands, FRG, China and Asian Development Bank will provide the necessary finance for these massive projects—CDN. In a joint communique issued by the Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, and President Marcos of Philippines it was announced that an Asian Forum where the nations of the region could sort out common problems should be established: in an interview to the press the visiting Prime Minister urged the big powers to pull out of the Indian Ocean

and implement the UN resolution to make it a zone of peace—CDN. On a recommendation by the Minister of Health the Government has decided to introduce legislation requiring all employers to provide occupational health services at work places: under the proposed legislation small work places will be allowed to join other similar places to form themselves in a group for the purpose—CDN. The GMOA and the AMS has intensified their work-to-rule campaign by extending it to 32 district hospitals—CDM. The Students Council of the Peradeniya Campus in a statement to the Press has condemned the action of the authorities to close the Campus: the statement says that the problems cannot be solved by closing the Campus whenever there is a dispute in the Campus—ATH. According to the *Janadina* Prime Minister, Mrs. Bandaranaike, will contest the Dompe electorate at the next general elections and Mr. Anura Bandaranaike, Chief Organiser of the SLFP Youth Leagues will contest the Attanagalle seat: Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, MP for Dompe, will contest the Biyagama seat and Dr. Badiuddin Mahmud, Minister of Education will contest the Batticaloa seat.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 13: One undergraduate was killed and 53 undergraduates have been hospitalised following a shooting incident at the Peradeniya Campus yesterday: according to reports reaching Colombo, Police was called into the Campus when the students became restive: Police baton-charged the students, teargased and later opened fire to bring the situation under control: the Acting Prime Minister, Mr. Maithripala Senanayake who visited the Campus yesterday appointed Messrs Hector Kobbekaduwa, Minister of Agriculture and Lands and Pieter Keuneman, Minister of Housing and Construction to visit the Campus and assess the situation there: the Ministers were asked to submit a report to the Cabinet today on the incidents in the Campus: Mr. Lakshman Jayakody, Acting Minister of Defence and Foreign Affairs, told the NSA yesterday that it was a matter of great sorrow to the Government: yesterday, soon after the trouble broke out Dr. Badiuddin Mahmud, Minister of Education, appointed Dr. K. H. Jayasinghe, a senior lecturer in Political Science, to be Competent Authority for the affairs of the Campus: he will replace professor Vithanage President of the Campus: the student who died in the shooting is identified as W. M. Weerasuriya, of Uhumiya, Kurunegala: among the others injured and hospitalised 21 were girls: Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, Leader of the Opposition, yesterday speaking on behalf of the entire Opposition said that according to reports received by him several students have been killed: he further said the students who wanted the travelling allowance to return home after the closure of the Campus stormed the Senate office when the money was not paid to them and to bring the situation under control the Police opened fire: he demanded that the Government should inform the House all that had taken place in the Campus—CDN, CDM, VK, ATH, JD, LD & DM. The International Monetary Fund has granted Rs. 125 million Special Rights to Sri Lanka in order to cover the shortfall in export earnings experienced by the country since July '75 in her three major exports of tea, rubber and coconut—CDN. The Philippines *Evening Express* described the four-day visit Sri Lanka Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, as "fruitful and beneficial" both to her country and Philippines—CDN.

According to the Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, was accorded a big welcome in Tokyo airport when she reached there at 1.30 p.m. yesterday: Japanese papers carried special supplements to mark the visit of the Prime Minister—VK. Minister of Agriculture and Lands has drawn up a program to provide special loans to farmers whose crops failed during the last Yala season: the farmers will be able to utilise these special loans for the coming Maha season despite failure to repay their earlier loan for the Yala season—DM. Mr. Justice G. T. Samarawickrema took his oaths yesterday as Acting Chief Justice: the Chief Justice Mr. Victor Tennekoon is indisposed—DM. Mr. Anura Bandaranaike, Chief Organiser of the SLFP Youth League, in a statement to the press regarding the Peradeniya Campus incidents demanded the resignations of educational big-wigs in Malay Street and Peradeniya who allowed the Campus situation to deteriorate—CDM. The *Aththa* in an editorial criticised the Education Minister Dr Badiuddin Mahmud for not implementing his own committee's report that the President of the Peradeniya Campus should be removed: the paper said either he acted on his own or yielded to pressure and allowed the President to continue in his post resulting in the unfortunate incidents in the campus.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 14: The *Sunday Times* describing the day before yesterday as "black" Friday owing to incidents at the Peradeniya Campus said the Cabinet will meet in emergency session today to study the reports of Messrs Kobbekaduwa and Pieter Keuneman, the two Ministers who visited the Campus and Kandy hospital to assess the situation: the Acting Prime Minister, Mr. Maithripala Senanayake, too visited the Kandy Hospital last night and spoke to the hospital staff and the students admitted: he also spoke to Dr. Benjamin, a senior surgeon of the hospital, who told him that there is a discrepancy between the number admitted and the OPD records: according to the records only 40 have been admitted whereas 58 have been actually admitted to the hospital: yesterday 20 were discharged: the condition of two students are said to be critical: All students have been evacuated from the Campus and Police personnel pulled out: all appeared to be quite in the Campus yesterday evening President of the Students' Council told the *Sunday Times* yesterday there seemed to be a conspiracy behind the Campus incident and use of firearms: the Federation of University teachers, representing all six campuses, has called for a day of mourning by teachers, students and workers over the Peradeniya incidents: The LSSP has called for a commission of inquiry with its panel chosen in consultation with the Opposition to probe the Peradeniya incident—ST.. The Employees of the Peradeniya Campus decided to continue the strike until the President of the Campus Professor Vithanage is officially removed—ATH. According to the *Observer* the possibility of accidental introduction of the dreaded rubber disease South American Leaf Blight (SALB) to Sri Lanka, has alarmingly increased: scientists at the Rubber Research Institute have warned that this possibility is "quite real" now and if the disease spreads it can wipe out the country's rubber plantations within a matter of weeks. At a magnificent arrival ceremony Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, was officially welcomed by Prime Minister Takeo Miki of Japan and other Cabinet Ministers the arrival ceremony was held in Akasaka Palace: Mrs.

Bandaranaike will leave for Colombo on Thursday—CO. Sri Lanka yesterday received its first loan, three million sterling, from Abu Dhabi to finance the expansion of its fishing fleet: the loan was given by the Abu Dhabi Fund for Arab Economic Development and is to be repaid over a period of 11 years at 4.5 per cent: the loan was signed yesterday on behalf of Sri Lanka by Mr. M. S. Alifin Abu Dhabi—CO. According to the *Virakesari* Mr. B. Y. Tudawe, Deputy Minister of Education, has said that the government is considering the payment of compensation to the family of the student who died in the shooting incident at Peradeniya—VK.

INTERNATIONAL DIARY

Nov. 5 – Nov. 12

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 5: Mrs. Chiang, wife of former Chairman Mao Tse-tung and three other radicals now detained by the government will be put on trial for plotting to overthrow the government, a Chinese spokesman said: the spokesman who told a Finnish delegation about the proposed trial admitted the "gang of four" is now under house arrest. Prime Minister Ian Smith of Rhodesia returned to Salisbury on Thursday from Geneva expressing frustration over the lack of progress in the talks there and appealing to British Chairman, Ivor Richard to take a firmer grip on the conference: on arrival he told reporters ".....there is not much organisation there, they talk about everything except what they are supposed to talk about....." Malaysian Police arrested and kept in detention six politicians under the internal security act: two of them were former deputy ministers, three were opposition members and the other was an official of the ruling coalition party. In border clashes between Rhodesian forces and Mozambique civilians 18 civilians were killed and 80 were seriously injured: the Rhodesian forces are said to have machine gunned a train halted in the station and running amok across the streets machine gunning civilians: Rhodesia admitted that its troops entered Mozambique last week stating that the move was designed to stall an offensive by about 1700 African nationalist guerillas based there. The World Bank has granted a loan of 32 million dollars to Indonesia for developing a port in Jakarta. World Bank President Robert McNamara arrived in Bangladesh from Burma for talks with Bangladesh leaders on future prospects of World Bank aid. The British pound continued its upward trend of the last few days in early deals on foreign exchange markets: at one stage it stood at just over 1.61 US dollars.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 6: The Soviet Union commenting on the victory of Jimmy Carter said Moscow and Washington can come to an economic approach acceptable to both sides on the most important questions of their bi-lateral relations and to the settlement of the most important international problems: China still did not make any comment on the victory of Jimmy Carter: In Cuba, the impression was that Carter has become accepted in some way, but for all that nothing spectacular is expected of him either: Mr. Carter was busy planning the new Demo-

