

Vol. 21 No. 26 — December 4, 1976. — **RUPEE ONE**

TRIBUNE

CEYLON NEWS REVIEW



Subscription Rates



Soviet Magazines In English

Subscription Rates

1977 and 1978

Title	Yearly	2Yearly
	Rs. cts.	Rs. cts.
Soviet Union	12/00	20/00
Sports In The U.S.S.R.	8/00	12/00
Soviet Literature	12/00	20/00
Soviet Woman	10/00	16/00
Culture And Life	10/00	16/00
International Affairs	12/00	20/00
Socialism: Theory And Practice	10/00	16/00
Far Eastern Affairs	10/00	16/00
Social Sciences	24/00	38/00
Travel To The U.S.S.R.	12/00	20/00
Sputnik	30/00	48/00
Foreign Trade	42/00	70/00
New Times	10/00	16/00
XX Century And Peace	8/00	12/00
Soviet Film	12/00	20/00
Soviet Military Review	16/00	25/00
Ukraine	8/00	12/00
Asia And Africa Today	15/00	24/00
Moscow News	12/00	20/00
News From Ukraine	12/00	20/00

A Gift Calendar for 1977 /78 with each Subscription

PEOPLE'S PUBLISHING HOUSE,

124, Kumaran Ratnam Road,

COLOMBO 2.

Telephone: 36111.

Letter From The Editor

ON THE COVER we have a picture of well-known Sinhala actor melodramatically (with umbrella under his arm) looking skywards, but it is not clear what he is looking for. Was he looking up at a mighty jet plane that was speeding through Sri Lankan airspace? Or was looking at a bird soaring at dizzy heights? Or was he simply looking up to see if any rain clouds were ready to open the stopcocks to let rain fall upon a parched earth? We are inclined to think that he was looking for rain. So many people in recent years have had their faces screwed skywards looking for the slightest sign of rain that it is only natural to think that our hero was also looking for rain. It would seem inopportune to use this picture on the cover at a time when there has been plentiful rain not only in the North-east Monsoon belt but also in all other regions in the island. We have, however, used this picture, after deliberation, because we are aware that many, who should know better, have been lulled into complacency that everything was "all right" now that the rains had come at last, and that it had even rained in the Labugama and Kalatuwewa catchment areas (in spite of the fact that the tallest and best trees there have been exported to Japan, Saudi Arabia, Oman and other places). We are not certain how long the present rains will last—and the low pressure depressions, which bring rain at this time to all parts of the island, will not last for ever and the North-east Monsoon only brings rain to the North and the East. The mainstay of our rainfall, through the year, has always been convective rains, and these rains are dependent solely on the forest cover in the island. And this cover has diminished below safety limits, and, what is worse, even the remaining reserves are disappearing fast. Herbert Keuneman has in recent weeks been writing a great deal about rain and about the dangerous situation that has arisen owing to the suicidal denudation of our forest lands. On the last page, in the *Confidentially* column, significant facts and relevant particulars about the release of 25,000 acres of the Mavillu Forest Reserve to the Cashew Corporation have been spotlighted. As far as we have been able to ascertain this decision to release 25,000 acres of forest reserves has been against the advice of technical officers. We do not know what reasons the high authorities who made this decision will trot out in defence, but it is difficult to see how such deforestation can be justified. There cannot be, as far as we can see, any reason why the Mavillu Forest Reserve should be deforested—and that to grow such an uncertain crop like cashew (with the most unstable and unreal world market prospects over the next twenty five to thirty years). According to the *Ceylon Observer*, November 11, 1976, under the soul-stirring headline **FIRM STEPS TO PROTECT VIRGIN FORESTS: ACTING PRIME MINISTER**, it was reported that "the Government will take firm measures to protect the vast (fast?) diminishing virgin forests in the country. The forests of this country should receive the care and concern they deserve in the interests of future generations and the country's development at large, observed the Acting Prime Minister and the Minister of Irrigation, Power and Highways, Mr. Maithripala Senanayake, at a mass meeting held to mark the Bomurella Water Augmentation Reservoir at the Pedro Scout camp site at the Moons Plains last morning..." After a few inspiring words about what the new water scheme would do for the people of the Nuwara Eliya district, "Mr. Senanayake said that the Government would soon pass legislation to punish those who destroyed one of the country's natural resources—the forests—and he said that already the Prime Minister had sounded a warning and had also started a mass tree planting campaign. There was no meaning in opening up a series of water reservoirs and irrigation schemes if the destroying of forests are not stopped, he said..." All this is excellent, but what has the Minister to say to continued cutting down of forest lands for no other purpose than a little chena cultivation? What has the Minister to say to the deforestation of 25,000 acres of the Mavillu Forest Reserve for a speculative crop like cashew? Would some of his supporters say that Mr. Senanayake's remarks were confined to virgin forests and that Mavillu could not be classified as a virgin forest? From a forester's and a botanist's point of view, there is no forest in Sri Lanka which can be classified as virgin, except a few stretches in the Sinharajah forest in the Sabaragamuwa and in the Terravil area in Mullaitivu. All the rest cannot be classified as virgin. Must they, therefore, fall victim to the axe and the bulldozer?

TRIBUNE

Founded in 1954

A Journal of Ceylon and
World Affairs

Editor S. P. Amarasingam

Every Saturday

December 4, 1976

Vol. 21 No. 26

TRIBUNE

43, DAWSON STREET,

COLOMBO - 2.

Telephone: 33172

CONTENTS

EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

—University, Printing Money p. 2

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

—USA, China, OPEC,
Indonesia p. 4

CHRONICLE

—Nov. 15—Nov. 20 p. 8

INTERNATIONAL DIARY

—Nov. 13—Nov. 17 p. 10

SRI LANKA DOCTORS—2

—Token Strike p. 12

FOR THE RECORD

—Budget P. 15

APPEAL TO THE P. M.

—Communalism P. 16

SAFARI

—Deniyaya p. 17

REPORTAGE

—Sterilization p. 18

LETTER

—Urgent P. 18

CONFIDENTIALLY

— Mavillu P. 20

EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

* University * Police

* Treasury Bills

ON FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 26, it was announced that the Government had decided to shut down all campuses until further notice. Peradeniya, Colombo, Vidyalankara and Vidyodaya were scheduled to re-open on November 29, whilst Jaffna and Katubedde were in sessions. Now, all campuses have been closed *sine die*. This means that the Government does not have the confidence that it can immediately establish rapport with the university community—teachers, student and the non-academic staff.

As we had indicated last week, the Government will not be able to establish good relations with the university community without the removal of Mr. Mahmud, Dr. Udagama, Mr. Paskaralingam and a number of other officials who have adopted objectionable and arrogantly obstreperous postures in running the campuses in recent times apart from the mistakes they have made in regard to University education. It is not a question of punishing them—though many think they deserve severe reprimand and censure—but the question of moving them to other areas of activity to enable the Government to establish a new dialogue with the university community.

The Government, by its decision to shut down all the campuses, has indicated that it does not want to take any action until Justice Wimalaratne makes his findings. There is something to be said for this. But it is also clear that the Government wants to save face, stand on its prestige and refuse to bow down to the university teachers and students who demand the removal of these persons. This is certainly not the way to resolve the present tangle in the University. Royal or Republican Commissions of Inquiry serve a function, but in a situation like this with a general election around the corner and the future of so many students at stake—a year's

delay will mean a great deal to many students and their families—it would be wise for the Government not to play for time in the hope that a Commission of Inquiry will help to soothe the feelings and bring peace. There is no doubt that Justice Wimalaratne will be do a thorough job and unearth the truth, (as far as a Commission of Inquiry can discover truth), but the Government will do well to consider taking the long overdue steps to ensure a better atmosphere in the campuses.

It is argued that some of the excesses indulged in by students in their slogans and posters, and the abuse they had heaped on the authorities and the leaders, made it necessary for the Government to take a tough line, defend the Police with an umbrella defence (and say they are awaiting the findings of the Commission to take other action), and also save the Minister of Education and his minions responsible for the present mess. This is a suicidal path of negative inactivity for the Government. It is also sectarian pettiness for the Government to think that it would be wrong to remove Ministers and officials because they have become *persona non grata* with the university community: that once such a demand was conceded, it would be a never ending process.

This is baseless argument. The Government has removed a great many officials in recent times because they had become *persona non grata* in their places. If the Government had removed ministers and top bureaucrats for the same reason the affairs of this country would be in much better shape now. For a long, long, time now, responsible people have warned the Government that things were going from bad to worse in university affairs and that unless the Malé Street bureaucrats (and the Minister in whose name they were acting) were moved out, an impasse would arise in the University which would adversely affect the political fortunes of the Government so far as the youth was concerned.

The impasse has come and the point of no return almost reached. The only way out—the removal of the Minister and his officials—has now been shelved behind the facade of a Commission

of Inquiry and the shutting down *sine die* of the campuses. What the consequences of this will be like is hard to say.

IN THE MEANTIME, in the National State Assembly, in the Committee Stage of the Budget debate, a great deal was said of police "excesses". Even making allowance for exaggerations, there is no doubt that reports of police assaults and excesses are many and have increased in volume in recent times. Something has to be done about this, and it is not good enough to shower praises on the "good work" done by the police to maintain law and order and claim that those found "guilty" of wrongdoing had been dealt with. In spite of such disciplinary action, complaints against the police keep mounting day by day. As far as we can see, some of the complaints against the Police may be prompted by sectarian political motives, but even after casting aside the exaggerations and the politically inspired, there is yet a solid core of complaint against Police conduct.

In the NSA, the most noteworthy event, last week, was the Bill moved by the Minister of Finance on November 16, 1976 to borrow Rs. 450,000,000 on Treasury Bills. After discussions the Bill was adopted 68 to 19. For the record, it would be useful to publish relevant extracts from the report of the proceedings in the NSA (from the *Daily News*, November 27, 1976 because it will be sometime before the corrected *Hansard* is available to the public).

Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Finance and Justice moving a resolution under the Local Treasury Bills Ordinance in the National State Assembly yesterday sought the approval of the House to borrow a sum not exceeding Rs. 450,000,000 by the issue in Sri Lanka Government Treasury Bills.

Mr. Bandaranaike explaining the resolution said he had not hidden the inflationary nature of the Budget: every other budget that preceded his was based on that system. The procedure adopted since 1970 by the former Finance Minister was also the same. Of the 440 million deficit in 1976 only 200 millions would be covered up with

More Currency Notes

Treasury Bills; the balance 240 was for the food bill imports.

Reading from relevant parts of his budget speech Mr. Bandaranaike dealt with the Opposition claim that the FEEC revenue shortfall would be Rs. 500 million and showed that the final drop would be only Rs. 170 millions. The FEEC drop was expected in the budget. He asked only for Rs. 440 million as an inflationary measure.

The Minister quoted from the Central Bank report of 1975 to substantiate his arguments. The money circulation according to Central Bank reports upto August 1976 was Rs. 773.2 million. It would certainly not escalate into the region of Rs. 1000 million as forecast by the First Member for Colombo Central and the Member for Devinuwara. There was an external reserve built-up of Rs. 308 million and they might have to run down that this year. By drawing down on it he would keep to Rs. 308 million and generate employment. The balance at the end of the year would be Rs. 440 million.

Now how did the late Mr. Wanninayake handle it? Mr. Wanninayake issued short-term borrowings for Rs. 300 million running down external assets—in effect he was running down foreign reserves. Mr. Wanninayake in order to solve his problem glutted the streets of Pettah with imported rubbish, Dr. N. M. Perera when he was Finance Minister had to deal with the cumulative effect of it.

Rs. 440 million was certainly big he conceded but the items in external reserves posed no dangerous situation. Something was being attempted on a restrictive path and there was no need to worry. They said it was an inflationary money measure and that it was bad. That was only a point of view. He conceded the fact that one should not operate without limits. The Leader of the Opposition claimed something between Rs. 120 to Rs. 150 million was a safe limit. Obviously they disagreed. He did not wish to argue. But what would the House do? What would the Opposition Leader tell his Finance Minister to do if Mr. Jayewardene were the Prime Minister? It was a case of reducing expenditure or increasing taxes. The UNP would

oppose any measure to tax the rich. At no stage did the Leader of the Opposition say the present budget did not impose any taxes. He did not even suggest that rich must be taxed through an increase in the BTT. The Leader of the Opposition did not even say that he supported the rich given by way of reduction in regard to flour, and other measures regarding sugar. Rs. 100 million had been added to the deficit on account of those two measures and the Leader of the Opposition said 'reduce it.' The First Member for Colombo Central claimed they would reduce the price of a pound of flour to 40 cents and the Opposition Leader at the same time said 'keep the limit to Rs. 150 million.' Flour alone would need on that claim Rs. 500 million. Were they sincere when they trotted out that type of argument?

