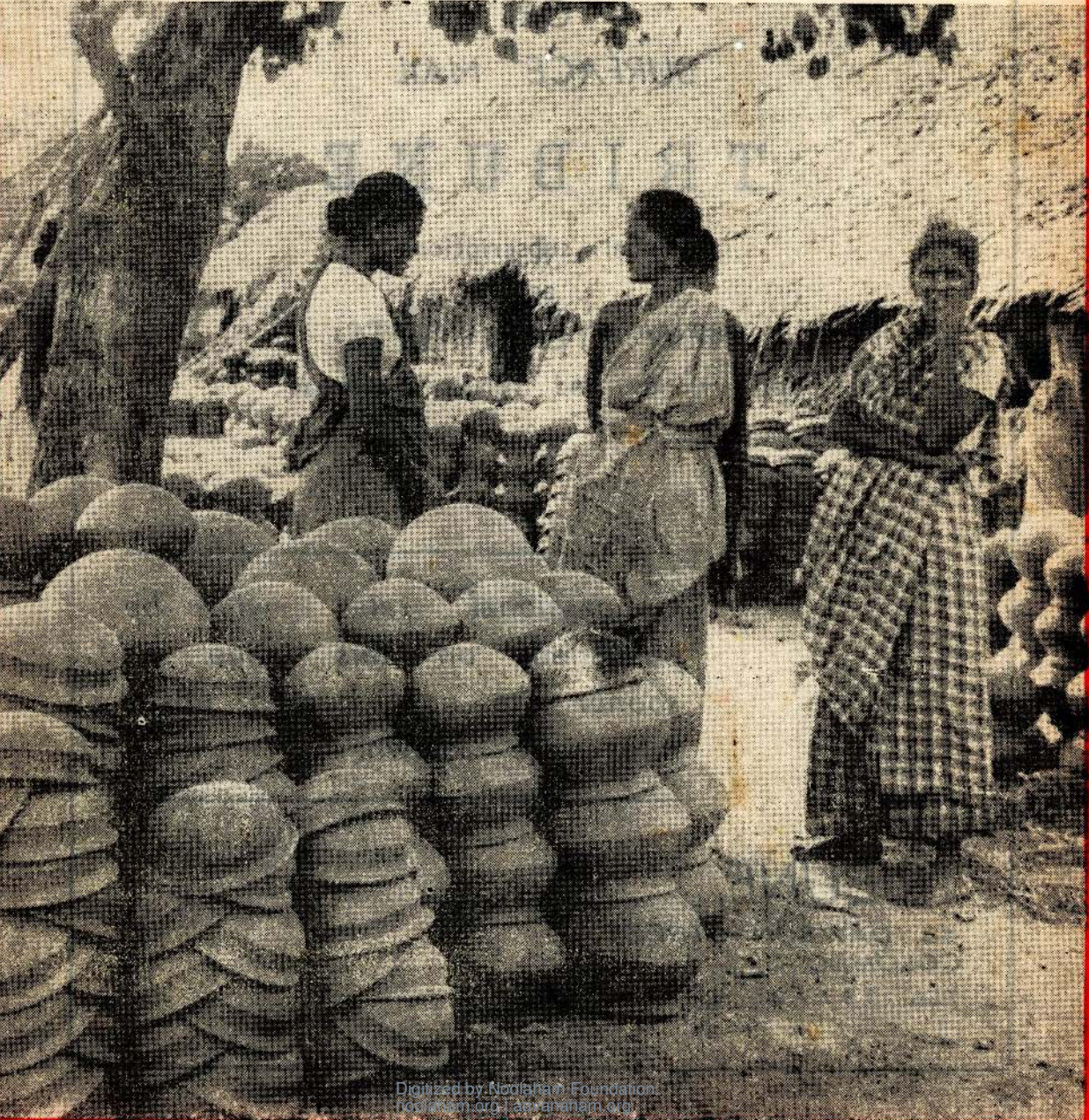


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Letter From The Editor

OUR COVER PICTURE is from Murunkan in the Mannar District. The clay from this area has been traditionally used for countless centuries—from the days of the pre-Vijayan civilisation of Manthota—for making clayware and even primitive ceramic ware. This same clay is now carried in railway waggons to the factory at Kankeanthurai as an ingredient in the making of cement. In the old days when the population of the island was small, cooking utensils and other household articles made of clay were (traditionally) manufactured in a few centres. Then, they were carried to the polas and bazaars in the different areas. The situation today is different. Clay is now used for a variety of purposes. And, at hundreds of places, Sri Lanka makes tiles and pottery, not only in the primitive ways our ancestors had done, but also in modern factories, small and large. In addition to household pottery, our clay and kaolin is used for ceramic ware and even porcelain (this in collaboration with Japan's Noritake). Our ceramic ware is first class, but the price for the local consumer is much higher than what many persons (knowledgeable in these matters) think it should be. Our ceramic ware (and porcelain ware) are a monopoly of the State. The Sri Lanka Ceramics Corporation has become a sprawling empire dealing with everything connected with the conversion of clay into consumer goods—with ambitions of doing much more (making washing blue, it is said). Nobody will mind a state monopoly even if it becomes an unwieldy giant as long as prices are kept within the levels consumers can afford consistent with the costs of manufacture. At the moment, the Ministry of Industries and Scientific Affairs is busy compelling the private sector making consumer goods to reduce prices. On the compelling ground that import duties and the BTT have been reduced, private sector industrialists have been virtually forced ("persuaded") to reduce the prices of items like toothpaste, soap, sewing machines, banians and so on. Press reports indicate that, with the bait of increased import quotas for raw materials, the Government hopes to secure further substantial reductions in the prices of many more items which are now manufactured in Sri Lanka under the euphoria of import substitution (though the wisdom of having ventured into some of these fields—where imports would have cost the country much less foreign exchange in the long run than the cost of outdated machinery—is yet to be satisfactorily established, eg razor blades for one). The Ministry, however, must be praised for having undertaken this task at this belated stage in the life of this Government. One does not know why this activity was never thought of on the same lines during the last five years. In the past, the only threat held out to any private manufacturer or industrialist was a takeover under the Business Acquisition Act. But what was disastrous for the consumer was that when it was found that a manufacturer was making excessive profits, the Government only thought it necessary to increase the BTT and even the import duties of the raw materials in the hope that the profits would be channelled into the coffers of the State. There is no doubt that in this process the Treasury collected some cash, but no attempt was made to ensure that the increased BTT and duties were not passed on to the consumers. In fact, that was what was done. And, the czars of the Treasury and the Ministry of Industries, apart from making a Sword of Damocles of the Business Acquisition Act, made it out that items like toothpaste and synthetics were semi-luxury items which neither the working class nor the peasantry were interested in—and that the other "classes" could damn well pay through their noses for such "luxuries". (Some pundits were even tempted to say that this was another aspect of the class struggle to liquidate the exploiting classes). There is not the slightest doubt that the current exercise at price reduction is a very welcome one. It is a manifest sign that the pernicious philosophy that tooth paste and synthetics were part and parcel of the exploiting classes has been left behind. But this work will not be complete unless the same endeavour is made to reduce the prices of the more important consumer goods produced by the State Corporations by eliminating the waste, inefficiency, corruption and unconscionable profits now being made by them—often under the cover of carrying excessive staff (to spread a smokescreen over the unemployment problem). There are a whole host of essentials and semi-essentials now being made by State Corporations and there is no doubt that the prices charged are not the correct competitive prices taking into consideration the costs and the general economic levels in the country. Cement, textiles, tyres, barbed wire, mammoties, cutlery, ceramic ware, porcelain ware, leather goods, fish products are among a few of the items being produced by State corporations. Is it not possible to bring the prices of these goods down? Is it enough to make a publicised fetish of "price-controlling" the tycoons of the private sector? What about bringing the giants of the public sector under price control?