cratic administration he will take over on January 20 next year: Mr. Gerald Ford commenting on the results of the Presidential elections said that he would give his fullest co-operation to the Carter administration to solve the problems facing the US public. Britain suggested at the Geneva conference on Rhodesia that Rhodesia get legal independence based on majority rule on March 1, 1978: the British delegation expressed that all the constitutional progress to make Rhodesia independent could be completed by the target it proposed: the African delegations to the conference have suggested that transfer of black majority rule could be made in about 10 months time, that is by September next year: meanwhile the delegation left behind by Rhodesian Prime Minister, Ian Smith, has suggested 23 months for the transfer of power. The Australian Government directed Ministers and MPs not to attend the Soviet National Day celebrations in Canberra: according to sources the move followed the non-attendance by Eastern bloc diplomats at an arrival ceremony and banquet for the Australian Prime Minister, Malcolm Fraser, during a visit to China early this year. Japanese Deputy Prime Minister, Takeo Fukuda resigned his post: he was critical of the administration of Prime Minister Takeo Miki: the general elections in Japan are scheduled for December 15. British Prime Minister, James Callaghan, said his government would continue despite a hammering in three Parliamentary by-elections: the ruling Labour Party lost in two of the three by elections to the Conservatives: the two electorates where the Labour lost were supposed to be strongholds of the Labour government.

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 7: Egyptian Prime Minister Mamdouh Salem's Centrist Group is reported to be heading for a comfortable majority in elections throughout the country; results so far announced indicate that he has won 176 seats out of a 350. Few signs of progress have been seen in the Geneva conference on the future of Rhodesia when the conference broke up for the weekend: however, Rhodesian Prime Minister, Ian Smith, indicated in Salisbury there is still a chance for the conference to succeed. The United Nations General Assembly strongly condemned the nuclear and military collaboration which it said existed between the "racist minority regime of South Africa" and Britain, France, West Germany, Israel and the United States: the Assembly voted 93 with nine against and 19 abstentions and called on all governments particularly the five countries to refrain from extending facilities enabling South Africa to produce uranium, plutonium and other nuclear materials, reactors or military equipment. Syria keep 20,000 of its troops under the command of President Elias Sarkis of Lebanon as part of the Arab peace keeping force: Syria's action meant providing for two-thirds of the intended peace keeping force of 30,000. In the Presidential elections in America President elect Jimmy Carter has won 51 per cent of the votes while Ford won 48 per cent: final unofficial accounts said the new President elect Jimmy Carter has polled 40,291,626 and Ford 38,563,980 votes: the remaining one per cent has been won by independent candidates. According to a broadcast by the BBC the Chinese authorities have said that they would treat the wife of former Chairman Mao Tse-tung and three other radicals arrested with her leniently and will not execute them provided they confessed. Ninety Russian holiday makers were killed in an air crash over the

Black Sea. US Secretary of State, Dr. Henry Kissinger, said he would be sending Mr. Charles Dick, an expert on African Affairs, to the Geneva conference to solve the crisis: meanwhile, the President of Tanzania, Zambia and Mozambique will meet in Tanzania to discuss the crisis in Geneva over the future of Rhodesia.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 8: According to the assessment of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-aligned movement, the Non-aligned countries have the initiative at the 31st session of the United Nations General Assembly on most of the basic issues on which work is proceeding. Algerian President, Houari Boumediene, announced yesterday that the eight million voters of his country will be called upon to vote in a referendum on a new Constitution on November 19. The Iraqi News Agency said yesterday that Israeli gunboats had hijacked a Greek freighter, Minerva, on Friday while on its way to South Lebanon. At the United Nations Economic Commission meeting held last week, Cuba accused America of using physical and chemical means to modify the clouds near Cuba for the purpose of affecting the system and thus sabotaging the island's sugar production. The British Chairman on the Rhodesian Conference now being held in Geneva yesterday had private discussions with black African national leaders to ease the two-week old negotiations out of stalemate, but reports indicate little progress has been made. Syria yesterday released 38 Palestinian Liberation Organisation prisoners at the truce line in Lebanon. World Bank President, Robert McNamara, who is on a current visit to India visited the slums in Calcutta yesterday: Mr. McNamara said India faced a bright economic future and that its increase in food grain production, exports and foreign reserve was a "dramatic reflection of the people's and Government's will for self reliance." At a hunting tour for diplomats in Yugoslavia the French Ambassador to Yugoslavia, Mr. M. Pierre Sebilleau, was accidentally shot and killed by a shot fired from the gun of Australian Ambassador to Yugoslavia, Mr. Alexander Otto. The New China News Agency reported yesterday that China's two-way trade with the Third World developing nations has trebled since 1970: no figures were given by the Agency but said China is now engaged in trade with more than 120 Third World developing nations.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 9: Another major earthquake hit China's Yunnan province yesterday: no casualties were reported: at least 100,000 people were believed to be killed in the major earthquake that hit China last July. Reports from Maputo said the Mozambique army has regained control of all three provinces invaded by Rhodesian forces last week: the Mozambique News Agency said ten Mozambique citizens were killed during the last week in fights between the Mozambique army and the Rhodesian forces. In Boston, America's only black Senator, Republican Edward Brooke, predicted that President-elect Jimmy Carter will appoint more blacks to the Cabinet and other top governmental posts than any other former Presidents of America: in an interview to the *US News and World Report* President-elect, Jimmy Carter, said that he planned to include Republicans in his government and to seek advice from Republican leaders both in Congress and the business world: he said the republican Party continues to reflect the political views of millions of Americans and "I expect to include the

Republicans in my administration". Lebanese President, Elias Sarkis called, upon the Lebanese to lay down arms and to accept the 30,000 strong Arab security force. Mr. M. Vaidilingam, a former private secretary of the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, testifying before the government appointed Sarkaria Commission said that he has on two occasions in 1970 and 1971 handed to Mr. Karunanidhi "bundles of currency" being the "off the record commission" paid by sugar mills in Tamil Nadu for permission to sell levy sugar in the free market. The Supreme Court Prosecutor in Madrid said five officials including two air force officers have received 650,000 sterling from the American Lockheed Corporation for the sale of aircraft to Spain: but it was told in court that the pay-off has not been considered as bribery. A semi-official Abu Dhabi newspaper *Al-Ittihad* called upon the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting countries to raise the price of oil to cope with what it described as a three-fold increase in the price of imported industrial products.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 10: Mr. Ivor Richard, the British Chairman of the Geneva Conference on Rhodesia, left for London yesterday to report to his government on the deadlocked meeting: delegates participating in the conference could not unanimously agree on a date for independence for Rhodesia: on the eve of his departure Mr. Richards said though some progress has been made and they have reached a stage where there are difficulties for further talks. According to *Reuters* only one month after he took over the post of Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party a personality cult is being built around Chairman Hua-Kuo-feng: official newspapers laud him as the "wise leader", poets and song-writers sing his praises and his coloured portraits appear increasingly alongside the late leader Mao Tse-tung. Addressing a meeting of the Special Political Committee of the United Nations General Assembly Mr. Romesh Chandra, Secretary General of the World Council of Peace, said that the present situation in South Africa is a big threat to international peace and security. Three Arab youths who attacked the Syrian Embassy in Rome in an effort to abduct the Syrian Ambassador to Italy were each sentenced to 15 years jail by a court in Rome. The Mozambique Information Agency reported that behind-the-stage activities are going on initiated by the American Central Intelligence Agency to instal a pro-western Government in Rhodesia: the agency further said top-ranking officials of the CIA have visited the country since April this year for this purpose. The Federal Labour Office in Nuremberg reported that over 2 million people are unemployed in West Germany: this figure represents 4.1 per cent of the total labour force: the figure in September stood at 3.9 per cent. Saudi Arabia has pledged financial support to the UNESCO to meet the latter's international commitments. A Swiss Professor of Sociology has written a book on his country's role in the economic plunder of the Third World and its attacks on the stability of European economics.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 11: The United Nations General Assembly for the first time yesterday directly endorsed armed struggle as a legitimate weapon in the hands of what it termed the oppressed people of South Africa. The British pound increased by 1.20 cents against the American dollar yesterday. In Lebanon Rightists attacked Leftist-held provinces of Western Beirut as the Syrian forces moved in to take positions