According to those arguments the decentralised budget must be truncated. Was that what the House wanted—to emasculate a scheme which was the only hope for the country?

What he was trying to preach the Leader of the Opposition tried in 1953 and it led to his resignation and that of his Prime Minister. It was easy to say to keep down deficit budgeting. In a country saddled with unemployment it was not easy to cut down on this or that.

Reading from a set of tables distributed among the Members Mr. Bandaranaike said all budgets had been inflationary. There was an increase of it from Wanninayake's time to Dr. Perera's time. There had been an expansionary impact on every budget. He gave figures to substantiate his claim. Total in five years during the time of Wanninayake was Rs. 1051 million. In 1976 it was only Rs. 440 million and that too composed of 240 million for food imports and 200 million by way of Treasury bills. The expansionary impact of the budget was 4.9 per cent during the UNP time 1.7 during the time of Dr. Perera and 5.2 in his own time. And in his case he had functioned as Finance Minister only one year.

The Leader of the Opposition was wrong to talk of cumulative totals. The UNP spent Rs. 1028 million but the UF spent much less than that. The foreign borrowings of

the UNP was 28.8 per cent on the average: the UF at the time of Dr. Perera recorded only 26.6 per cent and now in his own time 26.7—the record for one year! Was there a big difference? Basically there was nothing different in technique of financing. Were we going in search of economic truths or the safety of human beings?

The employment generated during the time of Mr. Wanninayake as Finance Minister (a trend that went from '63 to 1971) was 53,000 but during the period 73/74 it rose to 95,000 per year. In other words two persons were added on every time one person got employment. There was a social objective in what they were doing. Really should there be a social objective in what they did or should they take steps towards the creation of productive employment using money only as an instrument? That had been a contention he argued on for years. They argued about deficit financing. But he was doing something that former Minister Dr. N. M. Perera did.

There was a misconception which identified treasury bills with printing of money. It was not a case of printing money. There was a stock of money already printed at the Central Bank. Printed money was drawn according to the country's needs. When goods came

LETTER

University

Sir,

One of the reasons for the present University students' unrest has been rightly pointed out by "outraged Academic" in your issue of November 20th, I would add that 'lick spittles and hirelings of the Minister' were appointed not only Vice-Chancellors, Presidents and Registrars but also Deans of the various faculties; men who do not have any support or confidence of the academic and non academic staff. Hence the corruption goes all the way down the line to the very Faculties themselves.

"Another Outraged Academic".

Colombo Medical Faculty.
November 22, 1976

from abroad money was withdrawn. If they were in circulation it was true that prices went up. But prices were pegged down by the government. It was so whether one should look from the point of view of the people and employment or listen to the Leader of the Opposition. The Leader of the Opposition says keep deficit financing to Rs. 150 million. Mr. Jayewardene will deny even sugar and flour to the people working within that limit.

The technique style and method he had adopted were the same used by his predecessors. There was no alteration. They were creatures of circumstances and should react to those things. "You can try as much as you can to contain world inflation but you won't succeed," he told the House.

(To be Continued)



INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BY LANKAPUTRA

• USA • China • OPEC
• Indonesia

THE CONTEMPORARY ERA of flux and change continues on its zig-zag path in the most inexplicable manner. At the moment there is a sense of hushed uncertainty with major transitions going on in two of the major countries of the world. Everybody is waiting for Carter to assume the office of the US President, and for Hua Kuo-feng to settle down in his seat of power. The third of the major giants of the world, the Soviet Union, is moving cautiously to find its bearing anew with the new equations in the international sphere. No one is certain what the new administrations in China and the USA will do, and all the big powers and even the lesser powers are now on "low gear" "watching and waiting" while they move slowly forward to an undefinable and indefinite future.

It is significant, or coincidental, that in the USA and China new comers to the political scene have come to the forefront of power. How much will Carter or Hua

be able to influence the course of events in their own countries and the foreign policies their countries will pursue? Of the three, Brezhnev is an old hand, and he has begun to move warily to contend with the two virtually unknown men who have emerged in China and the USA, and it will be a delicate and sensitive job to consolidate the position of the Soviet Union in this situation by arriving at some adjustments with them not only to sustain the detente so far reached but also to secure a further advance towards peaceful co-existence.

With the elimination (temporarily, at least) of the doctrinaire-minded "radicals" in China, a new pragmatism based on national self-interest (with a military-bureaucratic orientation) will motivate the higher echelons of power in Peking, whilst Carter too is likely to discard ideological fixations in favour of policies which, he hopes, will restore America's place under the sun. Carter will be less interested in peaceful co-existence and detente, (as compared to Nixon and Ford in the Kissinger era), and this is likely to bring changes in the concept of detente. What Moscow, no doubt, fears most is that the new "incarnations of power" in Peking and Washington may seek to gang up against the USSR, and this may lead to Russian strategies that make peaceful co-existence and detente more difficult to attain. Carter and Hua, on the other hand, know the basic fundamentals of Brezhnev's policies and it would be interesting to watch how they will proceed, each in their own orbit, to meet Brezhnevian diplomacy.

In the meantime, Brezhnev is minding his fences in Eastern Europe. He has paid a visit to Belgrade and has assured Tito and the Yugoslavs that the Soviet Union will not "interfere" in the internal affairs of that country. This assurance was evidently necessary in view of the Carter proclamation that the USA would go to the rescue of Yugoslavia in case the USSR invaded it "after Tito". Carter was undoubtedly anxious to win Yugoslav, Serb and Croatian votes in the USA, and these emigre groups (now settled in the USA) seem to imagine that "after Tito" it would be possible to restore the "old order" and even the

"monarchy", and that Russia would be the only obstacle if it sought to block this attempt militarily. Carter's statement was no doubt intended to exploit this sentiment, but it is difficult to see how he can rush to Yugoslavia's rescue whatever took place in that country after Tito. But Brezhnev is not taking any chances. The Soviet Union is already Yugoslavia's biggest trading partner, and new agreements indicate that by 1980 the turnover would be increased several fold. At the time of writing these notes, Brezhnev is in Romania which, from a Russian angle, will be a tougher nut to crack. Apart from everything else, the majority of the different nationalities in the Yugoslav Federal Union are Slavic, while the Romanians are Latin, and Russia has traditionally found it difficult to win the co-operation of its Latin neighbours and it has been so under "socialism" too. But, in the new world situation that has emerged, with changes in China and the USA, it will be useful to watch the developments in the Warsaw Pact countries. Poland is facing serious economic difficulties with three bad harvests in a row, but GDR's economy is booming.

PRESIDENT CARTER will have a many problems of great magnitude on his hands no sooner he assumes power on January 20. By that time, it will be known what the implications and impact of the new oil prices decided upon by the OPEC countries in their Ministerial Meeting originally to start on December 15 in Qatar. At the same time oil consuming countries, from the first and third world, will meet in Paris (?) to meet the new situation after the threatened price rise. The USA and the rich industrialised countries say that an oil price rise would seriously harm the world's economy. The Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, Mr. Arthur Burns has said, that any price increase could set back the world economic recovery and the State Department reiterated its flat opposition to any increase. The Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), which will be meeting in Qatar, is widely expected to raise oil prices by between 10 and 15 per cent. A US State Department spokesman, Mr. Robert Fungseth, had told reporters that any

price rise was economically unjustified and contrary to the interests of the oil producers themselves. He said the US was urgently conferring with West European industrial nations and Japan on ways of preventing the price increase.

But the Soviet Union's attitude was very different. The official Tass news agency has indicated Soviet support for proposals by some oil-producing countries to raise prices and said Western monopolies were to blame for world energy problems. In a commentary on next month's OPEC meeting, Tass said a new price rise would help offset losses to the producers due to inflation in the "capitalist" world.

Iran is heading the OPEC countries wanting a 20% increase. Saudi Arabia has stated that a 10% increase would be adequate and Venezuela too seems to be in the 10% category. Iraq, like Iran, is a hardliner. Iraq has called on the OPEC to "tangibly increase" the price of its crude oil to counter inflationary prices of imports from industrialised oil consumer countries. The Baghdad Radio has said the Iraqi Oil Minister, Mr. Tayeh Abdul Karim, had stated this in connection with the OPEC meeting scheduled to be held in Qatar next month. The Minister did not advance any pricing proposals, but said Iraq advocated an increase that "at least should cover the spiralling inflation in the prices of goods from industrialised countries." New prices should secure the interests of OPEC members while at the same time taking into consideration the capability of oil consumers to absorb the increase without having to increase the prices of their own exports", the radio quoted the Minister as saying.

Through an artificial inflation of 81.5 per cent of prices so far this year, the industrialised countries have managed to offset all the gains achieved by oil producers since the price of crude oil began to climb from \$ 3.11 a barrel in 1973 to \$ 11.51 a barrel in 1976, he said. "The purchasing power of the price of a barrel of oil to-day which is \$ 11.51, is equal to the purchasing power of \$ 6.34 in 1973" he said. He said Iraq noticed a recent increase in demand on crude oil and expected a further increase in anticipation of new oil price

hikes to come out of next month's OPEC meeting. He said the total crude oil production by OPEC members during last July and August, was 30.4 million barrels a day.

The best summing up of the situation, looked at from the angle of a Third World country was a piece in the *Hindu* of November 23, by G. K. Reddy, its New Delhi Correspondent.

"It is not a case of mere coincidence that the Oil Ministers of the 13 OPEC countries are meeting in Qatar on December 15 to decide on the proposed price increases, the same day that the second 27-nation conference of both developed and developing countries, including the oil-exporting States opens in Paris to discuss the consequences of this action. While the US is trying hard to mobilise support of the consumer nations to oppose strongly anything more than a marginal increase, the Soviet Union is upholding the idea of periodic hikes to offset the inflationary effects on the revenues through the OPEC countries through some sort of indexation of prices.

"The present administration in Washington is unable to carry its full weight in averting the threat of a sharp increase in oil prices, at a time when the incoming Carter team is clearly in no mood to be pushed by the outgoing Ford aides into the unenviable position of having to share the blame for not being able to exert enough pressure on the OPEC nations. Though during the campaign, he spoke strongly against the proposed oil price increase, Mr. Carter has so far said nothing after his election to give the impression that he is staking his own prestige in openly supporting the present lame duck President's ineffective attempts to prevent it.

"So the resultant paralysis of the US Government during the next few crucial weeks before Mr. Carter's inauguration will inhibit the American negotiators from making any positive contribution to the diplomatic moves under way for persuading the OPEC countries not to go in for anything more than a marginal increase at this time, when the world is just about beginning to recover from prolonged recession. At the Paris conference, too, the US

delegation will not be able to take any definite stand during the discussions on the inter-related issues, of energy, raw materials, development and finance.

"But the very fact that the Paris Conference will not be in a position to hold out any threat of retaliation seems to be encouraging the OPEC countries to go ahead with the proposed price increase. This will confront the Carter administration with a fait accompli, which at best can be explained away as an ugly legacy of the Ford-Kissinger failure to avert it. One of the first tasks of Mr. Carter's team on his assumption of office will be how to resist the demand for indexation to provide the necessary framework for periodic increases in oil prices without precipitating a show-down with the OPEC countries that would inevitably bring in the Soviet Union.

A country like India, which has refused to go along with the big industrial nations in condemning the OPEC action or support the move of the oil producers for periodic increases, will be placed in a difficult position at the Paris

LETTER

LAKE HOUSE

Sir,

If you knew the atmosphere and conditions in which we journalists work at Lake House you may not have written your outright condemnation of us all in your vitriolic comments on *The World Today*. Favouritism and stooging, sneaking and cashing petty cash chits is the order of the day and journalism is dead as a dodo. You are disgusted at the level of journalism in *The World Today* but do you know that the scissor and paste job as you call it is done by a former *Observer* racing correspondent who had a popular column **FORM AT A GLANCE** and by another reporter who is an expert on horses and reads the foreign papers for good tips?

PENPUSHER

Colombo,
23.11.76

conference. It is among the hardest hit by the sudden four-fold oil price increase three years ago, which imposed a crushing burden on the third world countries that have run up during this period a deficit of nearly \$100 billions (Rs. 90,000 crores) in their balance of payments. Any further increase will bring them to the verge of defaulting even on the servicing of these colossal debts, let alone their repayment in the distant future.