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EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

PM At The Colombo Plan Meeting

PRIME MINISTER SIRIMAVO BANDARANAIKE in her speech inaugurating the Ministerial Meeting of the 25th Consultative Committee of the Colombo Plan at the BMICH on Monday, December 1, had pointed out that what was needed today was a pragmatic approach to the problems of poverty: that there were nearly 500 million people who were affected by acute malnutrition the world over and that it was only an effective policy of income distribution and an assurance of minimum levels of income that could eradicate the problems of malnutrition. She had emphasised that one of the greatest challenges facing the present generation was to increase the levels of agricultural production so that the populations of the developing countries will be provided adequate food and nutrition: that one had only to look at some of the statistics to obtain an idea of the magnitude of the challenge: and that she was somewhat disappointed by the response of the international community to the issues raised at the World Food Conference.

The following excerpts from her speech deserve to be placed on record because they present the challenging needs of our times in most compelling language.

"...It is with great pleasure that I observe that your deliberations this year will concentrate on a particular aspect of international economic development which I consider to be of primary importance. Your special subject for this Session is the 'Role of External Assistance in increasing Agricultural Production and improving Food Distribution in the Colombo Plan Area'. I do not think there is a more compelling and more relevant subject that demands our attention at this point of time. This is a subject which has been of continuing concern to me during these last few years. It was at Algiers at the Non-Aligned Summit in August 1973 that I proposed the establishment of an International Fund for Agricultural Development. I visualised this Fund to be federal in nature co-ordinating the flow of increased

resources to agriculture in the developing countries. I am extremely happy that this proposal was taken up at the World Food Conference. It is most encouraging to observe the birth of the International Fund for Agricultural Development with substantial resources at its command. In March 1974, I had occasion to deliver the inaugural address to the 29th Session of as it was then termed, the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East. This was a time when the world's poor were faced with a grave food crisis and the prospect of death by starvation became a grim reality for millions of people in the developing world. The progress of what was called the Green Revolution was halted in its tracks. It is this which prompted me to propose the establishment of a multifaceted World Fertilizer Fund.

"It is gratifying to note the developments since that time and the new sense of urgency in the approach to this problem. The resolution sponsored by Sri Lanka and New Zealand in the United Nations in May 1974 gave birth to the Fertilizer Pool and the International Fertilizer Supply Scheme. They are now in operation, and fertilizer supplies are being provided on concessional terms. This international mechanism for the channelling of fertilizers has a great potential which we should all exploit to the fullest. It is now an axiom that the primary task of developing countries is to increase the levels of agricultural production so that the populations of these countries will be provided with adequate food and nutrition. This is no simple task. It is one of the greatest challenges facing our generation. One has only to look at some of the statistics to obtain an idea of the magnitude of this challenge.

"It has been estimated that on present trends, in 1985, the developing countries will be faced with an estimated food deficit of 85 million tons as compared with a mere 16 million tons in 1970. If the developing countries are to meet this food deficit by resorting to imports the cost could very well exceed 10 billion US dollars. The balance of payments of these developing countries will not permit the import of this massive volume of food supplies. Food aid may not fill in the gap to any significant

extent. This estimated deficit in 1985 could only be overcome if we increase our capacity to produce our own food. This is essentially a question of increasing investment outlays on food production from the current levels of about 10 billion US dollars to about 18 billion US dollars annually over the next ten years.

"It has been estimated by International Agencies like the FAO that of this vast sum of money required by developing countries for investment in food production 5 to 6 billion US dollars will be required annually from external sources. Even today there is not much evidence that more than 1.5 billion US dollars is being channelled into the agricultural efforts of the developing countries from external sources. There is therefore a large gap to be met immediately. This brooks no delay. The consequences of a failure to meet this target would be disastrous to the developing world.

"I am somewhat disappointed by the response of the international community to the issues raised at the World Food Conference. The World Food Conference emphasised the gravity and the urgency of the task that lies ahead. The International Fund for Agricultural Development after one year of the Rome Conference has still to be made operational and the resources available to it are certainly no match to the demands and the needs of the developing countries. The Consultative Group on Food Production and Investment which was set up as a result of the decisions of the World Food Conference is an important agency in this context. This group will have to facilitate the adoption of a new and more dynamic approach by the developed countries in solving the external resource problem in increasing food production in the developing countries.