as Arab Peace keeping forces: according to reports at least two people were killed and several injured in the attack. Yesterday for the third time Vietnam made an application before the United Nations Security Council for membership to the General Assembly: twice earlier America vetoed the application and yesterday too the US attitude remained unchanged. Black African national leaders refused a proposal by British Chairman of the Conference on Rhodesia that Rhodesia should get legal independence within 15 months: the black leaders wanted to reduce the period to 12 months: meanwhile Rhodesia wanted it to be made 23 months: Mr. Ivor Richard, British Chairman of the Conference, yesterday met the leaders of both sides and had private discussions in an effort to pull the conference out of the stalemate it has reached. French Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Pierre Christian Taubinger, said yesterday that France will not sell any more nuclear reactors to South Africa after the sale of the two reactors for which South Africa has already placed an order with France. Palestinian Commander Yasser Arafat, said in Cairo yesterday that the leaders of Egypt and Libya have agreed for meditation efforts between the two countries: he further said that the reconciliation meeting will be held in Cairo before the end of the month. The Israeli Parliament met yesterday to have talks on a wave of labour unrest in the country following demands for higher wages: opposition parties accused the government of losing control of the economic situation. Dr. Patrick Hillery was declared President-elect of the Irish Republic.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 12: Indian Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi supported appeals by members of her Congress Party for reform of the country's legal system to bring justice within the reach of all people: she said that if the ordinary masses are not benefitted by the legal system then little by little they lose respect for it. Peace returned to war-battered suburbs of Lebanon's capital, Beirut, as Syrian peace-keeping forces took up positions acting under the Arab-League peace-keeping mandate. Britain's Labour Government was defeated in the Parliament yesterday on two amendments to one of its key Socialist Bills: when the results were announced Opposition Members demanded and shouted at the government MPs to resign. British Chairman of the Geneva Conference on Rhodesia returned to the conference yesterday after a 24 hour visit to London where he met Prime Minister, Mr. James Callaghan, and Foreign Secretary, Anthony Crosland: white and black negotiators at the conference once again could not reach accord on a date for legal independence to the former British colony. President Anwar Sadat of Egypt said yesterday that he would soon resume talks with the Soviet Union but will not allow outside force to interfere in the discussions: President Sadat said "whether it be USSR or the US if they want to deal with Egypt they should take up as we are and the United States had fulfilled this principle". Twenty-nine Arab and African countries have submitted a draft resolution to the UNESCO General Conference now being held in Nairobi condemning Israel for its activities in areas occupied after the 1967 Mid-East war. A French Foreign Ministry spokesman said that France stood by its earlier pledge to sell Pakistan a 150 million dollar nuclear fuel reprocessing plant despite newspaper reports that France would not mind if Pakistan Councils its order.

NATIONAL DAY November 29

Yugoslav's Federalism

—Equal Sovereign Rights to Federal Units: Self-management, The Basis of Social System—

by Teodor Olic

EVERY YEAR during the festive days marking Yugoslavia's National Holiday, the Day of the Republic, 31 November, the Yugoslavs balance their social, political and economic development for the past year's time. Now the November holidays coincide with the ending of a significant social and political drive begun last April: the passing of the law on Associated Labour. The nation-wide discussions of the law reaffirmed the full and undivided adherence of the Yugoslavs to their system of socialist self-management. Self-management has become, in all spheres of life, the reality without which one could not think of life in Yugoslavia and her socio-political constitution. In life and practical developments, the system of self-management relations has become deeply set and has enjoyed plebiscite support by all the working people, thus at the same time offering the surest guarantee for the stability and security of the system itself.

Being a country of several peoples and nationalities, new Yugoslavia raised the question of national equality as a first-rate priority task still at the time of the People's Liberation War and the Revolution. Under the flag of national equality, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia led by Josip Broz Tito began and carried out the Revolution, unifying and getting together all the peoples and nationalities first in the struggle against the invaders and then in the fight for changed social relations. This is one of the biggest accomplishments of the Revolution that has during the three decades of socialist development been closely respected as well as constantly developed and improved abreast with the country's political, social and economic progress.

National equality has been established as the dominant category

in all the chapters of the Constitution and has fully and most consistently been implemented. It turned this country into one of the world's most homogeneous and stable multinational communities. Thanks to the full respect of the national characteristics and the warranted right to the nation's own life and growth, the differences between peoples and nationalities have become the harmonious links in their own right, allowing for no gulf to divide them.

THE FULLEST EXPRESSION for national equality was found within the complete sovereignty of Yugoslavia's constituent republics. The Yugoslav Constitution provides for the Republics as States based on sovereignty of people and the authority and self-management of the working class and all working people. Relations between them rest upon the full equality and equal rights and responsibilities for the functioning of the Federal Community. The Republics shall settle all their matters through consensus and may not resort to outvoting.

Based upon such principles, Yugoslavia's federalism is unique in the world. For the conditions as they are in this country this model gives the best answers to all the issues stemming from the relations between a number of peoples and nationalities and has become a strong cohesive and unifying means for the consolidation and development of the state community.

Guided by the principle that the Republics are sovereign states which agree to delegate only part of their rights to the Federation, the Yugoslav model of federalism also presumes the full responsibility and care of each federal member for the functioning of the Federation. As soon as the guaranteed rights of the Republics are put to practice, the Republics, with increased responsibility, take over the fulfilment of their obligations within the Federal Community. The strength of Yugoslav federalism and the firmness of the Yugoslav Federal Community are to be found in the fact that togetherness derives from the sovereign right of each federal member, instead of setting up the rights of federal members at the federal level.

The idea of the common and general interests within the Fede-

ral Community is defined in the Constitution. They are the sovereignty of the country as a whole, national freedom, independence, territorial integrity, security, relations with other countries and international organizations, system of social self-management, socio-economic relations, foundation of the political system, human and civil rights and freedoms, coordination of the general economic and social development, and other common interests.

It must be emphasized that the common interests are realized by the Republics and Provinces always actively and not passively. They do not delegate part of their sovereignty to the federal bodies that would then act autonomously, but in every instance and actively they operate as part of the federal mechanism. A review of the practical implementation of these principles follows.

THE SUPREME BODY of authority and body of social self-management in Yugoslavia is the Assembly of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Formed upon the delegation principle (which is an essentially new principle in the Yugoslav system that represents the complete denial of the conventional system of bourgeois parliamentarism), the Assembly of the SFR of Yugoslavia settles or supervises all the social or state affairs within the Federation. It is set up upon the strict parity principle between the Republics and Provinces.

The Assembly has two councils that operate autonomously, upon the so-called unicameral principle. On one hand, the Federal Council, with its 220 members (30 from each of the six Republics and 20 from each of the two Provinces) settles all relations that fall within the competence of the Federation. These are principally the national defences, foreign affairs and international relations, basic internal policies, the work of the federal bodies of administration, etc. The parity of the number of members on the Council also reveals that the Council acts (although not directly) on the basis of equal participation of all the members of the Federal Community.

On the other hand, the Council of Republics and Provinces with its total number of 88 delegates (each Republican delegation num-

bers 12 and the Provincial 8 members) settles all relations that are in the domain of the sovereign rights of Republics and Provinces but which, in the interest of togetherness, should be regulated jointly. Here belong the development policies (planning), the current economic policies, money and crediting, economic relations with other countries, or, in a nutshell, all those matters relating economic and financial development. Every legal act of the Council must obtain previous confirmation by the Republican or Provincial Assembly. Should only one Republic or Province choose to withhold its approval, the legal act in question is removed from the agenda and the procedure repeated until the unanimous solution is reached to the content of all members.

This system of accord requires a very large amount of tolerance, patience, admission of the interests of others and of the differences involved, but it certainly leads to the ultimate goal—the achievement of the best possible accord that is acceptable to all. The absence of any, even theoretical possibility to subjugate the material development or interests of any member of the Federation to the interests of some other members or some vague general interests makes this Federation model the best acceptable form of togetherness for all the members.