As a country represented on three of the four commissions set up by the first ministerial Conference on International Economic Cooperation (CIEC) in Paris last year, India has been playing an important part in their discussions on energy, raw materials and development. The 27 countries participating in this conference consist of eight developed and 19 developing nations. The affluent OPEC nations are represented on the group of 19 along with their poor third world cousins, who in the name of solidarity of their community are obliged to bear the cross for the rash actions of the oil-producing States. The sad part of it all is that the OPEC countries are ploughing back their phenomenal oil incomes into the economies of the big industrial nations either in the form of massive bank deposits, investments or military purchases, while not even one percent of their surplus funds are being diverted to the third world.

ANOTHER MAJOR PROBLEM Carter has to face within a short time of assuming the Presidency will be Indonesia. In this column in the *Tribune* of November 20 (Vol. 21 No. 24), it was indicated that Thailand with its new military dictatorship, disguised with a "civilian cabinet," would be a major headache for President Carter. The pro-American elements in Thailand, (no doubt with encouragement from sections of the military-bureaucratic establishment in Washington) had decided to end the "experiment" in democracy which the student unrest of 1973 had made necessary. The right-wing elements in Thailand had been able to ensure that conservative Prime Ministers like Kukrit Pramoj and Seni Pramoj were at the helm of affairs, but even the radicalism of these gentlemen was

too much for the Generals and Admirals, who have now appealed to the USA to come back and take over the old bases and restore the old order. At one time, it had looked as if the Pramoj brothers—Seni more than Kukrit—were acceptable to the Establishment of High Finance in the USA as a buffer against Thai radicalism while US investments in that country continued to produce good profits. But the persistent pursuit of national interests by the "democratic" governments of Kukrit and later Seni Pramoj came into conflict with foreign (US) economic interests, and even if no confrontation or crisis situation had arisen, the General and Admirals, who were deeply involved in with the foreign vested interests in the country wanted to nip this radical trend in the bud. Hence the new dictatorship and the ruthless repression.

A similar situation seems to be around the corner in Indonesia. With the ouster of Sukarno, in 1965, the USA and the western capitalist world had backed the Suharto regime in a big way. Foreign investment capital had flowed into the country, which was made safe for such investment by several lakhs of radicals and "communists" being confined to prisons and labor camps. The Indonesian military were thorough in the job of cleaning up the reds, pinks, dissident and pro-Sukarno elements. Though ten years have lapsed, the Indonesian prisons still have large contingents of politicals. The *Amnesty International Newsletter* of November 1976 (Vol. VI No. 10) has reported:

Political detainees sent to prison camps on Indonesia's Buru Island so far this year total over 3,000. All sources in Jakarta have confirmed that the transfer of prisoners from the mainland is far greater than the 1,000 figure reported earlier this year. (September *Newsletter*) The sources say that the Indonesian government plans to send a total of 10,000 prisoners to Buru Island over the next two years. This would bring the island population of prisoners to 20,000. The current prisoner population is about 13,000. All prisoners on the island have been held without charge or trial, many of them for more than 10 years. The Indonesian government has re-

peatedly stated that it has no intention of trying the Buru prisoners, because it does not have sufficient evidence to do so. The Indonesian government sees the Buru prisoners as part of a scheme of permanent "resettlement" on the island. But it has failed to persuade the families of prisoners to join them there and only 200 families have gone to the island since Buru transportations began in 1969. Once there, the families are not allowed to leave. Living conditions on the island are unsatisfactory and many of the prisoners suffer ill-health. Prisoners are used as forced labour to produce their own food and that of the soldiers guarding them. This use of forced labour has been condemned by the International Labour Organization. The Indonesian government appears to be trying to solve the problem of its 100,000 political prisoners by transporting large numbers of them from prisons in Java to Buru. AI has consistently condemned the Buru scheme, where prisoners remain on the island indefinitely without charge or trial and without the prospect of regaining their freedom.

INDONESIA is a country, which under Suharto, had been made and kept safe for foreign investment. It has become a safe haven for American, Japanese, Dutch and other western capitalists.

But, in spite of this, an influential section of the American military-bureaucratic establishment now seem to have decided that it is time that Suharto was moved out. The *Newsweek*, November 8, 1976, in its cover story **INDONESIA'S FADING HOPES** set out the reasons why "after a decade in power, Indonesia's President Suharto's command of the forces of harmony in his country seem to be waning. Indonesia's economy is limping and the government is riddled with corruption. There is also sufficient rumbling among the masses to make at least some of Suharto's close aides wonder about the future..."

Is it that some "aides" of Suharto's are planning a change in the leadership?

Is it that they are planning a "coup" as in Thailand?

The *Newsweek* attributes all the ills in the Indonesian economy

Indonesian Tangle

to the personal power exercised by Suharto. Not long ago, the *Newsweek* and all other US magazine described Suharto as a real saviour of Indonesia and glossed over the "corruption" that was rampant in his administration right from the very beginning. Corruption among the generals in Thailand, and formerly in Vietnam and among politicians in South Korea has not upset the *Newsweek*—all though some critical articles have about these regimes appeared but it was always made out that it was better to have the generals and the dictators (however corrupt) rather than "reds" (however puritanically honest).

IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, the sudden and uncalled attack on Suharto has surprised observers in many parts of the world. In Indonesia, naturally, it aroused great indignation. The *Newsweek* was banned and the editors and correspondent who had written these articles were forbidden the country. An *Antara* despatch from Jakarta dated November 18 read: "The *Newsweek* cover story on Indonesia, condemned in official quarters as aimed at subversion, has prompted the Government of President Suharto not only to ban the entry of the American magazine, the author of the "defamatory article" and other foreigners associated with *Newsweek* but also evoked a threat of expulsion. The Chief of Staff of Security and Order Restoration Command "Kopkatib" Admiral Soedomo told a news conference here that the *Newsweek* correspondent and foreigners associated with the magazine "will be expelled from this country"... We will wait until the magazine takes action against the correspondent responsible for the cover story" he said. The story by Mr. Richard M. Smith, Editor of *Newsweek* for Asia region, in its November 8 edition, was critical of President Suharto's leadership and alleged rampant corruption in the country. The article entitled "Hopes are fading in Indonesia", was also critical of Mrs. Suharto and what it called "the situation in Indonesia." The Government has already banned the entry of *Newsweek* correspondents including Mr. Smith. Admiral Soedomo told newsmen that "not a single government official" had provided *Newsweek* with information while Mr. Smith

was in Indonesia, which was for only two weeks"—*Antara*.

President Suharto himself, who had always shown the friendliest feelings for the United States and everything American, is reported, to be greatly upset by the *Newsweek* article. Did it mean that powerful forces in Washington had no more use for Suharto? Did it mean that these forces thought that Suharto's current policies were inimical to the vested interests in the USA?

One of President Suharto's closest aides, Ali Murtono, at a press conference in New York in connection with the publication of this article in the *Newsweek* had referred to the fact that USA and other western countries had been "furious" because Indonesia in 1975-76 succeeded in securing highly favourable terms for Indonesian oil: that the Indonesian Government had compelled the foreign oil companies to cut down on their profits; and Indonesia was henceforth to receive 85% to the foreigners' 15%. The USA and other countries had exerted very great pressure to let the apportionment remain as before in which the foreign collaborators received the bulk of the profits from Indonesian oil through various devices. It is believed by political circles in Jakarta that the change in US attitude came after the Indonesian Government had insisted that 85 percent of oil profits should accrue to the country where the oil was found.

It was after this there two coups were "discovered" against President Suharto? Were these American inspired?—that is the question being asked in Jakarta. The two coups failed, but the *Newsweek* article followed in its wake. Is the ground being prepared for a bigger coup, led by some pro-US generals and military chiefs against Suharto? Does the fate of Diem await Suharto? A major propaganda barrage has been let loose against Suharto in the international press that he is corrupt, that he had used his high position to further the business interests of members of his family and his favourites, etc., etc.

On September 21, President Suharto found it necessary to make an official and public denial of the allegations of corruption. It is

also significant that a General Election is around the corner in May 1977, and the present campaign against Suharto in the US press had already thrown Suharto on the defensive. He has even shown hesitation to nominate his own candidates for the coming elections, but in the last day or two he has picked up enough courage to support the GOLKAR the non-political organisation he favours to "save Indonesia. Suharto, however, has not indicated whether he would stand for election himself for the post of President. He has definitely been thrown on defensive by the *Newsweek* and other US-inspired propaganda.

Suharto always had a soft corner for the Americans, and the *Newsweek* onslaught against him and his family must have come to him as a bitter and serious warning that his former sponsors in the USA have no further use for him. He knows that powerful forces in the USA have given him notice to quit. Will he quit? Or, will he fight to the bitter end? The fact that he banned the *Newsweek* and his aide has connected the question of oil profits with the US offensive is an indication that he and his friends intend to fight back.

With the *fait accompli* in Thailand where pro-American generals have established a new dictatorship and the impending threat to oust Suharto in Indonesia to bring in a new government of generals who will not want to extract 85 of the oil income for Indonesia, the new President Carter will have his hands full. Will he back the forces that want Suharto removed? Or will he refuse to interfere in the internal affairs of Indonesia on a question which relates to a division of profits—and not on any question of alignment of the Suharto regime with countries inimical to the United States? It may be difficult for the pro-American elements in Indonesia and their sponsors in the USA to present a *fait accompli* to Carter before inauguration on January 20, but will they attempt something soon after?

SRI LANKA CHRONICLE

Nov. 15 — Nov. 20

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—Dina-
 mina; LD—Lankadipa; VK—Virakesari; ATH—Aththa;
 SM—Silumina; SLD—Sri Lankadipa; JD—Janadina.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 15: According to the *Daily News*, wide press coverage was given to Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike's visit to Japan in Japanese national newspapers: *The Asahi Shinbun*, the widely circulated national daily, commenting on Prime Minister's visit said Sri Lanka is one of the four Asian countries where democracy still prevailed and described Mrs. Bandaranaike along with Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia as two founder leaders of the Non-aligned movement—CDN. The Cabinet which met till late last night decided to appoint a Commission to probe the shooting at the Peradeniya Campus of the University: the members of the Commission and the terms of reference will be announced shortly—CDN. The re-opening of the Colombo Campus of the University which was scheduled for today has been postponed for November 22: the funeral of the student who died at the Peradeniya shooting took place in Kurunegala yesterday—CDN. Trade unions of the Non-academic staff of the Peradeniya Campus decided to continue their strike until the President of the Campus, Professor Vithanage, is officially removed from the post he is holding: meanwhile, the students too decided to continue their boycott of lectures until the President is officially removed and the University of Sri Lanka (Amendment) Bill is withdrawn—CDM. Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, leader of the Opposition and the UNP, speaking in the National State Assembly yesterday said that if the UNP is returned to power in the next general elections it would give employees ownership of their workplaces as in Russia and Yugoslavia—CDM. Following a recommendation by the Economic Research Division of the Central Bank, the Bank will soon establish its branches all over the island—LD. Mr. Prins Goonesekera, MP for Habaraduwa, told the NSA yesterday that the President of the Peradeniya Campus received special treatment because he was connected to the brother-in-law of the Prime Minister—JD. The *Janadina* said the whereabouts of two students who were in the Campus during the troubles were still not known and described the condition of one of the students warded in the Kandy Hospital as "very serious." The *Aththa*, in an editorial requested the Government to hold an impartial inquiry into the Campus shooting, especially to ferret out conspirators behind this incident: the paper also said in its lead story that it was still not known as to who gave orders to open fire on the students.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 16: Education Minister, Dr. Badiuddin Mahmud, yesterday asked the Vice Chancellor of the University to submit fresh proposals for a draft amendment to be submitted to the Cabinet after he decided to shelve the proposed amendments