"There are developing countries which today divert between 20 and 30 per cent of their total external earnings for the purchase of food supplies. This is a diversion of valuable external resources which could otherwise be used for creating the necessary capacity for food production. This clearly shows that the problem of developing countries is to conserve their investible resources for invest-

ment in food production rather than allow them to be drained away in current expenditure.

"The developing countries have consistently suffered in their struggle to obtain reasonable prices for the commodities they produce. The terms of trade have declined, and real prices have been so eroded that there is hardly any surplus for investment. If the necessary resources could be obtained by means of better prices for exports, investment in food production will be assured. There has been a great international debate on the problem of commodities. The commodities of importance to South and South-East Asia are mainly agricultural, and a better price for these commodities or at least sustaining their real value in the face of galloping inflation will immediately give relief to these countries.

"My own country has suffered a consistent decline in the price in real terms of our primary foreign exchange earner—tea. If one looks at the purchasing power of tea in 1974 as compared with that of 1962 we find that it is only 29 per cent of its 1962 value. This is the crux of the problem. I earnestly hope that the present discussions in international economic agencies will enable us to evolve a satisfactory solution to the problem of commodity prices.

"One of the areas you will be concerned with in your analysis of the special topic for this Session is that of food distribution. It is now generally accepted that a satisfactory distribution of food can only take place if there is a reasonable distribution of incomes. Those who have little income will have little food.

"In our development efforts in Sri Lanka we have been concerned both with growth and its distribution. As a political democracy we have insisted that priority should be accorded to the general level of welfare of the population. It is important to provide the ordinary man a satisfactory standard of living. This being our primary objective we have tried to make available to every citizen, rich and poor alike, the bare minimum of essential food supplies so that no one goes hungry in this country. The distribution of food on the basis of a rationing scheme partly given free of charge and partly at subsidised prices, ensures a minimum

supply of food to everyone in this country. It is, in effect, a policy of income redistribution.

"There are nearly 500 million people who are affected by acute malnutrition the world over. It is only an effective policy of income distribution and an assurance of minimum levels of income that could eradicate this problem of malnutrition. The market for essential food supplies, rather than the demand for exotic foods, will be created only if income is widely distributed over the entire population in the developing countries. I hope there is something instructive in this direction in the policies and programs we have pursued in Sri Lanka. What we need in the world today is a pragmatic approach to the problem of poverty

Agriculture and Food Production are subjects on which *Tribune* has written with unflinching regularity over the years. Even at a time when many of our leading politicians and doctrinaire pundits had insisted that the future of Ceylon lay in rapid industrialisation, *Tribune* (as far back as 20 years ago) had maintained that, unless we developed our agriculture and agro-based industries, it would be impossible to end the stagnation which the lop-sided plantation economy created by colonialism had imposed on the country. To talk about industrialisation, in terms of what had been achieved by the advanced industrial nations of the West, was futility. In retrospect, it would seem that many pundits had been obsessed with the idea that an industrial "proletariat" was a precondition for political and economic emancipation and they had therefore advocated industrialisation (to create a "proletariat") as being more important than agricultural development (including the modernisation of agriculture). The fact that agriculture was made to subservise political needs—in setting up wasteful and primitive colonisation schemes—has now led to a situation where the country is chronically short of locally produced food. Those enlightened enough, who could have criticised this trend, paid little or no attention to this because they had concentrated all their efforts to push industrialisation forward. In spite of billions of rupees spent on agricultural

development since 1931, this country still has to import rice, flour, sugar and other food items. We spend the major part of our foreign exchange earnings on food imports. It is only now that a slow realisation has begun to dawn on discerning people in this country that a sound and modern agriculture was essential even for industrial development.

The Prime Minister in her speech has recommended a pragmatic (not doctrinaire) approach to the question of agricultural development. It is to be hoped that the ministries and departments of our Government which have to ensure agricultural development and production will devise, pragmatic, realistic, practical and concrete ways of reaching the objective of agricultural self-sufficiency—before making boastful speeches about exporting rice and other food items.

* *

THE LSSP

And The Mixed Economy

By Phylira

In the course of his speech winding up the second reading of the Budget debate on behalf of the Opposition, Dr. N. M. Perera came out against the concept of a mixed economy and said that it was a ruse to perpetuate the capitalist economy. It is interesting, therefore, to see what the position of the LSSP has been on this question in the course of its long and chequered history.

The LSSP was formed in 1935 with three fundamental objectives, the first of which was "the socialisation of the means of production, distribution and exchange of commodities." But beyond this vague generalisation, it did not elaborate on what form the country's economy should take. However, among 22 "immediate demands on behalf of the toiling masses" were included "steeper graduation of Income Tax on the higher incomes" and "reimposition of Estate Duty on estates of Rs. 25,000 and over."

The Programme of Action adopted by the LSSP in 1950 when

the party was unified after the split during the war years into the LSSP and the BLP was more specific. This Programme had as one of its fundamental aims "the confiscation by the workers' state without compensation of all banks, factories, plantations, big commercial concerns, means of transport, mines etc. which will be run and developed as state-owned enterprises for the public benefit and not for private profit."

Another was "The nationalisation of the land. The transfer of all land (excluding large-scale modernised agricultural enterprises) for use to the toiling peasantry. The development of collective farms in peasant agriculture."

Among the "transitional demands" mentioned in the Programme of Action were "Freezing of foreign assets," "Prohibition of the export of dividends;" "Nationalisation of key industries and public utilities without compensation and their operation under workers' control"; "confiscation of all lands owned by absentee landlords and their transfer to working peasants."

It will be seen from all this that some scope was left for the operation of private enterprise during the transitional period. Or, in other words, what was envisaged was a sort of mixed economy.

The LSSP fought the General Election in 1952 on a 14-point programme for the establishment of a Samasamaja Government. Point 6 in this programme was: "The confiscation and running as state enterprises of all banks, of estates with an acreage of 250 acres and above and of the omnibus services. State monopoly of the import-export trade."

From this it will be clear that even under a Samasamaja Government, the LSSP would leave under private capitalist ownership and management all estates under 250 acres in extent, and all property other than the banks, the omnibus services and the import-export trade.