THE PRESIDENCY of the SFR of Yugoslavia, as the collective head of state (set up in 1971) also coordinates the common interests of the Republics and Provinces in keeping with their rights, duties and responsibilities for the functioning of the Federation. The Presidency has a total of 9 members, or one from each of the Republics and Provinces (8 members) and the President of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. Members are elected to five-year terms by secret ballot at the assemblies of the Republics and Provinces, and the Assembly of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia only verifies the elections.

From among the ranks of the Presidency members, the President and the Vice-President of the Republic are elected. The new Constitution authorizes the Assembly of the SFR of Yugoslavia to elect Josip Broz Tito as President of the Republic without limiting his

mandate because of his historical role in the People's Liberation War and the Revolution and in the development of the Yugoslav self-managing socialist society. The Vice-President of the Republic otherwise is elected to one-year periods, according to the order established by the Presidency rules of procedure.

The Federal Executive Council (government) and all the other bodies and organizations of the Federation are entirely founded upon the general principles of federalism. Their Composition (al ways on the parity basis of the Republics and Provinces), their work, rights and duties must be in harmony with the basic principles of socialist self-managing relations within the community and in keeping with the full equality of rights of the Republics and Provinces in the exercise of the Federation's functions. This is how all the institutions of the Yugoslav Federal Community rely upon the secure foundation of the socialist self-managing social system and non-aligned policy in international relations. Thus the system and the policy, stemming from the very basis of the society, are the best guarantees for the Yugoslavs that their country will continue to develop successfully also in the future.

LETTER

● Minister Ratnayake

Sir,

Without making any comments on Mr. R. Kahawita's article which appeared in your issue of 9.10.76 let me please be permitted to bring to his and your readers' notice how the Sinhala people, as a race, have become and are becoming a race of racialist and discriminators of the worst type by citing a recent incident.

On 8.10.76 (vide *Virakesari*, 12/10/76) the Honourable Mr. K. B. Ratnayake, Minister of Transport and Chief Government Whip and Minister of Parliamentary Affairs and Sports, declared open the newly built bus stand at Puttalam where only a few months ago the Sinhala people and the police attacked the Muslims and caused deaths about which I need not say further here.

The Minister who declared open the bus stand had exhorted the people assembled there, Sinhalese, Muslims, Tamils and others, to forget about the past and the recent happenings and to give their co-operation to create a united and peaceful nation. Fine words, no doubt, but a hollow one. For, it was left to Muslim, Mr. S. M. M. Ibune, Chairman of the local body, to point out to him and to ask him whether it is by excluding the Tamil language and imposing Sinhala only in the name boards, sign boards and other boards in the bus stand which he had just declared open that he expects the people to forget the past and to co-operate. A brave speech it was.

Mr. Ratnayake, apart from being a responsible Minister holding several portfolios, is a person who had had his education in Jaffna and had lived and intermingled with them and speaks Tamil with a flawless accent that many a Tamil, including some Members of Parliament, would be jealous of.

Yet he could not see the discrimination, the injustice, that had been done by the department functioning under him but wanted the Tamil-speaking people to forget the past, the gruesome happenings of a few months ago, and give him and his government and his people the co-operation to build a united and peaceful nation, which means that the Tamil-speaking people should not merely forget the past but should forget their rights and even themselves so that the Sinhala people can have their language, their privileges and comforts and ride on the backs of the Tamil-speaking people.

Sir, as a Tamil, I now do not get angry or annoyed at the speeches and doings of the Sinhala people. I only feel pity for them—for their degeneration as a race blind to the other people's rights, aspirations, inconvenience and sufferings, and trying to out-beat the South African whites.

It is not that the Tamil-speaking people should forget the past but that we should forgive the Sinhalese for they know not what they are doing.

ARUL

Colombo 13.

Building Again

By Herbert Keuneman

Well, almost building: precisely, getting completely set to build. Having learned my lesson from the terrible original experience (when this house was first coming up) when to co-ordinate a single day's actual building operations of supply and labour required the expenditure of more energy than it would have taken to lift a ton of bricks! No more of that: this time everything—but everything—shall be ready, so that when building actually starts all will fall into place *sata-pata* as Jayawardana Baas onomatopoeically and reassuringly, but idly, used to promise. This time *sata-pata* shall be the watchword.

See II!

It is a reckless statement but I wish I had this house to build from scratch again: there is so much I would change, after four years' refreshed experience of Ehetuwewa conditions; and that although I thought I had studied and made provision for every problem, basing my plans upon what I remembered from a four years' previous stay. The trouble is, what would ideally suit a house on one site simply does not fit a house on another, though under the same climatic circumstances. And, of course, there was nothing I could do or can do now about the basic disadvantage of this site: its facing west. West-facing houses are just not for Ceylon; nothing is more irritating than the blaze of a westerning sun. A deep verandah would cut the heat and glare, but it would also cut the view; and if you sit in the verandah for the view you are back in the heat and glare!

I suppose this is largely the sort of problem you hire architects to solve for you. And yet, I don't know. I think of a Colombo house designed by an architect who claimed to be a pupil or admirer or something of Le Corbusier, no less; yet when the Southwest Monsoon blew the rain beat into that living-room (and several other rooms, I shouldn't be surprised) as though the rooms had been planned for the purpose. The architect when bitterly apprised of this embarrassment said

only, and surely a little irrelevantly? that a house was A Machine For Living In: and out of sheer generosity and largeness of heart gifted the owner of this machine with the free installation of several drain-holes in the walls through which to sweep the water out and a rubber squeegee with which to do it. A certain west-coast hotel I know has exterior walls generously faced with varnished wood: it looked magnificent new, but by every sign it is going to need frequent replacement as it grows old; and now that Yacht Varnish is not to be had and the only substitute available is an 'as good' local one and what with timber in such short supply and at such prices.. And the number of 'architect'-designed houses I am aware of where doors and window shutters have no empty wall-space against which to open or the only electrical outlets in a room are so placed that any lead to a conveniently sited appliance must trail across a passage way! It is true I made a very bad bloomer when I used 8"X3" beams for the 16'-span joints supporting my upper floor instead of the 2"X11" ones I should have had to wait another three months to have 'converted' by my State Timber Depot, so that the floor springs like a diving-board when anyone treads heavily upon it; but most of the rest of my troubles spring from my house's westward-facing outlook (say, if you like, that that's symbolical!) Maybe I haven't done egregiously, after all?

My new spasm of building activity is concerned with getting my downstairs room complete—a project long deferred because I wanted it to be a room in a thousand but had neither the money nor the peace of mind to devote to it when I was first a-building—for Banders when here, and Dinga and Nilu the baby and her baby-sitter to occupy. I believe I relate when I was first accounting those far-off things and my long-ago battles to get this house up how I was cursed by one of my *baases* to whom I had refused to pay the full price for a shockingly sub-standard bit of work—he was making door-and window-frames at Rs. 12 each and I paid him 10, seeing that the mortise-&-tenoning was execrable—and the gist of the curse was that the house should never be finished.

It was a safe curse to make, for of course a real house is never finished: ever after you move in you keep finding things you could have done or should have done or might do better and nothing but pusillanimity keeps you from doing them as they present themselves. Pusillanimity, or just plain cashlessness! With me, it has been the latter. But now I have sold something and am going to town on my realized capital! (Nevertheless, as frugal-mindedly as John Gilpin on a more literal townward excursion ever questioned a bill at the Bell!)

I had intended, in my first design, to make this room a guestroom. An open curtained archway from a little loggia led into it on one side, an unshuttered doorway out of it into the house on another, and two half-walled archways formed windows opening out onto the garden. Just for privacy's sake a screen of wickerwork—that wonderful basketry like a wattle fence which the village uses as core of its mud-daub paddy bins—would make one wall, allowing all the supplementary ventilation anyone could desire, and leave a 4' corridor from the back-door (which could just as well be called the front door since it opened on the view, like what was indeed the front of the upstairs part of the house) to the loggia. Inside, a great *magala*, one of those huge mats used for drying paddy, but this one not plain but especially woven in *kalala* designs and colours, framed and spread across the basketwork, would form a headpiece for the beds and serve to keep away draughts. At the arched 'windows' double-width reed matting hung selvedge-wise would make practical curtaining that would not blow with every breeze. Seeing that the room would only be occupied when guests were actually in residence, all the emphasis was on coolness, privacy and 'folk' elegance. The only concession to security was a very strong cupboard with a good lock where guests could place their valuables. Diamond tiaras they were not expected to have.