to the Sri Lanka University Act No. 1 of 1972: the Minister has further instructed the Vice Chancellor to consult the academic, non-academic and student bodies of the University before formulating the draft amendment—CDN. Dr. K. H. Jayasinghe, the newly appointed President of the Peradeniya Campus, in a message to the student community said that he would do his best to restore normalcy in the Campus and sought the co-operation of the entire Campus community to perform his duties without fear or favour—CDN. Mr. Lakshman Jayakody, Acting Minister of Defence and Foreign Affairs, yesterday told the NSA that the Government was very keen to find out whether there had been a conspiracy behind the Campus incident and with this end in view would widen the scope of the probe—CDN. Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, yesterday had an audience with Japan's Emperor, Hirohito, and Empress Nagako, at the Imperial Palace: later in the day she visited the ancient Buddhist temple at Kyoto—CDN. Mr. Anura Bandaranaike, Chief Organiser of the SLFP Youth League, in a letter to the Minister of Education Dr. Badiuddin Mahmud said that the Education Ministry should take up the full responsibility for the incidents at the Peradeniya Campus: in his letter he also said that he was resigning from the National Advisory Committee on Student Affairs: Dr. W. Dahanayake, MP for Galle and a former Prime Minister and Minister of Education, in a letter to the Prime Minister has said the Education Minister, Dr. Badiuddin Mahmud, Deputy Minister, Mr. B. Y. Tudawe and the Director General of Education, Mr. Premadasa Udagama must be removed from the posts they now hold in view of the Campus incident—CDM. Professor P. W. Vithanage, former President of the Peradeniya Campus, told the Kandy Magistrate in the magisterial inquiry into the Campus incident that the students did not have any control over the others since they were after liquor: he also said that large number of students surrounded the Senate building and prevented him and 25 other employees from leaving the premises—CDM. Mr. Vasudeva Nanayakkara, LSSP MP for Kiriella, yesterday produced in the NSA a blood-stained robe of a Bhikkhu and shirts of students and frocks of women undergraduates who were victims of police shooting in the Campus: he held aloft these clothes while he spoke condemning the Peradeniya incidents—CDM. The Commission to probe the Peradeniya Campus will be appointed only after the Prime Minister returns to the country—VK. According to the *Janadina*, Police did not allow the parents and relations of the dead student to perform the funeral rights freely: armed Police was placed throughout the funeral route and relations and parents of the dead student were instructed to strictly follow the Police instructions during the funeral—JD. Dr. Badiuddin Mahmud, Minister of Education, told a delegation of University employees who met him yesterday that he was not to be blamed for summoning the Police to the Campus to quell the students—ATH. The GMOA and the AMS which met yesterday to review the work-to-rule campaign launched by the two unions decided to extend this campaign to all parts of the island and to all hospitals—DM. Mr. A. Thigarajah, SLFP MP for Vadducoddai, yesterday told the NSA that the standardisation system of selection to the University should cease and the Government should hold a round table conference to solve the problems of the Tamils—VK.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 17: Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, and her Japanese counterpart Mr. Takeo Miki, yesterday held talks for over one-and-a-half hours: during the talks Mr. Miki stressed the need for dialogue and harmony instead of confrontation in view of growing interdependence among nations: both Premiers agreed to co-operate in settling problems between the world's developing and developed countries: another round of talks of mutual interest to Japan and Sri Lanka is scheduled for today—CDN. Mr. Maithripala Senanayake Acting Prime Minister, yesterday refused a request by the Opposition to appoint a select committee of Parliamentarian to probe the Campus incidents: he appealed to the Opposition and all political parties to desist from making political capital out of the unfortunate incidents that took place in the Peradeniya Campus—CDN. The University Employees Federation yesterday decided to call off their strike which they launched on Monday protesting against the Campus incidents—CDN. Students of all leading schools in Kandy yesterday stormed the Kandy Town stopped vehicles on roads and pasted posters demanding the removal of the Minister of Education and key officials of the Ministry—CDM. They Ceylon Federation of Labour Government Workers Trade Union Federation and the Government Clerical Service Union will pull out nearly 400,000 employees in the private, public and co-operative sector for a one-day token strike from midnight tomorrow protesting against the incidents at the Peradeniya Campus—CDM. Mr. P. de S. Kularatne a father of Buddhist education in the country, died yesterday at the age of 83—CDM. Mr. J. R. Jayewardene. Leader of the Opposition, told the NSA yesterday that the Opposition will bring a no-confidence motion against the Government in the National State Assembly following the incidents at the Peradeniya Campus—VK. Dr. Badiuddin Mahmud, Minister of Education, instructed the Senate of the University to formulate a program to pay pensions and marriage allowance to employees of the University—ATH. Mr. P. B. Karandawela, Secretary to the Ministry of Shipping, Aviation and Tourism, has submitted his resignation from the post of Secretary with effect from December 31: he will continue to function as Chairman of the Air Ceylon—CDM. Mr. M. Sivathamparam, one of the leader of the TULF, told a meeting in Jaffna yesterday that though the TULF welcomed the action of the government to appoint a commission to probe the Peradeniya shooting it regretted to note that no action had been taken to appoint a commission when several people died during the International Tamil Research Conference in Jaffna in January 1974: he posed the question as to how the TULF can co-operate with such a government which did not probe the killing of Tamils—VK.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 18: Students of several leading schools in Colombo yesterday stormed the streets stopping public vehicles and pasted posters denouncing the police and calling for the resignation of the Minister of Education and other top officials of the Ministry: traffic in the city was interrupted at various points: in Kandy, students of the Medical Faculty marched the streets and demonstrated: armed police guards stood by all over the city of Kandy: following a token strike by teachers of the Colombo Campus to which the students too joined later, the Colombo Campus was closed yesterday—CDM. Government

has withdrawn a series of Emergency Regulations according to the renewal of the Emergency Regulations published by gazette notification: the withdrawal mainly involved police powers: according to the new regulation police can detain a person only for 24 hours in custody and before such period the person held in police custody should be produced before a magistrate—CDM. President of the Peradeniya Campus, Dr. K. H. Jayasinghe decided yesterday to reopen the Campus on November 29—CDN. At the conclusion of the talks held between Sri Lanka and Japanese delegation headed by the Prime Ministers of both countries Japan has agreed to give financial assistance to Sri Lanka for irrigation, fishing and telecommunication projects: Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, will return to the island today from Tokyo—CDN. Mr. T. B. Illangaratne, Minister of Public Administration, has ordered that in future recruitment to state sector, clerical and Book-keepers service should be solely on the marks scored by applicants and recommendation chits should not be accepted—CDN. Government has instructed Miss Sri Lanka, Miss Tamara Subramaniam, to return to the island and not to participate in the Miss World beauty queen contest in view of the participation of South Africa in the contest: the contest is scheduled to be held in London today—VK. Pro-government trade unions said yesterday that they will not participate in the proposed token strike to be launched today by three major unions protesting against police action in the Peradeniya incidents—VK. Mr. R. Premadasa, First MP for Colombo Central, told the NSA yesterday that if the UNP is returned to power the price of bread will be reduced to 40 cents—VK. Special armed guards were posted yesterday in the premises of the National State Assembly in view of a student protests in Colombo over the Peradeniya Police shooting—JD. Government announced that all schools in the Colombo Municipal area and a few schools in the Kandy and Ambalangoda areas will be kept closed today as a mark of respect to the late Mr. P. de S. Kularatne—LD.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 19: Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, returned to the country yesterday evening and soon after her arrival she had a conference at Temple Trees with senior Cabinet Ministers: she was earlier received at the Bandaranaike International Airport, Katunayake, by the President, the Ministers, MPs and a large gathering of people—CDN. The Ministry of Education asked all parent-teacher associations in schools to hold emergency meetings and apprise the students of the action taken by the Government following the Peradeniya incidents: the associations have been asked by the Ministry to warn students not to fall victim to certain political organisations which wanted to make capital out of the Peradeniya incidents—CDN. All student bodies in the country and seventeen trade unions will launch a day's token strike on November 26, to protest against police action in the Peradeniya Campus: meanwhile the SLFP, CP and CMU trade unions refused to participate in a token strike starting from midnight to protest against police action: over 400,000 workers are expected to participate in today's token strike launched by three trade unions affiliated to the LSSP—CDM. Despite inclement weather several students continued to stop public vehicles and demonstrated against police action in Colombo yesterday—CDM.

INTERNATIONAL DIARY

Nov. 13 – Nov. 17

According to the *Janadina* two students who were distributing notices in Colombo yesterday were taken by CTB security staff before the Chairman of the CTB and they were later assaulted by the Chairman: the paper said this incident took place in front of the CTB head office in Narahenpita—JD. Mr. A. I. Abdul Majeed, First MP for Muttur and Deputy Minister of Broadcasting and Information, told the NSA yesterday that students must desist from pasting posters and denouncing the Muslim race thereby promoting communal disharmony between the Sinhalese and Muslims—VK. Mr. V. N. Navaratnam, MP for Chavakachcheri, speaking in the Budget debate told the NSA yesterday that unless the Government take steps to give the same benefits and privileges given to the Sinhalese to the Tamils too, the Tamils will be automatically pushed into a position where they will have to rule themselves—VK. The Vidyalandara Campus of the University will be re-opened on November 29—LD. The cremation of Mr. P. de S. Kularatne took place yesterday at the Kanatte cemetery in the presence of a large gathering—CDN.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 20: The Kandy Magistrate who concluded the inquiry into the Campus shooting incident announced yesterday that he would forward his findings to the Director of Public Prosecutions—CDN. According to the *Daily News*, yesterday's strike called by the LSSP and UNP unions was a flop: more employees were present in offices in the public and private sector and the transport services were normal—CDN. The second reading of the seventh Budget of the UF Government was passed in the National State Assembly yesterday by 92/1: Mr. Mudiyanse Tennekoon, MP for Nikaweratiya, only Opposition MP in the House during the voting time, voted against the Budget: earlier the Opposition walked out of the House when Finance Minister Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, refused to give way when the leader of the Opposition, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, wanted to make a statement—CDN. Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike Minister of Finance concluded his Budget speech in the NSA yesterday telling that his Budget was not only intended to make the Government win the elections but enable all of them to be reputed to the Assembly—CDM. Earlier in the House Mr. Vasudeva Nanayakkara, LSSP MP for Kiriella, placed a wreath in the floor of the House—CDM. Seven major trade unions in the Air Ceylon have requested the Prime Minister and Mr. P. B. G. Kalugalle, Minister of Shipping, Tourism and Aviation, to allow Mr. P. B. Karandawela to function as Chairman of the Air Ceylon, Mr. Karandawela issued a statement to the press regarding the recently established General and Sales Agency Company of Air Ceylon in London in view of several speculative reports regarding this Company—CDM & CDN. Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayakam, one of the leaders of the TULF, told the NSA yesterday that Tamils cannot be deceived by agreements: he further said Tamils have reached a position that either they should have a land of their own or perish: he also said even if this government failed to grant their request some future government will have to concede it—VK. In a tree planting campaign to be launched from next month government decided to plant seven million trees in the island in the very first week of the campaign—CDM. A new newspaper of the breakaway UNP group called *Dudley Peramuna* will be published on November 24—CDM.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 13: South Africa warned yesterday that it would hit back with full force if Angola moved against South West Africa (Namibia): this warning by South Africa came in the form of a statement by Defence Minister P. W. Botha to the South African Press Association. In an article in the *Rand Daily Mail* published in Johannesburg it was stated that South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) guerillas are planning to attack South West Africa (NAMIBIA) with the aid of the international military task force. Rhodesian security forces claimed that over 2000 black guerillas planned to launch an attack on the white government of Prime Minister Ian Smith with a view to topple it and this attack has been timed to coincide with the Geneva conference on the future of Rhodesia. Black nationalist leaders participating in the Geneva conference on Rhodesia said that British efforts to break the deadlock at the talks did not show any signs of progress: meanwhile Mr. Robert Mugabe and Mr. Joshua Nkomo had a three-hour discussion with Conference Chairman Ivor Richard over an eight-point British formula covering a date for legal independence for Rhodesia. Japan turned down a request by the European Economic Community to curb steel exports to countries which the latter considers as its traditional markets: this was one of the main topics at talks between Common Market officials and the Japanese delegation now being held in Brussels. Australia has signed a 500,000 tonnes wheat deal with China to be supplied between next February and June: the sum involved is said to be 34 million sterling: before the signing of the Chinese deal Australia signed a million tonnes wheat with Japan and another million tonnes with USSR. President Anwar Sadat of Egypt announced that he is for the first time in 24 hours allowing three political parties to function in the country thus breaking the one-party system: the parties are made up of centrists, rightists and leftists.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 14: In Britain left-wing Cabinet Minister, Tony Benn, called for the complete abolition of the House of Lords which he claimed is battling to thwart key legislations of the Labour Government. The *Washington Post* reported that the Lee Harvey Oswald, accused killer of President John Kennedy, has told US officials that he informed Cuban officials his intention to assassinate the President. *Izvestia*, the government newspaper of the USSR, in an article said that Russia believed that good-neighbourly relations and friendship with China is possible in the near future. French Prime Minister, Raymond Barre, left for Cairo to have talks with Egyptian President Anwar Sadat and other leaders on new arms deals and plans to help Egypt to develop its own armaments industry. According to reports from Washington Secretary of State Dr. Henry Kissinger, has said that Vietnam needs normal relations with the USA to balance competing influences with the Soviet Union and China. Israeli Ambassador to the United Nations angrily denounced the call by the Security Council that Israel should safeguard the inhabitants of the occupied Arab lands and facilitate