In contesting the General Election of March 1960, the LSSP went all out to capture a majority of seats in Parliament and form a LSSP Government with Dr. N. M. Perera as Prime Minister. Its election manifesto issued at that time stated that "the LSSP Programme was the only serious alternative to the various capitalist

programmes which have been so long tried out under the UNP and the MEP and which have so signally failed.' But what was the economic system envisaged under the proposed LSSP Government?

The manifesto listed: "Nationalisation of banks"; "Taking over by the State of the export and import trade of Ceylon"; "Nationalisation of the big plantations" and "Taking over of all insurance companies by the State." It would thus appear that private enterprise was to be given as great a chance under the LSSP Government which they hoped to form in March 1960 as under the Samasamaja Government they dreamt of in 1952!

The next landmark in the history of the LSSP was the formation of the United Left Front in 1963 after their traumatic experience of March 1960. The ULF Programme had as one of its points: "Nationalisation of (a) the banks, insurance and the agency houses; (b) the import-export trade; (c) all foreign-owned and the locally-owned extensive plantations; and (d) the foreign owned industrial and commercial establishments."

It is clear that the ULF Programme went much beyond the LSSP Programmes of 1952 or 1960. Was this due to the influence of the other two Left parties—the Communist Party and the MEP led by the late Philip Gunawardena? Anyway, it is also clear that even the ULF Programme envisaged a big role for local industrial and commercial establishments, or again, in other words, a mixed economy.

As is now well known, the LSSP did not remain in the ULF for a very long time. In less than a year it had forsaken it in their haste to join the SLFP in a coalition government, leaving their other two partners in the ULF in the lurch. The 14-point programme on which the SLFP-LSSP Coalition Government was formed did not contain a single point regarding any basic change in the economy. Two points concerning banks and agency houses pledged "to reorganise national and foreign banking services to assist national development" and "to control Agency Houses to benefit the national interest." That was all.

Finally, the Common Programme which the LSSP signed with the SLFP and the CP in 1968 stated unequivocally that "The public and private sectors will be clearly demarcated within the context of the overall plan in order to ensure that all spheres of the economy have the necessary stimuli for development."

It was also stated: "The industrialisation of the country will be carried forward with the utmost vigour. The heavy and capital goods and suitable basic consumer industries will be state-owned. Other light industries will be assigned to the co-operatives and private enterprise."

The section dealing with trade, while pledging that "the import of all essential commodities will be handled by the state" and that "the export trade by the state will be progressively expanded" proceeded to give assurances to Ceylonese retail traders. It said: "The Ceylonese retail traders will be assured of their place in the distribution system. Any hardships faced by the traders will be remedied and special credit and other facilities will also be made available."

Therefore, under the Common Programme of the SLFP-LSSP-CP United Front private capitalism was to be given a place both in the fields of industry and trade. Or in other words, what was envisaged was a mixed economy. These assurances were reiterated in the Election Manifesto which the United Front issued for the General Election of 1970.

What happened to these assurances will be examined in a subsequent article.

CHANGING WORLD

BY KAUTILIYA

USA, CHINA

And Detente

SINCE THIS COLUMN was last written numerous changes have taken place in every part of the world. It is extremely difficult for a column like this or a magazine like the *Tribune* to keep pace with the developments of significance even in regions which impinge on geopolitics of Sri Lanka.

In the USA, Ford has reshuffled his Cabinet in his bid to have a streamlined White House machine not only to win the Republican nomination but also to romphome to victory in the Presidential race next year. The CIA has come in for a great deal of legitimate criticism as a result of the over-stepping the limits of its permitted jurisdiction—and details revealed so far have not done the reputation or the prestige of the USA much good. Many observers feel that President Ford had tendered CIA's chief, Colby, as a scapegoat (more because he had co-operated with Congressional Investigating Committees rather than because he had been responsible for the transgressions of the CIA), and these commentators also seem to think that the successor*he has chosen to head the CIA, Republican politician George Bush, who now heads the US liason office in Peking, would run into trouble to get his confirmation from Congress. In the meantime, President Ford has gone to China this week (he will be there from December 1 for five days) on his much-awaited and much-publicised trip.

What kind of reception will he get?

If the reception Kissinger has received on his last visit to Peking (October 19-22) is any indication of the kind of reception Ford would get, then all one can say is that nothing very fruitful is likely to come out of this visit. As long as the USA does not break with Taiwan, decisively and effectively, Peking is not likely to go even one step, further forward than it has so far done in "normalising" relations between the two countries. There is nothing Ford nor Kissinger can do to persuade Peking to increase the tempo of normalisation to reach out to a greater degree of *de facto* diplomatic recognition whilst the US continues its present relations with Taiwan. Additionally, Peking has declared war on the kind of detente Kissinger and the USA have been pursuing with the USSR in Europe and even on a global scale. Even the removal of Defence Secretary Schlesinger by Ford has been interpreted by Peking as being a further concession to pro-Soviet detente.

The *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 31/10/75, in a piece by Leo Goodstadt, had commented: "A pilgrimage to Peking has become part

of the ritual American presidential elections. Gerald Ford sent Secretary of State Henry Kissinger on his eighth visit to China to arrange the details of Ford's own second trip to Peking scheduled for later this year just before next year's White House's electoral race gets underway. But gone were the heady days of 1972 when Richard Nixon broke the Presidential ice by visiting Peking. The Chinese leadership can now afford to take a mature and mellow attitude towards their erstwhile major antagonist. The isolation of China by the outside world had come to an end for all practical purposes. Today, however, China looks out on a much-changed political scene. The astonishing speed of the Indochinese victory against prime US allies have completely reversed the balance of power into which South-east Asia had been frozen by the cold war....."

WHEN KISSINGER had gone to Peking on October 19 he had "found the Chinese in a disappointed mood." At a banquet for Kissinger, Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan-hua had issued a warning that despite the talk of US-Soviet detente—encouraged by the recent Helsinki accord on liberalising relations between East and West Europe—"the danger of a new world war is mounting." According to Goodstadt, "Chiao had continued that 'hegemonism'—Kremlin—could only be dealt with within a 'tit-for-tat struggle'. He described the Soviet Union as basically expansionist and reminded his American guest of the policy of appeasement which led up to World War II. Chiao Kuan-hua was polite about Peking-Washington relations which "on the whole", he stated, "have moved forward in the last few years." He carefully emphasised: "In the current turbulent world situation, our two sides have common points as well.