But it became a different matter when I decided that the guests I had counted on being so few in fact and far between—I tell myself that the pace, now, of Colombo life and the cost of running a car

is what inhibits them—the room had far better be adapted as a permanent apartment for the Banders menage. The matter of security—or an *illusion* of security: I maintain that nothing short of a bank vault can achieve the reality—became paramount. My first plan to achieve this (I think I described it in an earlier article) was to instal sliding doors, for the furnished room would afford no wall space for hinged ones to open against, sash windows, of a sort, like railway carriage ones, at the garden arches; and a masonry wall with two windows in it where the basket-work screen had been going to be.

But even this has required modification, and chiefly on the grounds of almost uniformly doubled costs since the beginning of the year. The mild-steel skids on which the doors were going to slide and the angle irons that were going to guide their upper edges, iron has doubled in price. The 17-ply of which the doors and windows were going to be made, likewise. Cement ditto. Bricks are up 70%. So is labour. Some of these things I can save on by substituting more conventional devices and materials—besides, I confess I do not feel any longer quite equal to exercising the very close supervision it would need to have a village *baas* turn out successfully and instal accurately such an unfamiliar thing as, say, a sliding door—but some of course I shall have to like or lump. I cannot lump them. But, living as I do at a financial level where one has to count each two-rupee note, I don't like them much either!

So, this is how the room—I should say, the little apartment—is eventually going to be:

The screen wall will not run straight across the width of the room, but bend at right angles to meet the tank-face wall of the house (thus taking in another window arch opening on the garden, as well as enlarging the room by about 20 sq. ft.) which will allow me to have only one window in the screen wall and yet secure as much ventilation as I had before planned for; and this in turn will allow wall space for the main door to open against, for I shall instal it in the short leg of the L which the screen wall will not make. The archway from the loggia, which was going to provide the original access, I shall block and leave as a shelved recess opening into the

loggia since the loggia is going to make the apartment a little sit-out. (It will double, too, at night as a sleeping-place for Pema (or his successor) and a companion; and to this end two 'donkey' beds, folded by day, will stand held by clips in the corridor under the window.) I also have plans for a rattaned seat in each arch of the loggia, so built as to fold out of the way at night (against the half-walls) to make space when the 'donkeys' are in use. The bedroom's arched windows will not be of the sash type but of the type I have used elsewhere, lifting up and outwards and providing sunshades when open; but because there will be no wooden lintel from which to hinge them—I cannot even instal any because of the arch's curve—they will be hooked by blacksmith-made straps over lengths of 1" galvanized piping, which thank goodness I happen to have by me, buried at either end in the masonry.

Well, I am collecting the *material* for all this, as I said: you won't find me—this time—making my former mistake and hoping to obtain even the commonest materials as I need them; I am stock-piling everything: bricks, cement, sand, timber, round-iron for concrete lintels, a night-latch which cost me Rs. 70 from the Building Materials Corporation as against Rs. 37/50 in a *Galgamuwa yakada-kade* in 1972, bolts, hinges, even screws and nails. Very much the *Wise Virgin*—this time—I am.

Even so, the old difficulties have unflinching begun to bedevil me. Timber is next to unobtainable; what there is, and perhaps I ought to be suspicious that this is so, is very high grade and very expensive: satin, which I remember buying at a rupee a square foot of 1" plank, is not to be had at all; and *kohomba*, which for some reason is to be had at a price, is Rs. 2.50 (2.75 if it is known you really want it). As for door-frame timber! To begin with, it is as hard to find as tortoise feathers; then, it is always locally cut to 6'6", I don't know why, not 7'. Finally, such as I have been able to find—and also at Rs. 2.50 a foot, which is preposterous—is all of 4"X3" section, not 5"X3". Fortunately I had laid in most of the timber before it was known I was thinking seriously of building

again, otherwise I do not suppose I should have got it at anything like these prices. As it is, I am still looking for door-posts.

With bricks, again, I have been fortunate. There was a period when everybody burned bricks and the price was Rs. 85 or 90 per thousand because there was a lot of buying by contractors employed in the Mahaveli scheme. By learning a village lesson—no, I suppose a simple business lesson—I held off until bricks recently became a glut on the market when intensive Mahaveli building in the region flagged, as I knew it would, and forward-contracted for the 1,500 I should need at a Rs. 50 rate. Very clever! But what happen's now? LeelaBanda, 'mine old enemy' who led the carter's strike during the first building, and whose cart is the nearest that is in commission, waited until today to admit that the beastly thing was free, though I had asked six weeks ago, and claiming that the lift would require five trips instead of the normal three because of the sodden ground, quotes Rs. 25 as cart-hire: one third the cost of the bricks! 'What to do?' I might save Rs. 10 by a refusal and not have the bricks when I need them.

And is that all? No indeed. The gods have begun their usual practical jokes. I had 'contracted' with Pinhamy to do the carpentry. Now he tells me that in view of the unexpected and thrice-blessed rains he will be unable to do anything until he has sown his paddy crop and got it growing. Since my mason—one I know and can depend on—will be coming up to do his job at one stretch, from Colombo, this means that nothing can really begin until the door frames are ready even with 4"x3" posts. Of course it would be unreasonable to expect Pinhamy to do anything else. But I ask him, for comfort's sake, when he thinks he will be able to finish my job. He says he cannot possibly tell, since he hasn't so much as begun, yet, his job!



POINT OF VIEW

Revolt Of The Ecclesiastics

By R. Kahawita

The *Sunday Times* of 10th October carried a news item that *Four Bishops Opt for a Just Society. Why only four Bishops?* The whole world from beginning of time has been yearning to create a just world, nay from the day that God created Adam and his mate Eve and "breathed into them a soul"—the soul that Christ came as man to save and all other religionists seek to save.

The seven point declaration is just the Communist manifesto adopted at the first communist convention of 1847. Its identity has been hidden in a verbiage, like the talent of the scriptures under a bushel to conceal its sting. Once the seven points are stripped off the verbiage, it is clear as day light that the points are no more, no less than the communist manifesto which also said, in no uncertain terms, religion must be destroyed to start the revolution. The culture transformation spoken of in the seven points may just be that.

When I read through the news item and if I were a non-believer I would have exclaimed, brave! damned good the church is falling asunder, an alien religion has no place in Sri Lanka to pollute and corrupt the ancient of the Ceylonese. It is high time that an end to it has come like Imperialism, Colonialism and multinationalism etc. that were introduced to Ceylon from the rapacious West. Also I am a believer and its effect on me was to move me away from the temporal church and the shallow priestcraft that has taken control of it.

This kind of ecclesiastical propaganda may be likened to what Christ said, "you are like salt for the earth. If the salt loses its taste there is no way to make it salty again. It has become worthless". So are they that attempt to sustain what Marx said about marriage, religion and private property before they become stale and worthless. The seven points enunciated by the four bishops and the other clergy, are the same in a different

context to give fresh light to the Marxist theories in a veritable Communist *modus operandi* fashion.

It may even be an attempt to destroy the religious conscience of the faithful, that these clerics have raised the banner of class struggle under the hammer and sickle in preference to the Cross of Salvation. All these years they seemed to have ignored the teachings of Christ and the preachings to create a just society. His teachings were given to the people long, long years before Marx was thrown into a troubled society hundred and thirty years ago.

The church said the same thing twenty centuries ago in much sober words, not intent to create a revolution but to soften the hard hearts of human society and convert their conscience to follow the principles of a new social order preached by Christ. All what the seven points of the clerics pertain to, have been expressed by Christ in one pure simple understandable sentence *Love thy neighbour as thyself*. If the seven points of the clerics were developed on this theme, they would have fulfilled their missions as servants of God. Instead they have "dressed up" the communist manifesto, may be to start the class struggle within the church.