the return of the people who have fled. The Indian Newspaper *Statesman* in an editorial said the Constitution Amendment Bill passed in the Parliament had larger aims than indicated in its declared activities. Angolan President, Agostino Neto, said that his country has no intention of sending its forces into neighbouring Namibia (South West Africa) but accused South Africa of violating Angolan territory and of planning new guerilla raids into Angola. President-elect of the USA, Mr. Jimmy Carter, speaking to reporters in Washington said his inauguration next January should be a people-oriented ceremony: he said the ceremony should be "modest, democratic in tone and as inexpensive as possible". America is expected to veto the application of Vietnam for UN membership for the third time again when the Security Council debate starts in New York tomorrow. Geneva conference on the future of Rhodesia was postponed yesterday by Chairman Ivor Richard on requests by black African delegates.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 15: The Chinese Communist Party has accused the four rebels arrested for conspiracy against the Party of distorting Chairman Mao Tse-tung's teachings: the Party also accused Mao's widow Chiang Ching of sending instructions and directives on her own in the name of the late Chairman. Kuwait's Oil Minister has accused the United States of inciting poor developing nations against oil producing countries: Mr. Abdel Rahman Al-Atiqi, Acting Oil Minister of Kuwait, said the Americans had been telling poor nations that the latter would be penalised by a price increase but the fact remains that America and western industrialised nations are responsible for the economic problems of some of the developing nations. Syrian forces acting under the Arab-League Peace-keeping force were yesterday prepared to enter Beirut to separate the fighting between left and Right wing forces in Lebanon. Soviet Communist Party's General Secretary, Leonid Brezhnev, is expected to arrive in Yugoslavia today for his first visit in five years. Britain yesterday postponed its conference on Geneva and according to *Reuter* this has been done to avoid a clash with black nationalist leaders over a date for legal independence of Rhodesia. Egyptian Middle East News Agency reported that visiting French Prime Minister, Raymond Barre, has said that France was ready to participate in preliminary guarantees for a Middle East settlement. Official Algerian News Agency reported that Algeria considers that any increase in the price of crude oil to be decided by the OPEC next month would be perfectly justified. A report from New York said that Christina Onassis, daughter of Greek ship magnate, Aristotle Onassis, has paid her step mother Jackie Onassis, wife of former US President John F. Kennedy, eight millions dollars as a final property settlement from the Onassis family. Cyprus President Archbishop Makarios told yesterday that the UN resolution calling upon Turkey to withdraw its forces from Cyprus is the just solution for the settlement of the Cyprus problem: meanwhile, Turkey refused to abide by the United Nations resolution.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 16: China yesterday rejected any rapprochement with the Soviet Union following the death of Chairman Mao Tse-tung: at a state banquet held in Peking Chinese Vice Premier, Li Hsien-nien, said Russia kept creating false impressions of relaxations of Sino-Soviet relations: following

this speech the USSR's Ambassador and Ambassadors of seven pro-Moscow countries walked out of the banquet. Swaziland and Mauritius withdrew from the Miss World contest to be held in London this week protesting against the participation of South Africa in the beauty queen contest. Black nationalist leaders who met in Geneva for the conference on Rhodesia said they are studying a formula presented by conference Chairman Ivor Richard for a date for legal independence for Rhodesia. Mr. Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU arrived in Belgrade yesterday to be greeted by President Marshal Tito with a smile, a handshake and a hug: Mr. Brezhnev will be in Yugoslavia for two days. Another earth tremor shook Peking yesterday and thousands of Chinese fled to open areas clutching with them their personal belongings and beddings: buildings swayed and cracks appeared in the walls of huge buildings no immediate information was available regarding the extent of the damage caused by the earthquake. The Indian representative to the UNESCO General Assembly in Nairobi, Mr. S. M. Z. Burney, said on arrival that India wants the West to come to a meaningful understanding with the Third World instead of forcing a confrontation with the Non-aligned Press Agencies pool: he said the Non-aligned nations do not want a confrontation with the well-established Western media but are trying to meet them in the spirit of "give and take". Under a program planned by the Asian Broadcasting Union (ABU) India will shortly start exchanging news with radio and television in Europe and the Arab World.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 17: Mr. Shirley Amarasinghe, Sri Lanka's representative and currently President of the UN General Assembly, announced yesterday that he was available for the post of General Secretary of the world body if the Security Council had difficulty in filling the post: but he denied that he was actively campaigning to succeed the present Secretary General Dr. Kurt Waldheim, Visiting Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev gave a public pledge in Belgrade dismissing western reports that his country would be a threat to Yugoslavia: he assured Mr. Tito that the USSR will never interfere in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia. British Prime Minister, James Callaghan yesterday appealed to the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting countries not to increase the price of oil any further: he said if the price is further increased it would inevitably slow the pace of economic recovery of the industrial countries and will increase levels of inflation. Mr. Ivor Richard, British Conference Chairman on Rhodesia, said yesterday that Britain was prepared to grant independence to Rhodesia by March 1, 1978: he further said if legal and constitutional processes could be completed within 12 months—as the nationalists maintained—Britain would advance the date for independence to December 1, 1977: two of the black delegates for the Conference Mr. Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo asked for a day's time to consider the British proposal: the Rhodesian delegation did not oppose the British proposal and stated that it did not believe that the independence process could be accomplished in less than 23 months. Fighting Left and Right wing factions abandoned their weapons and retreated from the heart of Beirut when Syrian troops moved into the city with heavy armoured trucks: the Syrian forces moved into Lebanon under instructions from the Arab League as Arabia's peace-keeping force.

SRI LANKA DOCTORS—2

Token Strikes

—without explanatory
publicity—

by Tribune Investigator

IN THE FIRST ARTICLE, in this series (vide *Tribune*, 13/11/76, vol. 21 Nov. 23) attention was drawn to the background in which the present confrontation between the Government and the Doctors must be viewed. It was pointed out that with the emergence of a new elite boasting of governmental and political "pull", the doctors, in spite of their long years of training, and the skills acquired thereafter, have become a kind of under-privileged community: but, because of the privileged positions they had enjoyed formerly under colonialism and brown Sahibry, they had become convenient whipping boys for politicians to show how egalitarian they are to their voters. In that article mention was also made of the fact that the doctors, though organised in the GMOA and AMS, had neither developed public relations techniques to have adequate rapport with the general public nor established proper contact with mass media, at least to prevent or neutralise a publicity offensive against them.

It is interesting to examine the manner in which the daily press (reference is here made to English dailies but the Sinhala papers were no different) conducted the campaign to make our doctors look like Common criminals. The scenario was carefully laid.

The *Sunday Times* of October 3 stated under the heading **SIVA TRIES TO AVERT GMOA STRIKE:**

In a last minute effort to avert the threatened strike by the Government Medical Officers Association, the Minister of Health Mrs. Siva Obeysekere, will meet representatives of the GMOA tomorrow at 3 p.m. A spokesman for the Association told *The Sunday Times* that representatives of the Association of Medical Specialists would also attend the meeting. He emphasised that the action taken by the GMOA would depend on the outcome of the talks. The main demands of the doctors are improved

living conditions and quarters, study leave for medical officers both here and abroad, channelled practice and justice to medical officers.

The *Daily Mirror*, of October 4, under the heading **IN PROPOSED "ACTION", SPECIALISTS, TOO, TO JOIN GMOA** stated:

The Medical Specialists Association yesterday decided to join the Government Medical Officers' Association in any 'action' the doctors proposed to launch seeking redress to their outstanding grievances. Following this decision the MSA and the GMOA have formed a joint Negotiating Committee to discuss the problems facing them. Meanwhile, the Minister of Health, Mrs. Siva Obeysekere, has summoned the GMOA for a discussion at 3 p.m. today to discuss the grievances over which the doctors decided to launch a struggle this week. Dr. R. R. Cooke, President of the GMOA told the *Daily Mirror* that in view of the information of the joint Negotiating Committee the GMOA would request the Minister to summon the MSA too, for the discussion. In view of the decision the GMOA would not be in a position to participate in today's discussions if the Medical Specialists Association was not permitted to take part in the discussions. He added that the MSA and the GMOA had always been fighting together over any grievances.

The talks between the Minister and the GMOA failed. The Government, for sometime past was aware that the doctors' trade unions had no "punch".

The doctors however, wanted to show that their struggle had some "teeth". They decided on a one-day token strike in Colombo. This was a foolish step because the doctors had neither prepared the public for such a strike nor put forward their case in a convincing manner. The GMOA's publicity campaign in support of its demand was the weakest any trade union could have put forward. Even persons, who were sympathetic to the doctors, did not know what the trouble was about. Very few people read in the daily papers anything more than the most sensational news, and GMOA state-

ments which were only bureaucratic memo. and, written in the most dry-as-dust manner, failed to attract attention. The doctors—the GMOA and the AMS—with their total ignorance of political realities and strategies, felt that a token strike would make the government change their attitude. This "token strike" was also prompted by a Departmental circular cancelling all leave for doctors.

On Wednesday, October 6, the GMOA had the first "partial" token strike. The *Daily News* of October 7th under the heading **COLOMBO DOCTORS STAGE ONE-DAY TOKEN STRIKE.**

"One hundred and thirty doctors of the General Hospital, Colombo yesterday staged a one day token strike. Work at the OPD and the clinics of the hospital came to a standstill.

The strike was called off at 5 p.m. yesterday.

The strike was launched as a protest against the inconclusive talks the GMOA and the Association of Medical Specialists had with the Health Minister Mrs. Siva Obeysekere at the Health Ministry on Monday.

A GMOA spokesman said that the two committees of the GMOA and the AMS decided to stage the token strike also in protest against a circular issued by the Health Ministry on Tuesday night cancelling Medical leave for doctors.

A Health Ministry spokesman said that the cancellation of leave was due to the threat of "direct trade union action" held out by the GMOA scheduled for this week.

Yesterday, senior house officers and doctors manning the OPD did not work. Medical specialist too kept away for their clinics. A skeleton staff of doctors and specialists however attended to urgent cases in wards.

Summoned by the Health Minister yesterday morning representatives of the GMOA and the AMS informed the Minister that an emergency service would be kept functioning during the strike.

A GMOA spokesman warned that if the Health Ministry continued to give "step motherly treat-

Soft Line?

ment" to the long outstanding demands of the doctors the GMOA and the AMS would be constrained to resort to direct trade union action probably beginning this Friday."

The *Daily Mirror*, of October 7th, under the banner heading HUNDREDS OF PATIENTS TURNED AWAY FROM OPD. WALK-OUT BY GMOA AND AMS stated:

Hundreds of patients were turned away from the Out Patient's Department of the Colombo General Hospital as Government Medical Officers and Specialists belonging to the GMOA and the AMS staged a walk-out yesterday morning. The walk-out was a protest against the Department of Health Services which had failed to accede to the demands submitted by the two associations. The OPD was completely paralysed and no patients were attended to either in the general OPD or in any of the specialised clinics. Early callers at the OPD were issued the customary numbers and chits but were asked to leave as no doctors turned up for duty. A section became restive but order was resorted after the arrival of the police. Patients seriously ill who sought admission were directed to other hospitals. Shortly after the doctors walked out the presidents of the two association, Dr. R. R. Cooke and Dr. Rienzie Pieris were summoned by the Minister of Health, Mrs. Siva Obeyesekere, who requested that a skeleton service be maintained at the OPD for admissions."

After 11 o'clock yesterday morning an interneer at a time was manning the admissions counter of the OPD. All other patients were turned away. On normal working day the attendance at the OPD tops the 2,000 mark, callers to the various clinics exceed 1,000 and there are about 300 admissions, a day. Senior house officers at the wards of the General Hospital also stayed away from work yesterday. Only the consultants and intern house officers reported for duty.