Goodstadt went on: "The irony of the situation is the way Peking has found a great deal of common ground with Washington in its Asian diplomacy. The US was first involved in the region's affairs because it saw Soviet influence leaping through China to engulf the remainder of the continent. By 1975, China was even more obsessed than the Americans with the need to minimise Soviet access to Asia. The danger of the Kremlin winning strategic

footholds in South East Asia after the emergence of Hanoi as the dominant influence throughout Indochina is no less a worry for Peking than it is for Washington....."

When Kissinger was in Peking Chairman Mao had summoned him for special interview. The AFP in a despatch from Peking dated October 21 had reported that: "Chairman Mao Tse-tung called in the US Secretary of State, Dr. Kissinger to-day and, according to diplomatic sources, warned the US against the dangers of its policy of detente with the Soviet Union. The sources said, Mr. Mao argued, that the Soviet Union was being aggressive in Western Europe and Asia and that detente would do the US no good. Mr. Mao summoned Dr. Kissinger in a surprise move while the Secretary of State was engaged in talks with the Vice-Premier, Mr. Teng Hsiao-ping and the Foreign Minister, Mr. Chiao Kuan-hua. The summons came with such suddenness that Dr. Kissinger was unable to attend a diplomatic reception he was giving for 2,000 persons, including the Soviet delegation to Peking. Diplomats said Mr. Mao bestowed the rare gesture of an audience on Dr. Kissinger apparently not only to signify the importance of Sino-American relations but to dramatise China's unhappiness over America's detente policy with Russia.

Not only Chairman Mao but all the top leaders of China, together with the press and radio, have warned Europe and the world that they were likely to be trapped by Moscow, which, in their words, was trying to camouflage its hegemonistic designs with slogans about detente in Europe. China, it must be noted, had (after Helsinki) begun to assert that the USSR was really a major threat to Europe (although it had for a long time claimed that it on the verge of invading China), and that it was more than likely that if Europeans nations did not wake up Europe would become the battle-ground of rivalry for "the two super-powers."

There is no doubt that China is unhappy about the detente in Europe. According to Goodstadt, the Chinese seem to feel that a real detente in Europe would enable the USSR to concentrate on China and Asia. That is why the Chinese leaders have taken great pains to impress on the poli-

tical leaders of Europe whom Peking has recently invited to China, that there was nothing more foolish than to be lulled into complacency about the Soviet Union and to the detente. A number of top leaders from Europe have been invited to China, Edward Heath from Britain, Strauss and Chancellor Schmidt from West Germany and the French Foreign Minister, were among the more notable of the visitors who had received the benefit of China's warnings. Teng Hsiao-ping, the Deputy Premier, has pointed out on more than one occasion that the struggle between the two super powers, the USSR and the USA, was bound to lead to a third world war.

To contain what China regards as the hegemonistic and expansionist policies of the USSR, she has now extended her fullest support to the NATO, the Common Market and also called upon all western European countries to stand united against the Warsaw Powers and not be bamboozled into complacent apathy in regard to Soviet intentions.

SHORTLY AFTER the Kissinger visit, the West German Chancellor Herr Helmut Schmidt went to Peking and an agency observer writing from Tokyo on November 1 summed up the situation thus: "China on Wednesday stepped up its campaign against detente between the West and the Soviet Union with a sharp warning to the Europeans by the Vice-Premier, Mr. Teng Hsiao-ping, not to be fooled by Moscow. He pointed out that although 30 years had passed since the end of World War II Europe was still in a state of aggravating armed confrontation. Stating 'this situation calls for deep thought' Mr. Teng said it was now evident 'the superpower most zealously preaching detente and disarmament is precisely the one which is stepping up arms expansion and war preparations maintaining an offensive posture far exceeding its defence needs and posing a threat to the people of Europe and the whole world.'

"Mr. Teng, who was speaking at a banquet given by him in honour of the visiting West German Chancellor, Mr. Helmut Schmidt, went on to say 'the hegemonists can tear up treaties and declarations at will. Therefore people must heighten their vigilance, get pre-

pared and not be careless and un-concerned for otherwise they will suffer greatly'. It was only last week that Mr. Teng and other Chinese leaders were reported to have similarly cautioned the United States Secretary of State, Dr. Kissinger against proceeding too far with detente when the latter was visiting Peking. In Wednesday's speech Mr. Teng asked the West Europeans to 'get united against hegemonism'. The Chinese Government, he added, supported the West European countries 'in their efforts to strengthen themselves through unity. In another part of his speech Mr. Teng asked 'is there detente that has progressed to a new stage or is there the growing danger of a new world war? This is a most serious question.' This is the first time that a topmost Chinese Government official has spoken out so strongly in public against detente although for some months now the Chinese press has been carrying on a subtle propaganda campaign on the same lines."

Other agencies reports from Peking itself had described the Schmidt visit in the following terms: Reuter had stated: "The West German Chancellor, Mr. Helmut Schmidt, ended his four-day visit to Peking and left for other parts of China this morning on his way back home amid clear indications that while his talks with Chairman Mao, Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping and other Chinese leaders had led to the strengthening of relations between the two countries, he and his hosts had not been able to see eye to eye over vital international questions. The main difference is over the question of East-West detente and whether this is really possible.

"In their talks with Mr. Schmidt, as a few days ago with the US Secretary of State, Dr. Kissinger, the Chinese reportedly took the position that because of the alleged Soviet policy of seeking hegemony, detente was really not possible and that Moscow resorted to detente only as an eyewash to fool the West and achieve its ambitions. However, Mr. Schmidt is believed to have argued strongly for detente on the basis of military balance.

"While their differences on this issue remained irreconcilable, West Germany and China strengthened their two-way relations with the

signing in Peking last night of a civil air transport agreements and a maritime transport accord. They also exchanged letters on the establishment of a mixed committee for the promotion of economic and trade relations between the two countries. The signing of the civil aviation and maritime transport agreements suggests that the two countries are planning to link each other with both passenger air services and shipping services.