Following on this theme and the teachings of Christ, James the Apostle put out his social manifesto, not in 1847 but at the beginning of the christian era. He said—"Now you rich people, listen to me! weep and wail over the miseries that are coming upon you! your riches have rotted away, and your clothes have been eaten by moths, your gold and silver are covered with rust, and this rust will be a witness against you, and eat up your flesh like fire. You have not paid the wages to the men who work in your fields. (Twenty centuries ago there were not the factories into which Karl Marx was born) Hear their complaints! And the cries of those who gather in your crops have reached the ears of God, the Lord Almighty! Your life here on earth has been full of luxury and pleasure. You have condemned and murdered the innocent man, and he does not resist you." (and the warnings) "Be patient, then, my brothers, until the Lord comes". All what we desire in a just society

is in that letter of James who was taking the word of His Master to the four corners of the earth. He was poor, and the tools he had to spread the message of Christ were his poverty, his faith and the exemplary life he followed. In contrast, today's messengers of God are never in want, for they exploit the poor faithful; nor do they want to carry the word of God, for that message is archaic and out-moded. So in keeping with the times, they have got hold of the catch phrases of Marxism and base their preachings on such catch phrases to glamorize their mission.

If the seven points were based on James' fifth letter addressed to all God's people, scattered over the whole world, there may be more fish caught in the net of catholic faith than the communist manifesto. As I said earlier our clerics have abandoned the Cross for the hammer and sickle. It is a heavy task to give a helping hand, as Simoon did, to carry the Cross, but easier to wave the banner of class struggle, based on Marxism than on the teachings of Christ—for one must practice what one preaches.

For, the former to share the burden of the Cross is harder than the latter to share the wealth of the rich.

When we were young, we were taught that there springs in the human conscience a vocational calling to take the message of Christ. This was what propelled the missionaries who went into the four corners of the earth including Ceylon by their thousands and carried on the mission amidst misery, squalor and hunger. Today there does not seem to be such enlightened vocations. Today's vocations have become a means to a good living based on the alms of the poor and the rich alike who have not lost their faith yet, and are prepared to support those who can dispense spiritual Solace. With the continuing class struggle, this may soon disappear and the people will begin to cry from the house tops, "Religion is the Dope of the people and with religion there cannot be a bloody revolution, therefore destroy it as has been done in the Communist countries." It is this fear that inspired the Holy Father to say, "Do not vote for a Communist" regime in Italy prior to the Elections a few months ago.

What is the solution to the popping up of anti-Christ here and there as predicted in the Gospel? Answer is: Those of stubborn faith go back to the fold of Christ and preach for a just society based on the teachings of Christ and build this new society within the church, and those of weak-faith, abandon the holy raiments and vestments and follow the hammer and sickle and march along with the bands and the done majorettes, praising the words of Karl Marx, "Religion is the Dope of the people".

* * *

FORTY YEARS AGO
IN A TEA ESTATE—13

The Kangany's Prediction

by Ina Trimmer

My husband was one of the most superstitious of men. He said it was inherited from his Cornwall and Devon forbears, but he was not consciously aware of it till he had been planting in Ceylon for some years. I told him that he must surely have imbibed a certain amount through long and constant association with coolies who are by nature integrally credulous of the occult.

He agreed.

"To a certain extent, yes; but not wholly through their influence. Perhaps I have been more observant than others who would dismiss everything as old wives' tales. At first I did, but gradually I was forced to realise that not all they believed was only imagination. Through the years, in my dealings with these children of nature, I have observed and later realised, that many things we dismiss as rubbish have had a strange way of being established. Call it coincidence, rather chains of coincidence, give it any name you like, but the fact remains that in some unexplainable way the portents they attribute to certain natural occurrences, like sneezing for instance, have been fulfilled."

I listened entranced. I suppose it was because I have an extra special leaning towards the occult, though I personally had no associations with it.

We were seated on the front verandah, our chairs drawn up to the Aladdin lamp, my husband with the newspaper and the inevitable cup of tea and I with a magazine. Cullies lay at his feet, Bunty sat on a chair opposite, attending to his fleas.

It was the quiet evening hour before dinner which I look forward to, when the machinery of daily life ran slow, with a contented purr, and all extraneous sounds were stilled. Only cicadas shrilled outside, but this I loved for it set the seal of our remoteness from city life.

I looked across at my husband. "Tell me, do you really believe in portents?"

"He shrugged his shoulders."

"I don't know. I really don't know. For instance, I don't think there's anything in the tale about walking under ladders; but there are other things."

"What things?"

"Well, lizard lore for instance."

"D'you think there's any sense in that?"

"Again, I don't know, I can only give you certain experiences of mine. Every bungalow servant, be he Tamil or Sinhalese, has a book on lizard lore. Certainly mine have."

He sat silent for a minute, reflectively sipping his tea. It was evident his thoughts were far away. His eyes seemed to look inward. I cannot describe it otherwise. They were literally turned away from me, into the past. His cigarette forgotten, was burning itself out.

"Yes Teddie," I said softly.

"This happened when I was at Bible. My house was completely enmeshed against mosquitos, the fever carriers, and I was seated in my office attending to some papers. I was to leave for Colombo within a week, on my way home, on furlough, to join my parents who were already there, gone on ahead to England, I heard a knock. It was my kangany—Sollu—one of the best I ever had.

"He had left Rs. 2,000/- with me to be locked up in the iron safe. I knew why he had come. He wanted the money before I went away, so I opened the safe to take it out. In doing so a lizard jumped on to

my left wrist then on to my right. I took the money and handed it to him.

"Aiyah, (honorific, literally big brother) I didn't come for this. I came to see you. I don't want the money today. There's time yet."

"He went off in a little while but I knew the reason for his refusing the money. It was the lizard that had jumped on to my two hands.

However, he came back three days later and this time everything went off without a hitch. The money was duly handed over and then I asked him why he refused it in the first instance. He looked uncomfortable; cleared his throat; then asked—"Must you know?"

"Yes", I said.

"I would rather not tell you; but as you ask I cannot refuse. That lizard jumping on to your two wrists does not affect me or the money. It concerns you."

"Me! But it was your money!"

"Yes Aiyah, but your hands it jumped on. I hate to tell you but you have asked and who am I to refuse? You will soon be on your way to England, to your home country and to your people. You are going full of joy for reunion with your parents who as we all know left this island for good in retirement recently.

"Before you reach your destination you will hear of the death of one of them, your father. You will thenceforward journey by another route than you intend to do now. That is all, it is the will of God. We obey. You the Dorai and I, only your Knagany. Salaam Aiyah. I go now. Poitu Vaharan".

"Poitu vanga" I replied. It's the polite of saying goodbye. I go to return."

"It's the same in Sinhalese. 'Gighing Enawa'."

"And then, Teddie?"

"Well, I listened to his footsteps dying away under the rubber trees. Nonsense, I said aloud. Rubbish! How can a lizard jumping on my wrist foretell events happening thousands of miles away, and in the future! Impossible!

I tried to reassure myself with these words but the fact remains that fear gripped my heart in a vice. Sollu Kangany, the most happy-go-lucky of men, who could

drink with the best and see them all under the table—it was he who foretold this calamity. I had never seen him so serious before. His words, his voice, were ominous. Pagan nonsense. I said aloud."

"And then"

"Two days later I left the estate. On board there isn't time for brooding. The Bibby was then the planter's line. We were a gay lot. All going home and I knew them all. Nice girls too."

"Anyway, I forgot Solu and his omens and had a jolly good time. We were but a day from Marseilles when there was a cable—Marconigram it was called then—a cable for me "Father expired". I had intended to go right round by ship, doctor's advice owing to my recurring attacks of malaria, but I changed my mind, was forced to do so. I left the ship at Marseilles and travelled overland to be in time for the funeral."

(To be Continued)



Inania of this, that and the other

The Patient Doctor

By INNA

In one of our surveys, a team of us went into a distant village by the name of D. in the vast province of Uva. The main dispensary in which the fairly-middle aged doctor worked was in one area, and he had to do no small travelling to his other three stations. He avoided telling us, but a friend told us that he was paid 28 cts per mile for a ride in his own motor-bike, and 45 cts if he went in a cart. He prefers the bike as a time-saver. One day recently, he had 22 patients, peasants all of them in one of the most long-suffering areas of this country. 17 of the women came with their children and each one received time. He had a pleasant manner with each and the smiles revealed they were happy.