The Accident Service functioned as usual and operations also went on as scheduled. Some of the demands of the associations

are: an improvement of the conditions of service with habitable quarters, transport and 'on call' and 'holiday pay'; restoration of post-graduate education, no pay study leave, earned leave etc; restoration of the Channelled Consultation Practice Scheme and the appointment of a special committee to inquire into the recent spate of irregularities in transfers appointments, awarding of fellowships, etc. It is understood that services will return to normal today.

The *Daily Mirror*, (and the *Times* group), which has generally taken a sympathetic attitude to the doctors (contrary to the unconscionable tactics of Lake House to degrade them), had an editorial on October 7 under the heading BRUSH WITH DEATH. It read:

Thousands of patients at the General Hospital, Colombo had a brush with death on Wednesday when the Government Medical Officers Association, and the Association of Medical Specialists called their members out on a token strike. Our statement is based on the optimistic assumption that no one died as a result of the doctors' strike although this may well have happened. Inquests are not held into natural deaths and "people die—it cannot be helped" has long been the cynical and callous attitude of the medico-brahmins. As we write, there is a frightening prospect that the dispute may escalate. Wednesday's token strike was not a show of strength. It was provoked by Health Ministry circular on Tuesday cancelling all leave for government doctors. The Health Ministry contends that it had to take this step in view of the "direct action" threat by the doctors. So the elephants clashed and it was the people—or the grass underneath—who were trampled. We have on several occasions expressed our sympathy for government doctors. A perusal of their long-neglected demand show that they are not asking for very much more than what workers demanded twenty years ago. 'Habitable quarters' is one of their demands. There are doctors who live in slum conditions owing to the general shortage of housing all over the island.

Transport facilities is another of their priorities. Do the authorities really expect doctors to give of their best by travelling CTB or CGR and yet the plain truth is that junior doctors cannot afford to maintain cars on salaries that have lagged far behind the cost of living. Even the request for no-pay study leave is being refused by the authorities on the grounds that some doctors who were allowed this facility have resigned or gone abroad.

It is surely not the Government's intention to imprison doctors in government service. The right to emigrate is a fundamental right enshrined in the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights. If doctors constitute the biggest single group of professionals who have emigrated—and this was borne out in the findings of a Cabinet Subcommittee on the "brain-drain"—the answer lies in giving the doctors a fair and just deal. It is still not too late to settle the dispute between the doctors and the Government and the responsibility in this matter falls squarely on the Government. What is at stake is the lives of the people of Sri Lanka and the consequences of failure to settle the dispute are too dreadful to contemplate.

In the meantime, the Ministry of Health, seemed willing to try "soft" methods to resolve the dispute. The *Sunday Observer*, October 10, published a report headlined DOCTORS DEMANDS TO GET PRIORITY. It read:

The Ministry of Health has decided to give top priority to the demands of the GMOA and the Medical Specialists Association. A senior official of the Ministry of Health said yesterday that the demands of the doctors are being treated with a sense of urgency, but some of the items in the demand package, would necessarily take to be decided on. The spokesman, explained that the Minister of Health Mrs. Siva Obeyesekere, could take decisions on the demands for the right to resign, no pay study leave etc. but other demands like increased salaries, on call duty pay etc. would have to be discussed with the Trea-

surey and the Ministry of Public Administration, while the demand for channelled practice will have to be approved by the Cabinet.

"It will take time for the Ministry to consider some of the demands, but we are treating the entire package of demands with a sense of great urgency the Ministry spokesman said. Meanwhile, the GMOA and the MSA have decided that their members will give the Ministry of Health time to decide on their demands till next Wednesday Dr. S. V. Devendra, Secretary of the GMOA said: "Our Associations have decided that we are not going to accept evasive answers." If no concrete results are seen by Wednesday our members will strike and it will not be for one day only. Last week, medical officers attached to the Out Patient's Department of the Colombo General Hospital struck work crippling the entire OPD services. Senior House officers attached to the Hospital also deserted their posts, in order to prevent the authorities from directing them to man services at the OPD. Patients who had travelled for long distances expecting to be treated were turned away in their hundreds, at great inconvenience to themselves. Many of the patients were heard grumbling at the doctors, who had not shown up at all.

"Last Monday, the Minister of Health Mrs. Siva Obeyesekere invited the GMOA for talks on their demands, but the GMOA indicated to her that they will not attend the meeting she had arranged unless the Medical Specialists Association was also invited to the discussions because they claimed that the issues to be discussed were common to both associations. The Minister of Health then invited the MSA, too, for the talks and the meeting which began at 3 p.m. went on till almost midnight.

"The work stoppage by the Medical officers of the OPD at the General Hospital last Wednesday, was in protest against the 'inconclusiveness' of the talks the associations had with the Minister on Monday, and also in protest against a circular issued by the Director of Health

Services Dr. L. B. T. Jayasundera which stated that doctors would not be able to go on leave. This circular was withdrawn last Tuesday, after the talks between the Minister and the Associations, but in spite of the withdrawal the doctors said that this was also one of the items against which they protested when they staged the work stoppage on Wednesday.

"The two Associations are demanding among other things, on call pay, rent free quarters and transport facilities for their members. They also want doctors to be given the right to resign after completion of their compulsory five-year period of service, no pay study leave, increased salary scales and the restoration of the Channelled Consultation Practice Scheme."

Nothing came of the negotiations between the GMOA and the Ministry. And, it became apparent, to the doctors, that the Minister and the Government were determined to take a "tough line". So far as the general public was concerned they were ignorant of the imperatives that drove the doctors to resort to desperate action as "token strikes" which the Government and its controlled media were in a position to use to rouse antagonism and hostility against the doctors.

The GMOA and AMS, in another attempt to "show the flag" staged a token strike at Kandy and Ragama hospitals in Friday, October 15. The *Daily Mirror*, October 16, had a report under the heading WALK-OUT AT KANDY AND RAGAMA HOSPITALS. It read:

About a hundred medical officers from the Colombo North hospital, Ragama and the Kandy hospital—members of the GMOA and the AMS walked out yesterday morning. This was in protest against the delay in the Health Ministry's reply to their demand. This decision was taken at a joint action committee of the GMOA and the AMS on Thursday evening. Among those who stopped work were MOs of the OPD's, senior house officers from the wards and some interns. Doctors undergoing internship the consultants worked as usual. Last Wednesday, 130 medical officers stopped working

at the General Hospital, Colombo. Our Kandy corr. adds: Over 1,000 patients were turned away from the OPD of the Kandy hospital as no doctor reported for duty. No clinics were held and all routine operations were cancelled. Ward work was attended to by the interns and an emergency service was conducted for urgent cases".

With these two one-day token strikes, in Colombo, Kandy and Ragama, and the threat of further "trade union" action, the Government was in a position to launch an offensive against the doctors, the GMOA and the AMS. The doctors, living in their ivory tower of isolation, were not in a position to meet this offensive in the way it should have been met. Doctors, unlike the doctors [of the past, have few or no friends, outside the medical clan or a small circle of inconsequential persons. The doctors who had powerful lobbies in political, governmental and administrative circles are no more. But the doctors of today have achieved remarkable trade union unity as the subsequent work-to-rule campaign has shown.

In their innocence, the doctors seem to have deluded themselves into the belief that a token strike or two would jolt the government and the public into an understanding of the problem. They did not imagine that these tactics could have interpreted as "intimidation" by a privileged group and a propaganda offensive launched on that basis. The doctors did not know that the first pre-requisite for a successful strike was public sympathy and in this instance they let the initiative pass into the hands of the Ministry.

It is surprising that the doctors did not realise that it was essential to prepare the public even for a "token strike". What was worse, was that the GMOA and AMS had talked vaguely and evasively of "direct action" and "trade union action" and the Government was able to capitalise on this to stir up public animosity against the doctors.

(To be Continued)

Next: THE OFFENSIVE AGAINST THE DOCTORS.

* * *

On The Budget

Socialist Nation 3/11/76

DEAD-DUCK BUDGET NOT A BREATH OF SOCIAL MOVEMENT.

The Budget that was introduced in the Assembly on 4th November by Finance Minister Felix Dias Bandaranaike was distinguished by the total lack of public interest in its secrets. We cannot remember another that led to such blank indifference about whether cigarettes would become cheaper or dearer, or whether petrol tanks should be filled up in case its price was raised, or cloth or toothpaste should disappear under the counter in a last-minute speculative fling. Nothing of the kind happened anywhere. Even the Finance Minister's own chatter about the great benefits his wizardry would bring to people left everybody cold and unmoved.

When the Budget speech was over and the see-nothing do-nothing product of the Minister's labours became evident there was neither disappointment nor anywhere a sigh of relief. The wonder-boy of the SLFP had exhausted all his tricks with his initial budget of last year. There was nothing more he could do except recapitulate with a naive sense of achievement all the brilliant feats of yesterday. The narration was embellished by promises that all the graduates and "A"-level certificate holders in science and mathematics would be found teaching appointments, and other youth apprenticeships that would bring them at least pocket-money for cinema shows and cigarettes.

Our report on the Budget Estimates last week pointed to the enormous Budgetary gap of over Rs. 3,500 million and the already heavy proportion of total expenditure for servicing the public debt. One would have expected the Finance Minister to bear this in mind and show some solicitude for future generations by contriving to minimise his resort to borrowing, whether locally or abroad, when seeking to bridge his gap between Revenue and Expenditure. The Minister indeed has made some reference to this in his Budget speech. In 1975, he states, in-

terest payments alone amounted to Rs. 698 million or 13% of the total recurrent expenditure. But both interest and capital payments amounted to Rs. 1,293 millions in 1975 or 16.8% of all expenditure. In 1976 interest payments on the public debt amounted to Rs. 1,020 million or 17.2% of recurrent expenditure and the total servicing commitment on the public debt amounted to Rs. 1,867 million or 19.7% of total state expenditure.

Although 20% of expenditure goes to interest and capital repayments on past borrowings, the Finance Minister observes that the remedy is to see that Government investments, especially in the Corporations, must "yield an adequate return to look after the increasing burden on the Government budget". Completely satisfied by this magnificent outpouring of wisdom, he proceeds to meet his entire Budget deficit of Rs. 3,500 million (now reduced by conventional jugglery to Rs. 2,720 million) by hopeful reliance on foreign and local borrowing. So much for his Government's solicitude for future generations!

The main weight of the Finance Minister's Budget speech is on the year 1975 which, as we mentioned last week, related only in a minor way to Mr. Felix B's stewardship. The scant information that he has provided for 1976 reveals an over-all deficit of nearly Rs. 3,000 million—an increase of Rs. 650 million over the estimates of last year's Budget. His recurrent expenditure, he says, increased by Rs. 145 million and his capital expenditure by Rs. 333 million. It is curious that in the items of increased capital expenditure mentioned by him there is not a word about the expenditure on the Non-Aligned Conference. In fact, the entire Budget speech has not a single reference to what is generally believed to be the very heavy expenditure on this otherwise much trumpeted occasion. If we assume that Rs. 400 million was spent on this Conference, does this mean that the budget deficit of 1976 goes up further by this amount?

The Budget speech gladly announces that "the cost of an employment programme" has been incorporated in the 1977 esti-

mates. This appears to be largely concentrated in the Education Ministry and the Ministry of Planning, whose votes have been apparently increased for the purpose. The aim appears to be to appoint all graduates as teachers and development assistants, "A" Level certificated persons as teachers of science and mathematics in rural schools and to expand the intake of apprentices of various kinds. At the same time the DCC programmes will be expanded by 2,800 new projects over the next 18 months at a cost of Rs. 188 million. The whole capital programme, however, provides for an increase of only 10% over the previous year and does not mark any new pattern of activity.

A curious reference of the Finance Minister in the opening passages of the Budget speech deserves more attention than it has received. In an attempt to make out that there is some remarkable political advance in his Government's policies, he states: "The direction taken by our Government is a socialist one, within the framework of a mixed economy." This is certainly a delightful characterisation of the policy of standing still of corpse-like immobility. There is not a breath in the Budget that can be construed to indicate the faintest lung-movement in the Finance Minister's social body. It is not informed by a single whiff of class movement in any direction. Perhaps the oncoming general election makes it too dangerous to increase or relieve burdens of one class or another. The "mixture" of the economy has been frozen at the stage of its retrogression in November 1975. Sheer social cowardice has converted the Finance Minister into a mortician. So far as he is concerned, the best that he can do for our society is to empty it of all movement and keep it embalmed like a corpse.