"However, while addressing a press conference in Peking's Great Hall of the People, Mr. Schmidt said China was very satisfied with the close defence collaboration between the US and Europe. He said: 'Contrary to the recent press reports, I have not heard one negative remark about the US.' The Chancellor said he had explained very carefully to Mr. Teng Hsiao-ping about the defence capability of the NATO countries and the 'political and psychological will of the NATO partners to use this capability in case of emergency'. East-West relations and the thorny question of detente were thought to be the only major topics on which the two sides might disagree. The Chancellor would only admit that there had been differences of 'nuance.'

AFP had reported: "Mr. Teng Hsiao-ping proposed a toast to 'the union of Europe at the end of the banquet given by Mr. Schmidt. It was the first time a prominent Chinese leader had made such a toast. Mr. Teng, who was replacing the hospitalised Chinese Premier, Mr. Chou En-lai, raised his glass and said 'I now propose to make a toast to the union of Europe and the growth of its power'. Earlier, Mr. Teng stressed that 'the union of Europe has in our opinion a great importance. The unity of Europeans is a historical necessity. To be united is to be strong, and to be disunited is to leave oneself open to trouble'. Mr. Schmidt did not touch on international issues during his toast, but confined himself to Sino-German relations.

The Newsweek of November 3, commenting on the Kissinger visit to Peking has stated in its issue of November 3 as follows: "Secretary of State Henry Kissinger may have been caught somewhat off guard last week by the stern lectures he received from Chinese officials

On the 'folly' of US-Soviet detente (page 29). But grim warnings about Moscow's evil intents have become increasingly commonplace in Peking these days. Week after week, the Chinese leadership, from Chou En-lai's heir apparent Senior Deputy Premier Teng Hsiao-ping on down, has steadily stepped up Peking's anti-Soviet propaganda campaign to the point where it has been transformed into a full-fledged war chant. Local party officials have dusted off the familiar litany to 'dig tunnels deep, store grain everywhere and prepare for war.' And in frequent regional broadcasts along the tense, 4,100-mile-long border with the Soviet Union, somber radio commentators urge the Chinese citizenry to 'firmly guard the West Gate of the motherland'. Much of that rhetoric has been heard before—and few Western China watchers accept Peking's increasingly strident claims that war with Russia is at hand. 'I find no indicators anywhere that point to a war on the Sino-Soviet border', says one Pentagon official. No ominous troop movements have been detected by Western intelligence agencies; in fact, both Chinese and Soviet divisions are positioned hundreds of miles from the frontier itself, with only border guards in advance outposts. Still, the sheer intensity and volume of the latest warnings suggests that there is more to the anti-Soviet outbursts than Peking's traditional ideological rivalry with Moscow. The current Chinese war scare also seems to be fuelled by a series of domestic political problems ranging from internal security to serious concerns about the shape of Chinese foreign policy in the post-Mao era....."

SUCH ARE the political perspectives of the Ford visit to Peking.

Stephen Barber from Washington writing in the latest issue of the *Far Eastern Economic Review* stated: "No significant development need to be expected from President Ford's visit to Peking. That is the word from impeccable sources in White House and the State Department. The only real point of the trip, correspondents are told, is that it will afford an opportunity 'to fine-tune our mutual perceptions to the current global situation. This is considered very important' by officials who should know. It may not be spectacular or drama-

tic, they say, but the Chinese themselves are most emphatically interested in the presidential visit. The same officials point out that domestically there is no great political advantage for Ford that he could exploit for electoral purposes next year. The trip should make good television pictures but not much more, they say. Nonetheless, they add that, in terms of overall global strategy, it is clearly a 'must'. Not to have fixed up the trip after announcing it a year ago in the wake of the Ford-Brezhnev meeting at Vladivostok would have caused widespread and uneasy speculation throughout the world, they argue. There will be no breakthrough on the Taiwan problem, hence no upgrading of diplomatic representation in Washington and Peking because, as one official put it half-jokingly: 'We have used up our ration for betrayals this year'—meaning America cannot abandon the Chinese Nationalists so soon after the Indochina debacle. They fully expect Deputy Teng Hsiao-ping to trot out his standard current speech, as to all recent internal visitors, about the dangers posed by Soviet-American detente. But Secretary of State Henry Kissinger blandly dismisses this as window dressing. The way Kissinger sees it, if the Chinese were not belly-aching about detente they would be sounding off about the risks of cold war between the two nuclear superpowers exploding into a terminal holocaust for all mankind. This, indeed, used to be their line not long ago addressed to the Third World. The hard-nosed American diplomatic view, at this time, is that China is looking for a free defensive umbrella and finds it best obtained by Soviet-American confrontation. This being firmly understood, there is no need to pay much attention to Teng's fulminations against what he claims to see as a dangerous softness to Moscow on America's part. American and Chinese positions happen conveniently to coincide in that both are opposed to Soviet hegemony in Asia. The fact that Chairman Mao Tse-tung saw Kissinger for an hour and 40 minutes when he was last in Peking is considered by top Ford advisers to be fully as important as anything they may have said to one another. It was an audience on Chinese initiative that the Chinese obviously wanted their own people to think

important, or it would not have taken place at all."

This seems to summarise the American position very well. As we go to press, the first reports from Peking have come in, and American anticipations about what Deputy Prime Minister Teng would say have been amply borne out. A Reuter report from Peking stated that the Chinese Deputy Premier had told Ford at the welcoming dinner that rhetoric about detente could not hide the growing danger of world war. Mr. Teng had made it clear that China considered the struggle against Soviet hegemony more important than normalisation of its relations with the United States. Mr. Ford is reported to have listened intently, stern-faced, as Mr. Teng alluded to Moscow as "the most dangerous source of war". Mr. Teng had not referred directly to the US detente with the Soviet Union, but had said that it was in the interest of the world to dispel illusions of peace. Mr. Ford in his reply had stated firmly that Washington would continue to strive both to reduce the dangers and to explore new opportunities for peace: that the US would try to 'achieve a more peaceful world even as we remain determined to resist any actions that threaten the independence and well-being of others....."