The area had long been stricken with worms and now some added trouble brought more patients: lack

of proper water-supply had resulted in the generally announced terse (rather unhelpful) announcement: made by the hospital authorities: "It's a virus for which we have no medicine." Scant satisfaction for the seeker and researcher, still less for the patient. Dr. P. went on with his work, seeing to each one as if there was only one person to treat. Talk to the people of T. and you'll find that this Tamil doctor is one of the "best friends the sinhala people have in those areas." He has been "here four years when another man would have asked for a change after three, but he likes us very much and we like him", said a man whom he had treated with care and concern. Dr. P. himself says: "The village is better than the town. It is closer to nature, less noisy, more reflexive and calm and the people are good." Another man who had heard something about barefoot doctors and the spirit which animates them, said: "He's very close to a bare-foot doctor."

I once met a doctor who had a problem: "How can I get interested in abortion and sterilization and contraception and euthanasia when I'll become a wreck mentally and be in psychological conflict, for I am born into the medical professions to preserve and save life. How can I make a topsy-turvy turnabout and become a destroyer of life?" Somewhat in the same way, our Dr. P. says: "I can go on curing but how much nicer if they can prevent so many illnesses which can easily be prevented. Preventive care is more important than curative and we must aim at that where-ever possible."

He is ready to tell the young people who would come to him how to instruct small children about keeping their hands clean, about not playing in the germ-infested sand wherein excreta is mixed with the dry soil. We met a group of final year students in the village—young people of courageous mien of the strong blood of freedom-fighters of yore—who were ready to help the people help themselves; to tell their home people and the neighbouring houses that "prevention is better than cure" and of how to prevent worm trouble and similar ills. Here was an excellent topical opening out of village to school and school

to village.

I then discovered how the rural peasantry had the Buddhist ethos in their veins. The girls who volunteered said: "We have to save ourselves, administer salvation to our own people, save our children for the future". I thought of the "atta hi atgano na-ho" of Buddhism, of the "atta dipa, atta sarana" (self is the lord of self/self is the lamp, self is the refuge). This was sinhala-tamil amity. This was religiousness and fellow-feeling. My mind went to the reciprocal relationships in the *Sigalovada sutta*. Then again, the health department gives squatting plates free to people who apply for them. No one applies. No one is there to tell them. Who will see to the anguish of our people, flesh of our flesh, bone of our bone, the very backbone of our country. Our doctor's name is already foreseen for the Book of Life.

* *

LETTER FROM AMERICA

A Post-Election Footnote

by Frank T. Halpin

WHEN THE U.S. PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION is over, political analysts and diverse specialists will be taking bossies of the results and scrutinizing them under their microscopes for weeks and even months to come. The interpretations by home-grown analysts usually differ considerably from that of foreign observers. This is inevitable. Seen from abroad, the American political system occupies a relatively narrow band of the international political spectrum, considering the extremes worldwide of "left" and "right". The more casual or perhaps doctrinaire interpreter often takes the view that it really doesn't much matter whether the Washington stewardship is placed in the hands of the democratic party or the Republican Party, the only major rivals.

As evidence to the contrary, take the special opinion survey published by *The Washington Post* a few weeks before the election. The newspaper collaborated with

Harvard University's Centre for International Affairs in an 11-month questionnaire survey of 2,469 organizational leaders in eight walks of life. *The Post*, in introducing the series of survey articles, said: "It is also a story of life in the United States today: about the leaders of a great many Americans their unity and division, about power and influence, about equality and what that world means 200 years after the American revolution."

THE POST-HARVARD SURVEY selected representatives of leadership groups who "may be regarded as typifying the forces historically at work in American life". One force was categorized as "The Establishment", those standing for traditional values: in business and farming. A second force was "the emerging", those pressing for change: Feminists, Blacks, the Young. The final category comprised three groups under the heading of "communicative links in society": representatives of the news media, leaders in the arts and science, and Democratic and Republican party state and local functionaries.

Regarding the domestic political aspects of the survey—Democrats versus Republicans—the *Washington Post* noted that it is true that there are strong pressures in the American system of Government that push the parties closer together. For one thing, in the Presidential race, the candidates usually move toward a middle position to attract as many voters as possible. For another, if party workers tend to hold somewhat extreme views, the electorate itself does not.

"At the far left were the Democratic Party workers," *The Post* said. "In the middle were the citizens who identified themselves as Democrats; to the right of them were those who identified themselves as Republicans. At the far right were the Republican Party workers." This helps explain why the candidates tend to move toward a middle position, though their party political platforms differ sharply. One example of the range of attitudes between party worker and party voter, as well as the difference between the parties, in *The Post-Harvard* survey was on the question of whether the federal Government should guarantee everyone a job.

Democratic officials favored this proposition by a six-to-one majority, while democratic voters favored it only a margin of five-to-four. Republican officials opposed the idea ten-to-one, while Republican voters opposed it only two-to-one. The survey over-all showed that the democratic and republican party workers "hardly agreed on anything at all" regarding domestic social programs, on handling the economy, the role of government and other matters that affect the lives of most all Americans.

Party officials were asked to rank ten national goals in order of importance. Number One for Democrats was "reducing unemployment"; Republicans said "curbing inflation" (placing unemployment sixth in importance). Number two for Republicans was "reducing the role of government"; Democrats said "curbing inflation" (placing the Government's role in tenth place). Differences on such other goals as "maintaining a strong military defence" further illustrated the gaps between the two major parties. Differences in philosophy on two fundamental aspects of daily life, economics, and justice, also distinguished Republicans from Democrats. *The Post* survey articles reported.

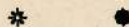
Republican party workers by majorities of more than four-to-one believed that poor people are almost always to blame for their state in life. Their Democratic counterparts, by margins of more than five-to-one, believed the opposite, that the American system does not give all peoples, an even chance to succeed.

AS FOR WHETHER JUSTICE is administered equally to all in the United States, Republican Party workers said "yes" three-to-one, and Democratic counterparts by more said justice favors the rich than four-to-one.

In concluding its survey article on party workers the *Washington Post* said: "Despite such gross differences in matters of policy and goals, there are areas in which the Republican and Democratic establishments are almost indistinguishable. Those areas might be called American first principles, such as Free Enterprise and the Twoparty System. The Democratic and Republican functionaries tended far more than their respective constituencies to feel that the

private enterprises system is fair to working people. They tended far less to feel that the interests of employers and employees are basically opposed."

The *Post Harvard* Survey illustrates why the Republican-Democratic polarity is often "understood too quickly" and simplified out of sight. In truth, the realities of the society are complex and political interaction intricate, and too, America continues to change. Item.



AMERICAN VIEW

UNESCO And Press Freedom

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A Soviet-sponsored move to impair freedom of the press has just received the resounding rebuff it deserves at the UNESCO conference in Nairobi. This is good news, not only for freed-world journalists and their editors but for those anywhere who want to see the media function without government controls. As George Beebe, Chairman of the World Press Freedom Committee and Associate Publisher of *The Miami Herald*, put it after the Soviet proposal was shelved, probably until 1978: "We hope that future decisions of the conference concerning the news media will avoid any implications of state control. Such restrictions would be contrary to the Charter of UNESCO and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights."

But as Mr. Beebe also noted, there may be other challenges by nations wishing to use a forum such as the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation for political purposes. These obviously will have to be guarded against as zealously as the representatives of western countries worked to prevent this

particular threat from obtaining conference sanction.

At the root of the press dispute are the differing concepts of East and West over the role of mass communications in today's world. The Soviet draft contended that individual governments are responsible for controlling their own media, a position that western spokesmen characterized as a philosophy of using the press as an arm of government. Not only would this impair a free flow of news internationally, it also is incompatible with guarantees of freedom of the press enshrined in various western constitutions. Critics maintained, moreover, that the Soviet concept could be exploited to make a western nation restrict its own newsmen if the reporting was not satisfactory to another power.

Apparently aware that conference sentiment was running against their proposal, the Soviets asserted the West was misinterpreting it. This excuse fortunately did not prevail.

Some Third-World nations nevertheless are genuinely concerned that information is largely a one-way flow from developed to developing countries, rather than a two-way traffic. They, therefore, want to build up their own news organizations, an idea approved by western countries. The newer countries, after all, are entitled to put out their own version of domestic and foreign events.