The Journal (UNP), 9/11/76

A BUDGET FOR MUDALALIS

Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike's second budget since he took over the Ministry of Finance from the Trotskyite leader, Dr. N. M. Perera, has been received by the people as a "do nothing" budget. Quarter pound of sugar, plus 6 cents on

flour, and 5 cents on bread, is the beginning and end of the Minister's speech. It also debunked the claims of Mr. T. B. Subasinghe, Minister of Industries, that this country is self-sufficient in cloth.

Will this have any effect on the cost of living?

Its lack of substance has compelled the *Aththa*, C.P.'s daily, to draw a very disheartening picture of the whole exercise. It says that the people hardly paid any interest and talked very little before it was delivered. The people showed a sense of disinterestedness, the *Aththa*, says and continues to brand the budget as a half-hearted budget. The LSSP daily, *Janadina*, calls it a "pusa", an empty budget.

Though *Aththa* claims the people paid scant interest in the budget before and after it came, there was a great deal of speculations as to what the Minister would do to placate the people in view of the expected general elections. The fact that he could not go beyond quarter pound of sugar and a few cents on flour and bread, betrays the end of the road the Minister has trod. He has gone bankrupt.

The real basis of the Minister's philosophy was laid by the Minister's last budget. That was the foundation of the new rich, the mudalali class, which is the hard core of the SLFP. The Minister has by this budget kept that foundation intact.

So the end result of this budget is that the richer class will grow still richer and the poor man still poorer. The Minister, in short, has mortgaged the economy of the country to the mudalali class. One has only to look at the face of their activities here and abroad. This class has not been hit. They are secure and safe, so that they could continue to amass wealth at the expense of the country and people.

The budget offers no solution to the grave problems of the country. Economic development, the only answer to those problems has not been well provided for in the budget. And the impact it has on the people is negligible.

The Sunday Times, 13/11/76

DAMMIT, WHERE'S THAT RABBIT?

The pleasantest surprise in Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike's second budget is that it contained no surprises at all. The reduced flour price and the increased sugar ration looked suspiciously like the afterthoughts of a man who suddenly remembered that custom and the stereotype role in which he was cast as magician required him to do something, to pull out some little surprise. Dammit, where's that wretched rabbit gone?

In reacting to this budget, or more accurately to a budget speech sans a budget, we are trying to adjust ourselves to the Minister's own tone and style. It was pure Felix. His tongue, we suspect was nesting nicely in his cheek, enjoying itself hugely.

Dutifully, he went through the old rigmarole of "state of the economy"; he reviewed, with justifiable pride, the achievements of the previous budget right emphasising how the prices of basic items have been more or less contained; and then, he indulged himself in some cavalier calculus, with the aid of a pocket calculator, just to tease that grand old guru of conventional budgeting and good house-keeping, his predecessor Dr. Perera, who tripped him up on his arithmetic last year.

Mr. Bandaranaike knows as well as anybody else that if he wants to raise duties, jack-up the petrol price or any other, he can do so at his will and pleasure, and there's no need really to reveal all like a third-rate Turkish belly-dancer. After all, wasn't his predecessor called "Gazette Perera" or "The Midnight Cowboy"?

Again, last year's "Birthday Boy" who, in this election year, wished everybody many happy returns, knows also that when the blessings are counted in the ballot-box, much would depend on how many jobs he has been able to create from now on. And that, in turn, depends on money (mainly foreign aid which has still to be processed or negotiated) and how much he can pour into his decentralised budget to create jobs in the countryside and improve the chances of his back-bench colleagues.

In the meantime, the NSA can perform the ponderous British ritual of debating the budget an increasingly irrelevant ceremony in which the so-called secrets of the Chancellor's little black box have lost both their magic and mystery for the vast mass of a people too preoccupied with reality to worry about stuffy, antiquated Anglo-Saxon pastimes.

AN APPEAL

To The Prime Minister from The Sri Lanka Progressive Writers' Union

Madame Sirimavo Bandaranaike,
Hon. Prime Minister,
Prime Ministers Office,
Colombo.

Dear Prime Minister,

It is with great regret and shock that we write to bring to your kind notice the speech made by Mr. T. B. M. Herath, M.P. for Walapane and Deputy Minister, in the National State Assembly on the 11th of November.

This speech of Mr. Herath, published on the 12th November by *Virakesari*, runs as follows: "In this land of Sinhalese only Sinhalese can be the rulers. The Tamils and Muslims must subjugate themselves to us as slaves and accept whatever concessions we may wish to grant. Minister Kumarasuriar has come to our side on this basis. He is a Minister under us. If you (pointing to Mr. Thurairatnam) also want positions come to us." (Translated from Tamil report of *Virakesari*.)

Madame Prime Minister, as an organization that had fought against all manifestation of communalism and all attempts at national isolation and as the organization which convened the historic conference of Sinhala, Tamil and Muslim Writers' for National Integration, we take strong objections to this utterance of a Deputy Minister and member of the N.S.A. who unfortunately belongs to the party and the Govt. headed by you.

If this is a statement made by a raving lunatic within the bounds

of Angoda nobody would care to waste even one single moment over such expressions of lunacy. But this statement was made by a Deputy Minister and at the seat of the highest authority in our land—The National State Assembly. Nobody with self respect and committed to the noble objective of a United Sri Lanka could afford to dismiss this statement as that of a man drowned in barrels of "Kassippu" even if that was the naked truth. No, Madame, no person Sinhala, Tamil or Muslim, progressive or otherwise, could permit this type of wanton madness to rear its ugly and shameful head. This if not checked and nibbed in the bud would only help those forces of local and foreign reaction to divide and destroy our beloved mother land.

Utterances of this nature have also shattered earlier statements by you Madam and other leaders of your Govt. that communalism in the South is dead. On the contrary it seems that this is still alive and is taking ugly forms.

We are confident Dear Prime Minister that you will not put up or tolerate this type of shameless and low-based sentiments and utterances. But at the same time we note with great distress and disappointment that other responsible leaders of your Govt. who had been present at the N.S.A. when this was said did not realise that it was their sacred national duty to condemn the said statement when it was made.

We consider this type of utterances not only as highly irresponsible but as manifestations of cannibalistic instincts. We condemn with anger to reference of "Masters and Slaves" at at time when decent humanity and the conscience of all mankind is fighting for complete abolition of all the remnants of slavery. This statement is a slap at the face of every Tamil, every Muslim, and furthermore at the face of every honest Sinhalese. This is a slap at the face of Hon. Minister of Post and Telecommunication, Mr. C. Kumarasuriar and the Hon. Minister of Education, Mr. Badluddin Mahmud. This is a slap at your face too, who is destined by history to lead the non-aligned world to national and social emancipation from all forms of slavery, racism, inequality and exploitation.

We urge you Madame Prime Minister to take strong and severe measures against that M.P. who had by his irresponsible statement had brought shame to the Govt. and the party led by you and to you personally. Only by expelling such a person from the rank of your Govt. and party would it be possible to ensure the high regard and honour that the people of different nationalities in this country and the freedom loving people world over have for you.

We believe that the only way and the only surest way to rebuild the already devastated National Unity and the goodwill among the various nationalities in this country is to implement with immediate effect the 12 points programme put forward by the Writers' Conference on National Integration which was accepted by you and the Govt. led by you. At the same time we urge you Prime Minister as the leader of the entire Nation to take immediate and meaningful steps to solve the minority problems through friendly negotiations with all concerned on the basis of the 12 points programme which was widely accepted by all sections of Sinhala, Tamil and Muslim opinion.

Premji Gnanasundaram
General Secretary,

Sri Lanka Progressive Writers' Union.

51/a, Hudson Road,
Colombo 3:
16.11.76

* *

S A F A R I

Deniyaya—Insurrections And All That

By Alkardi Mugane

Deniyaya is a long way away, and as it seemed to me to lie near the Sinharajah forest, I have been wanting to visit it for years. That I had not visited it yet was brought home to me during the 1971 events and it was yet another four years before I did so. I learnt there that there are basically two kinds of tea bush, that which is picked every five days, and that which is picked every eight. I was told,

and shown, that when tea bushes are pruned right back, a few branches with green leaf are left in case the bush dies right off. Once the bush begins to grow again and shows new leaf, then I suppose it is the turn of these branches that were left to be struck off. An acre of tea, a nice small holding, it seems to me, would give the owner of it a clear profit, before tax of Rs. 600/- a month. The Tamil women who pick the leaf came themselves to tell the owner, to remind him, of the picking day. Then the house wife has to be up betimes to get ready a curried lunch for them to take to the field when they go along in the morning. The women go off alone, with no supervision, and they can be trusted to bring all the leaf back.

Six months paddy had been sowed in same fields. Then, at the proper time, the remaining fields were made ready to take in three months paddy, so that it would all ripen together. All the work was done by mammy. At one place there was a very small boy working. He was working without a mammy, but he knew exactly what to do without being told. I spent a whole morning in the paddy fields. When the work was all done and the paddy sown, we bathed in the river. At another place, the roar of a water-fall was really frightening. We bathed below it, and there was not a soul in sight, just jungle near by and hills in the distance.

A little surprised was I when I found myself standing at the foot of Dr. Rex de Costa's beautifully-kept grave in his own garden. I suppose, it was just not possible to take this body to the cemetery in those days. His killing shocked every man of his own standing and community, and I heard that it did not go down well with the J.V.P. leader of that area, too; that he was annoyed and upset. He met his own death not much later. It is certain that he, too died from a bullet, but just how, it is not clear. I hope it was not self-administered as the local people seem to believe, better anything than that.

There was a man who told me that he thought a lot of the present government of this country; that had it been any other country, any other government, then, all

who had taken part in the revolt, would have been killed, that it was a great thing for the country and much to be said for the government, that their lives had been spared. It made me thoughtful, and then I remembered later, that I had read that very day something written by Thomas Jefferson in 1787. Jefferson was later to be President in 1801, and he served two terms. He said that in England there were seldom half a dozen years without an insurrection; that in France there had been three in the course of the three years he had been there. In Turkey, at that time, he said, insurrections were the events of every day. On the other hand, there had been one rebellion in thirteen States, as the U.S.A. then was, in the course of eleven years, which was one for each State in a century and a half. He thought the more despotic the State was, the more the rebellions.

For my part, I am glad there were no reprisals in Ceylon, and that such as there were, were quickly brought to an end. Every country in a sense hangs together, and the deeds in one country casts a bad reflection on every other. That is why it is so important to avoid coups. In my opinion, an insurrection is not as much of a stigma, but let us avoid them, too, if we can. I could go on in this vein, relating events in South Africa, but, happily for me, space precludes that. It is not a healthy subject. The best way to free Africa, for instance, from every kind of colonialism, is to be politically as liberal as possible, to get a good example of what the black man can do, if I may describe ourselves as that.

REPORTAGE

On The Death Of A Sterilized Young Mother

I heard a distressing news, to-day. A young mother was sterilized at our District Hospital, where the boast is that more than 9000 such operations have been up to now performed (and the merry cutting up goes on, unabated); on her

way home, the young mother starved bleeding, and died: a young mother, whose little ones are crying for milk and love.

"Have there been other such cases?"

"Six others".

Seven deaths already from one hospital alone!

"The fact is—people try to explain sheepishly—with this forced frenzy to get our people sterilized, the medical precautions are so summary, that some such calamity cannot surprise."

Evidently, those involved in the sterilizing campaign, are not unaware of the risks, or side effects this operation carries (besides the psychological and moral havoc.) Why, then, don't they inform the people?

"For fear that, going against the official policy, they might be 'rewarded' with a transfer to some God-forsaken backwards hospital. And then...."

"And then, what?" I urged. "Well, for every sterilization the GWI gets Rs. 10/....."

Once again, the glitter of the almighty gold does the trick, dazing the mind of even such respectable people as the medical profession boasts of.

Who said that we have no money? 9000 sterilization in one hospital alone, added to the Rs. 50/- each sterilized labourer gets, mean nearly 6 lakhs!

We have not enough money for development, to create work and food for our people; but to impair the health, to stunt one rare, while others flourish for this, don't worry! Lavish Sweden will subsidise us, and soon we shall have neither children nor healthy parents.

I wonder at times how future generations will judge us. The whole world was shocked at the Germans keeping so silent when Hitler went on sterilizing the people and gassing 6 millions jews.

And yet Hitler sterilized just the misfits. We go on one step further: we sterilize the fit, the fittest at times.

Or are we trying by all means to ape India, where individuals have come to such a pass as to struggle against the Law to keep their bodies as God made them, —a basic human right, isn't it?