What the outcome of the Ford visit can be easily anticipated, but what is of significance is that China has declared a total (propaganda) war against detente. Later Reuter reports from Peking indicate that Chairman Mao in his meeting with President Ford on December 2 had urged the American President "to moderate US detente with the Soviet Union." The official *Hsinhua* report, which strangely enough had been released by the White House press office (the first time, according to US newspaper circles, when a foreign agency's report was issued of a meeting involving the US President), had referred to "earnest and significant discussions on wide-ranging issues in a friendly atmosphere"—words not very different from the *Hsinhua* communique after Chairman Mao's meeting with Chancellor Schmidt. Whatever the trappings, there is no doubt that China is doing everything possible to dissuade the USA from pursuing detente with the USSR. This is perhaps the major pivotal point in the current international situation.

CHRONICLE

Nov. 21 — Nov. 27

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

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

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 21: The President under the Public Security Ordinance gazetted a number of regulations regarding the sale, distribution and manufacture of synthetic textiles: the purpose of the regulations is to pass the benefits of the budget proposals to the consumer—CDN. The vote on the second reading of the Budget takes place tonight in the NSA—CDN. According to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Sri Lanka missions abroad will in future be called upon to ensure that as far as possible their staff comprise Sri Lankians only—CDM. Air Ceylon which had been operating only with a share capital of Rs. 6 million since its inception 28 years ago has now decided to increase its share capital to Rs. 15 million in view of its critical financial position—CDM. Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayakam, MP for Kankasanturai and leader of the Federal Party, speaking on the Budget debate in the NSA yesterday said that the reason for the decision of the Tamils to create a separate state was to safeguard their own independence and language rights: and emphasised on the difficult task of creating a separate state for Tamils; Mr. Chelvanayagam said that the Tamils would achieve this even by sacrificing a great deal—VK. Mr. Gamini Dissanayake, MP for Nuwara Eliya, speaking on the Budget debate said the leader of the Communist Party had failed to say anything about the proposals in the Budget which invited foreign capital to the country—VK. The first consignment of tea since the take-over of foreign and company-owned estates was shipped yesterday to the U.K. by the Land Reform Commission after a simple ceremony at the Colombo port—DM. The election of the 19th Mahanayake of the Asgiriya Chapter will take place today in Kandy—DM. A special inquiry by the Public Trustee, Mr. Mahinda Ellepola, commenced yesterday to ascertain the circumstances under which the sentence of death on a notorious criminal, Maru Sira, was carried out at the Bogambara Prisons: the inquiry has been ordered by the Minister of Justice, Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike—LD. Over 2,500 employees of the Wellawatte Spinning and Weaving Mills gathered at the Galle Face yesterday demanding the Government to take over the Mills, the management of which has announced the closure of the Mills from next month—ATH. The *Janadina* editorially commenting on the Budget said those MPs of the SLFP who spoke so highly about the Budget soon after it was announced have now become very silent after fully understanding the Budget proposals. General Francisco Franco, the man who ruled Spain for nearly four decades, died yesterday: his successor, Prince Juan Carlos, will be proclaimed King on Saturday. The United States said yesterday that it had no intention of obeying a United Nations General Assembly call for the withdrawal of US troops from South Korea:

a State Department spokesman said that the General Assembly's resolution are only recommendations and have no binding force.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 22: The Second reading of the Budget was passed in the NSA yesterday by a majority of 63 votes: 103 voted for the Budget and 40 against: the UNP/SLVB/FP and the LSSP voted against it along with the independent MPs for Nikaweretiya and Dondra: the independent MPs for Galle and Jaffna voted for the Budget with the SLFP and the CP: prior to the voting Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, speaking on the Budget said a vote against the Budget would be a vote against the concessions given to the people: Mrs. Bandaranaike referred to the speech of the independent MP for Galle and said that even a consistent critic of the Government like Mr. W. Dahanayake described the Budget as the best in 32 years. Dr. N. M. Perera, MP for Yatiyantota and the leader of the LSSP, said though the Premier spoke about the concessions to the people she did not mention the concessions to the mudalalis: he further said that mixed economy was a capitalist structure—CDN. Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike winding up the debate on the Budget said that there was "no right about turn from socialism" in this Budget but there was only a change of emphasis, style and management within the framework of the policies pursued during the past five years—CDM. The Constitutional Court by a majority decisions has ruled that the Church of Sri Lanka (Consequential Provisions) Bill which sought to unite four Christian churches of Sri Lanka was inconsistent with the provisions of the Constitution and this was yesterday intimated to the members of the NSA by the Speaker, Mr. Stanley Tillekeratne—CDM. The Ven. Palipane Dharmakeerthi Sri Gunaratne, Chandananda Thero was yesterday unanimously elected the 19th Mahanayake of the Asgiriya of Chapter—DM. Housing Minister, Mr. Pieter Keuneman, will soon present in the NSA an amendment to the National Housing Bill effecting the necessary changes to make the money spent on building of houses tax free—DM. According to the Aththa the management of the Wellawatte Spinning and Weaving Mills has expressed its willingness to hand over the firm to the Government and expects a large sum of money as compensation—ATH. Thousands of teachers belonging to eight trade unions will participate in a mass rally today at the Hyde Park Colombo demanding equal salary scales for all categories of trained teachers in the Government service—JD. The Auditor-General, in his report for 1973, has stated, that though the Government had decided to close down the Gal-oya Board and absorb the employees into various other Government schemes, nearly Rs. 3 million had still been paid as idle wages to its employees who were not so absorbed—CDN. Bangladesh faced a fresh crisis arising from a threatened revolt from the armed forces: following this threat Soviet built tanks are guarding the streets of Dacca: an all night curfew from 11 p.m. to 5 a.m. is in force in the city. The United Nations General Assembly demanded the withdrawal without delay of all foreign armed forces from the Republic of Cyprus and an end to all foreign interference in its affairs. North Korea appealed to the United States to sign a peace agreement under the condition that all the foreign troops are withdrawn from South Korea.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 23: According to the *Observer*, large quantities of subversive literature viciously attacking the Government and calling for a separate Tamil State was seized along with opium concealed in the false bottom of a suitcase by Customs officials: among the books seized were copies of a book in English entitled, "Tamils need a nation, why?": this book has been printed in South India and gave a different interpretation to the country's history—CO. Giving evidence on behalf of the SLFP, Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Finance and Justice, told the Delimitation Commission that demarcation of constituencies should be done on a political basis and not on a religious or communal basis—CO. Mr. T. B. Illangaratne, Minister of Trade and Public Administration, will leave for Peking today to sign the agreement for the year 1976 on the Sino-Sri Lanka Rubber-Rice pact—ST. Thousands of teachers belonging to eight major trade unions who met at a rally in Colombo yesterday confirmed their earlier decision to launch a island-wide token strike on December 4 demanding equal salaries for all categories of trained teachers—VK. Mr. Anura Bandaranaike, Chief Organiser of the SLFP Youth Leagues, speaking at a press conference at the Temple Trees yesterday said that thousands of young men and women who were involved in the '71 insurrection had now rallied round the SLFP and they had given written assurances that they would not be hoodwinked by the promises held out to them by Mr. J. R. Jayewardene—ST. The 40th anniversary celebrations of the LSSP will be held on December 18 in Galle, Ratnapura and Colombo—JS. The Centenary celebrations of the Vidyalandara Pirivena (Vidyalankara Campus of the University of Sri Lanka) will commence today and continue for two weeks—SM. According to the *Times* several school heads have not supported the suggestion by the Vice Chancellor of the University, Mr. L. H. Sumanadasa, that lectures for about 200 first year undergraduates could be conducted in some leading schools to ease the congestion in the University: several heads of schools have expressed the view that schools have their own problems on their hands without having to help the University. King Juan Carlos who was sworn in as King of Spain told the countrymen he wants to rule with firmness and prudence after the 36-year dictatorship of General Franco: he said, he wanted to be a moderator. Several incidents of gunfire exchange was witnessed yesterday in Beirut, where clashes between the Christian challengers and Arab Commando forces are continuing. Security officials intercepted a letter bomb addressed the Australian Governor General Sir John Kerr.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 24: Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Finance, in an interview to the *Daily News* said the removal of ceiling on income and expenditure will not prevent anyone spending luxuriously but they will be made to pay tax: referring to Dr. N. M. Perera's earlier proposal to have a ceiling on expenditure Mr. Bandaranaike said the excess money would remain their own, earning an interest, and which had to be repaid to them some day: the Minister further said taxing would curb luxurious spending more effectively than to have a ceiling on expenditure: the Minister said this in a series of answers to his budget critics. At the inquiry conducted into the Batuwatte train crash it was revealed that the Engine driver did not have a fitness certificate—CDM. Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, addressing the meeting after she opened