What is especially encouraging about this Nairobi development is not merely the refusal on the part of a UNESCO majority to see encumbrances placed on the world press but also the effect on the U.N. group itself. For the moment at least, UNESCO has turned its back on a proposal that was blatantly political, out of keeping with the Organization's stated aims, and threatening an irreconcilable rift among its members. If it is remembered for nothing else, that is a landmark action for the Nairobi session.

REVIEW

Reflecting A New American Mood

By Jayantha Somasundaram

A review of President Ford's Administration shows us that although he was never elected to office on his own right, there was considerable acceptance of his policies, and what is more, he reflected a new American mood; new values that brought a new confidence into being among the American people.

The USA has passed through both an idealistic experience and a traumatic period during the last 15 years. The charisma of Kennedy and the appearance of new liberal policies that he laid claim to, were lost both in his assassination and in the Vietnam war. His liberal sentiments continued however, crystallising around Eugene McCarthy in 1968. Nixon's landslide victory in 1972 however, clearly indicated a movement towards pragmatism, regarding both domestic and foreign policy. And it was under Nixon that the foundation was laid for rapprochement with China and detente with the Soviet Union. However, the corruption, both political and moral, that was finally unearthed during the Watergate Scandal, put-off the American people, from the strong arrogant kind of regimes that had been created by Johnson and Nixon.

Ford came into office in August 1974, laying claims neither to liberal charisma nor to ruthless pragmatism. Rather, he reflected the values of an unpretentious American middle class. He was not out to set American or the world on fire, instead he brought into the White House a simplicity that was conterminous with the longings of a nation battered by Vietnam and shocked by Watergate.

Despite the failure on Ford's part to solve the problem of recession, it is accepted that he pursued a policy that did not aggravate the situation. And though he had to preside over the ultimate defeat of the American adventure into South East Asia, his handling of the Mayaguez rescue

established this *bona fides* as a strong and resolute President, who was not without compassion when it came to pardoning Richard Nixon.

Ford is accepted as a man not so much of ideals, but of principles. And this is reflected in the way he conducted himself not only in the White House, but in the many years he served in Congress. He is acknowledged as a man with no personal enemies, nor with personal axes to grind. While Jimmy Carter made a great exhibition of his religious convictions, and did indulge in an excessive amount of preaching, all of which was ludicrously exposed in his controversial interview with *Playboy*; Ford is accepted as a man with a consistent, even if quite-religious commitment—something which has greater credibility with the American people.

In the sphere of foreign relations, while acknowledging the effort of Foreign Secretary Henry Kissinger, Ford has not failed to distinguish himself. Three months after taking office he participated in a summit meetings with Brezhnev at Vladivostok. Here as on subsequent occasions, Ford earned the reputation of being an effective leader. In the last two years America has compensated for the loss of face in South East Asia, not only by taking on a more realistic role in that region, but also by breaking into West Asia and South Africa, where her influence and her position as a world leader are being increasingly accepted for the first time in many years.

This applies particularly to America's improved relations with Egypt and the other Arab countries, and to her recent break through both in Rhodesia and the Republic of South Africa. Two years ago Ford relied on Kissinger to a much greater extent than he does now. At that time he accepted Kissinger's counsel for two hours each day, today it is down to two hours a week.

Commentators say that Ford's Administration will warrant just a paragraph or two in future history books—but they will undoubtedly be 'good' paragraphs.

Confidentially

* Beedi

* CGR's Brahmins

IS IT STRANGE that we have been inundated with communications about the "damaged" beedi leaf matter? That we have been "corrected" on one point? That the purchaser of 300,000 lbs of "damaged" beedi leaf was not the Colombo North Beedi Workers' Society but the Colombo North Beedi Producers' Society? That the original term we had used was a translation of the Sinhala and Tamil version of the name of this much-favoured society? That the official English name for the Society in question is Colombo North Beedi Producers' Society? That we have also been told that in reply to a question raised in the NSA on October 15, the Deputy Minister of Food, Co-operatives and Small Industries had stated that there were 384,000 lbs of "damaged" beedi wrapper leaf and that of this amount 300,000 lbs had been issued to the above-named Producers' Society? That, according to the Deputy Minister, the balance quantity was to be sold to other private permit holders (those who pay B.T.T.) That *Tribune* was also referred to reports in the *Daily News* the *Lankadipa* both of October 16, 1976 and the *Sunday Aththa* of October 18, 1976 in this connection? That it is now reported by those who are interested enough to keep in touch with the beedi world that up to the 18th of November, the Corporation had not written to any other permit holder or tenderer requesting them to purchase the damaged leaf? That so far the beedi leaf has been issued only to the mighty tycoon of the Colombo North Beedi Producers Society? That, in this case, the Corporation had entered into a written agreement with the said "President" of this Producers' Society to pay and remove the entire consignment of 300,000 lbs. of damaged beedi wrapper leaf on or before November 11, 1976? That up to the 17th of November he had only removed about 100,000 lbs? That it must be re-

membered that in tender notice it was not mentioned that tenderers would pay for the leaf in instalments? That, this concession, however, has been extended to the said "president" of this Society? That the chieftains of the Corporation seem to have a soft heart for the the said "president"? That some of the chieftains have developed so much sympathy for him that the "damaged" leaf was of poor quality and that it would be only fair to issue him an extra quota of good beedi wrapper leaf (in addition to the contracted amount of "damaged" leaf) and/or also give him a rebate on the price at which he had agreed to buy the "damaged" leaf (viz. Rs. 14/35 a lb)? That to make matters more interesting the "president" of this Colombo North Society is also the representative of a private business firm in Colombo from which the said Corporation chieftains want to hire stores space for the new consignment of new wrapper leaf expected from India at any time? That this firm is likely to be also the transporters, landlords, clearing agents (and may be export agents) of the Corporation in all matters connected with the beedi industry?

IS IT NOT A FACT that *Tribune* has often referred to the fact that the FEECs-subsidised hard currency tourists pouring into the country at the invitation of our Government (promotional advertising alone to inveigle them into Sri Lanka costs the country a tidy fortune in foreign exchange) now constitute the new white brahmins before whom all citizens of Sri Lanka are compelled to grovel as second and third class citizens? That the fact that a few among these tourists are from the yellow-raced Japan does not change the new class stratification? That the new elite (who do not bring to Sri Lanka as much foreign exchange or anything else) have become a special privileged class making a small elite of Sri Lankans in the travel trade rich and powerful? That in certain resthouses, bathrooms and toilets are reserved for tourists (meaning the white skinned tribe including hippies who have not washed for months wearing the same clothes unchanged)? That in the Railways one sees similar acts of gross discrimination in the air-conditioned carriages and observation saloons?

That CGR's buffet cars now do not serve hot tea or coffee for train travellers? That waiters in such buffet (or restaurant) cars do not serve anyone except those who fight their way to the counters of the buffet car through overcrowded carriages piled high with luggage? That a new tribe of short-toussered "boys" (no longer in cloth and coat) have also been employed as additional hands to carry trays of chocolates, sweets, cadju nuts and peanuts to the different compartments? That occasionally, very occasionally, these boys at particular stations pick up a few roll-cutlets and other short eats but what they get is not enough for a single compartment? That a cadju packet is sold at Rs. 1.95 when it is Rs. 1.00 outside? That the peanut packet which is 0.50 cents outside is sold at Rs. 1.00? That even at these prices people are compelled to buy them to have something to much? That in this state of indifference and callousness to local passengers—first, second and third class—foreign tourists in air-conditioned carriages (not in the Hitachi luxury specials which Ceylonese do not get opportunities to use) travelling in the air-conditioned carriage attached to the Yal Devi have special treatment accorded to them? That a special waiter goes all the way from Colombo (even for a party of four or six) to minister to their needs? That hot tea or coffee is specially prepared for them? That they have breakfast boxes with sandwiches, cakes, fruit, eggs and what brought for them? That on a recent occasion an innocent, Sri Lankan train traveller in the same carriage had asked the waiter, who was constantly kow-towing to a group of West European "counter-jumpers" (old world term for low paid mercantile employees) on a subsidised trip to bring some tea and eats, he was brusquely and rudely told that he (the waiter) was only serving the foreign "suddhu" mahatmayas? That this kind of special discriminatory treatment accorded to half a dozen "suddhas" in a compartment of thirty passengers has generated frustrations and indignation which will have their repercussions at the next elections? That some tourists feel embarrassed by this new version of apartheid?



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