Theorize as we may like, a poor sterilized young mother lies there dead. Around her coffin, her little ones cry for milk and love.

She does not reply now. But at the Hospital where she came from, the cutting-up and sewing up goes on, unabated.

C. Iannaccone, S.I.

Deniyaya.

LETTER

Urgent

Sir,

That the minorities have a genuine grievance against the majority community of this Island has been accepted by all prominent personalities of the majority community, irrespective of their political ideologies and party affiliations. The latest in the series of these type of confessions comes from Mr. Nihal Jayawickrema, Secretary to the Ministry of Justice, who is also the President of the United Nations Association of Sri Lanka. Addressing a meeting of the Colombo Rotary Club, held in connection with the United Nations day, Mr. Jayawickrema remarked "...the rights of the minorities will reach a fulfillment only on the day when I, a citizen born in the Southern half of my country, can look into the eye at my fellow countryman from the north and tell him honestly and sincerely that in fact and in law, we are equal citizens of this Island home. It is not difficult to reach that goal. There is a fund of goodwill around, particularly at the grass roots and the highest levels. If we make that commitment to reach it, then reach it we surely shall" (vide Ceylon Daily News, Oct. 23, 1976, p. 6 and Sunday Observer, Oct. 24, 1976, p. 6). Are we to consider the above remark as a sign of impatience expressed by one who "knows better the real situation" existing in Sri Lanka and elsewhere and the inordinate delay taken to solve the problem by the successive government since 1956.

If personalities of the calibre and standing of Mr. Jayawickrema have arrived at this conclusion, then there should not be anymore delay to find on a acceptable

Separate State?

solution to the problem. Because the present time is more opportune than any other time.

Though a declaration has been made to achieve a separate nationhood for the Tamils by the TULF, the leadership of this movement, by and large, is still in the hands of leaders who are liberal in outlook and moderate in their means to achieve their aim. They belong to the British Era—trained in the best liberal traditions of peaceful agitation of the British type. They are no advocate of violence. But the signs are that this type of leadership will be very soon "purged", to use a Communist jargon, and may be replaced by a much more romantic exuberant and violent youth. If the leadership slips to the professionals and graduates of the post 1960 era, then the problem will become much more complicated and render solution difficult. The old leadership nor their children suffered nor experienced anything like the post 1960 generation of Tamil students. The latter were caught in the mid-stream of pseudo-nationalist upsurge of the post-independent period and had to bear the main brunt of the discriminatory policies of the successive governments that came into power after 1956. Added to their rank and file soon will be the "universally rejected" not of their own volition but due a nonsensical quota system followed by the ministry of Education. In fact an impartial study of a university did blame the quota system for strengthening the demand for separate state. Since most of the politicians and even some of the ministry officials and public men may not have had the opportunity to study the relevant portion of the article, we quote the conclusion arrived at by the learned don after a critical and exhaustive study. "The iniquities of the system apart, the new procedure for University admissions can also be criticised for the secrecy which shrouds it. Although the university is supposed to formally admit students, University authorities are merely provided with a list of standardised marks and a distinct quota table and expected to be satisfied with this. University academics have no access to answer scripts or even the raw marks. This represents a sharp contrast to the procedures adopted before 1970 and has given rise to an atmosphere of suspicion

and distrust, which has undermined the confidence in the fairness by which even existing rules are applied.

The political impact of the district quota system has been little short of disastrous. It has convinced many Sri Lanka Tamils that it was futile to expect equality of treatment with the Sinhalese majority. It has immensely strengthened separatist forces within the Tamil United Front and contributed to the acceptance of a policy of campaigning for a separate State in early 1975". Incidentally it has also "kindled resentment against the Muslims in both Tamil and low-country Sinhalese areas and rendered relations between the Kandyan and low-Country Sinhalese non fragile than before" and the learned don concluded "In the context of the above discussion it seems clear that both standardisation and the district quota system have done more harm than good. Both should be abandoned forthwith". (Refer Dr. C. R. de Silva "Weightage in University Admission Standardisation and District Quotas in Sri Lanka" in Modern Ceylon Studies, vol. 5, November 2, 1974 July pp. 151-167)

Secondly, we also have the advantage of having amongst us leaders (both amongst the majority and minority communities) though politically hostile and opposed to each other personally friendly. This friendly trail should go a long way to have the problems discussed in an amicable atmosphere across the conference table rather than deciding at "gun

points" in "battle fronts". Time is fast running out and we may not have the benefit of their able guidance and friendliness for long.

Thirdly, if we were to believe the foreign press, and journals like *Himmat*, *Asia Week*, and *Guardian*, we may very soon find ourselves in an "international diplomatic Soup." (unfortunately most of the reading public, especially of the Swabhasha press, are kept in the dark about these news items appearing in the foreign press). The news items as appearing in the world press, giving hints of various type of connections of the Tamil Youth with Zionism and PLO, Shadow Cabinets and etc. will not certainly help us to solve our problems. The attempts of the TULF to attract world wide sympathy through the medium of pamphlets also appears to bear fruits. We should not allow our problems to be the subject of discussion elsewhere. It should be contained within our geographical frontiers. We are painfully aware of what happened to us in the past. All possible precautions must be taken to prevent any third party interference in our purely local affair. The year 1976, inspite of our local problems, has been one which brought us great honour and recognition in the diplomatic world. This honour and panegyrics earned during this year cannot be allowed to be tarnished by narrow sectarian outlook. As such there is hardly any time for pandiculation.

N.A.

Colombo.
30.10.76

ORCIDOLOGY LAB AT GAJAH MADA UNIVERSITY

Yogyakarta, October 25,

Gajah Mada University now has an orchidology laboratory for tissue culture and production of orchid seeds. Headed by Prof. Ir. Muso Suryowinoto, the laboratory here is similar to the ones in Thailand and Hawaii. Meanwhile, an orchid growers' meeting, the first of its kind in Indonesia will be held in Yogyakarta from November 5 to 7. Prof. Suryowinoto, Vice-Chairman of the Indonesian Orchid Association and Chairman of the Organising Committee, said 15 experts on orchids would address the meeting and competitions would be held for the best orchids, orchid arrangements and the use of orchids in "sanggul" (Indonesian hair-styles).

Indonesian orchids are now being grown in a new Rp. 30 million green-house built in the Botanical Gardens of Bogor and donated by Mrs. Tien Soeharto. The orchid house, called Puspita Sari Widya Puri, will feature over 50 Indonesian species and more will be added as a result of the expeditions frequently being conducted by LIPI's National Institute of Biology.

Confidentially

Rape Of Mavillu

IS IT NOT A FACT that there was a reference in the editorial columns of *Tribune* a few weeks ago about the release of 25,000 acres of forest reserves in the Mannar District to the Cashew Corporation? That our Investigator has now been able to unearth a few more particulars about this scandalous decision of the authorities? That the G.A., Mannar, has already released 5,000 acres of which 2,500 fall within the Mavillu Reserve? That an additional 22,500 acres from this Reserve has been earmarked for planting cashew? That these 25,000 acres have been selected from the Mavillu Forest Reserve in spite of the fact that there are over 200,000 acres of Crown land available for cashew cultivation in the Mannar district? That a few particulars about this forest reserve are relevant? That the tract selected falls under the Mahaveli Development area? That according to the Mahaveli Development Plan it is essential that this area should be reserved for forestry? That apart from this, the Cashew Corporation is also encroaching into areas earmarked for lift irrigation? That there is an Irrigation Department scheme to augment Mavillu Tank and the Agathimurippu Tank with water from Kal Aru? That when this is done thousands of acres under the Mavillu Tank and the Agathimurippu Tank can be brought under lift irrigation or gravity irrigation and paddy and other sophisticated irrigated crops can be grown? That the clearing of the Mavillu Forest Reserve will seriously impair the Agthi Aru that runs through the Reserve? That the Cashew Corporation it is understood has planned to clear the catchment area of the Agthi Aru? That at present Veppal Forest Reserve and the Mavillu Forest Reserve form a corridor and an additional forest area for wild life from Wilpattu as this area adjoins the national park? That the clearing of the 22,500 acres will seriously disturb wild life and create problems for human habitation and agricultural crops in the adjacent areas? That

cashew, even if planted, will suffer serious damage from wild life? That it had been decided in 1971, after top level governmental discussions, that cashew planting should be done in the 200,000 acres of other land available and that the Forest Reserves should be left untouched in the Mavillu and Veppal areas? That foresters have estimated that the 22,500 acres yet to be released from the Mavillu Forest Reserve can produce 9,000,000 cu ft of timber and firewood if there is clearfelling? That the manner in which the Cashew Corporation has so far conducted its felling of forests indicates that the greater part of this timber will be wasted and not utilised? That it is also estimated that if the Reserve is left as a Reserve it would be possible to extract 112,500 cu ft of timber and firewood annually on a sustained yield basis?

That it has also been pointed out that the climate of Mannar is already a harsh and bleak one (compared to the rest of the island)? That on the western coast of Mannar it is even worse than on its north-western fringe? That the annual rainfall in this area is around 25 to 30 inches in most parts and that only in the most favoured parts is the rainfall near 50 inches a year? That the rainfall in this area from May to September is usually less than 10 inches? That evaporation in this area is generally very high and reduces significantly the effect of the already low rainfall particularly during the Southwest Monsoon period? That even in Mannar proper annual evaporation rate is as high as 83 inches? That during the Southwest Monsoon period the western coastal area including the area selected for cashew cultivation experience very strong dry winds? That the clearfelling of large tracts of forests will have the most disastrous repercussions on the already adverse climate and the agricultural production in the areas north and northwest of Mavillu? That apart from this it is the view of the experts that part of the land selected deserve a better crop than cashew? That high class timber could be grown if proper plans for forestry were put into operation? That it is well to remember that the cashew plant (and tree) were introduced to Ceylon by

the Portuguese (from Africa—Angola area) in order to combat the extension of the sandy wastes in the Mannar and other areas? That the cashew is a good crop with a current potential for export? (That it is not certain how long this world demand for cashew will last?) That as mentioned earlier, there are over 200,000 acres of barren and scrub land in the Mannar district which can be successfully planted with the hardy cashew tree? That it is a matter of agricultural knowledge that the cashew has been successfully planted on sandy tracts along the seafront and on degraded and unproductive lands in Ceylon and in other countries? That the ecological and climatic changes, which the clearfelling of the 25,000 acres of the Mavillu Forest Reserve will entail, are very great? That already 2,500 acres have already fallen before the bulldozer and the heavy equipment for wiping out forests? That it is not too late for the Government to save the 22,500 acres of the Forest Reserve, released to the Cashew Corporation, but not yet clearfelled? That Ministers and other dignitaries now make speeches about saving our virgin forest lands? That while such speeches are being made and publicised over the SLBC the Mavillu Forest Reserve is being raped by the Cashew Corporation with the permission of the authorities? That a great song and dance is being made about planting new trees? That it would be better to save the trees in the Mavillu Forest Reserve and order the Cashew Corporation to plant on other lands available in the district — and which could be planted at much less cost without having to spend vast sums in clearfelling the big trees in a Forest Reserve? That posterity, (if there is one for Sri Lanka) will not forgive this Government for permitting the rape of our forest reserves? Is the Mavillu matter not something that all lovers of the Wilpattu National Park must take up? Is it not something that the Wildlife and Nature Protection Society take up? Is it not something which must rouse our ubiquitous Thilo Hoffman to launch a MAVILLU EMERGENCY?

— — — — —

SUBSCRIPTION RATES

FOREIGN

AIR MAIL

Bangladesh, India, Maldives Island and Pakistan 1 Year Rs. 140-00

Singapore, Democratic Republic of Vietnam and South Vietnam 1 Year Rs. 160-00

Australia, China, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, G. D. R., West Germany, U. K., Hong Kong, Italy, Japan, Netherlands, New Zealand, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, South Africa, Switzerland, U.S.S.R., Yugoslavia, Zambia and All African Countries 1 Year Rs. 190 00

Canada, Cuba, West Indies and U.S.A. 1 Year Rs. 225-00

SEA MAIL

To All Countries 1 Year Rs. 100-00

LOCAL 1 Year Rs. 50-00

3 Years Rs. 120-00

TRIBUNE,

43, Dawson Street,

Colombo - 2.

Telephone: 33172

SUBSCRIPTION RATES

DOLLAR COFFEE

is the best



It is the

CHOICE

of the

PLAYERS

and my

FAVOURITE