a new wing to the Wathupitiwala Hospital said that the Government would consider giving more facilities to Ceylonese doctors who are abroad if they are willing to come back and serve their motherland—LD. Mr. Pieter Keuneman, Minister of Housing and Construction, addressing a meeting in Batticaloa said that the Government had plans to establish a Campus of the University in Batticaloa—VK. Prime Minister, Mrs. Bandaranaike, addressing a meeting in Attanagalla said that soon a law will be passed prohibiting anyone selling or transferring lands received from the Government—VK. Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwa, Minister of Food and Agriculture, returned to the island yesterday after attending an FAO conference in Rome—DM. The *Aththa* editorially requested the demand of the trained teachers should be met and equal pay for all categories of trained teachers must be paid. The 25th meeting of the Colombo Plan Consultative Committee will begin in the BMICH tomorrow—CDN. The Shah of Iran has proposed a joint armament industry among Iran, Turkey and Pakistan intended to strengthen their loose alliance against the Soviet Union and lessen dependence on western arms suppliers. South African Foreign Minister said that his country does not intend to interfere with the war in Angola. Thailand accused North Vietnam for interfering in the clash with Laos which led to an armed conflict.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 25: According to the *Daily Mirror* a flood of inquiries from businessmen from USA, Japan, Arab countries, Europe, India, Pakistan and Yugoslavia have been made to the commercial banks, management consultants and industrialists regarding the Finance Minister's Budget proposal offering package incentives for participation in Sri Lanka's national economic development on mutually accepted terms. Mr. Anura Bandaranaike, Chief Organiser of the SLFP Youth Leagues, speaking at a meeting in Colombo posed the question as to what Mr. J. R. Jayewardene has done for the common man to call himself a socialist—CDM. Mr. Chiao Hsiao-kuang, leader of the China-Sri Lanka Friendship Association delegation presently on a visit to the country said, that China is always ready to help Sri Lanka—CDN. Mr. S. K. K. Suriarachchi, Minister of Co-operatives and Small Industries, has promised a new deal for consumers in the co-operative sector starting from the Sinhala-Tamil New Year: according to the plans that would be drawn up courtsey and quick deliveries without waiting in queue will be the main feature of the overhaul—CDN. The Government decided that in future disciplinary inquiries into complaints against public servants would be completed within three months from the commencement of the inquiry—CDN. The High Court of Colombo ordered sale by auction of a foreign ship of Singapore "M/V Yanti" now in the port Colombo for the failure on the part of the owners to pay salaries to its crew and other claims made by local firms for various services rendered: the ship is worth Rs. 3 million and the Captain and the crew of the ship had claimed 23,000 US dollars from the owners—CDN. Prime Minister Ali Bhutto of Pakistan who will make an official visit to the country next month is expected to address the National State Assembly—LD. Students elected for admissions to the University for the next academic year will be informed next week—DM. The Rent Control Boards are to be given powers to take over any house kept vacant for more than three months, and

rent them out for tenants—VK. The Minister of Industries and Scientific Affairs, Mr. T. B. Subasinghe, yesterday appointed a 5-man committee to inquire and report to him about the Wellawatte Spinning and Weaving Mills with a view to take over the firm—ATH. The Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, speaking at a meeting in Attanagalla criticised the slow work of the Department of Buildings: the Premier further said she would be compelled to ask the Department and the relevant Ministry to accept only as much as they could do and handover the excess work to the relevant departments: Mrs. Bandaranaike said this participating at the ceremony held to mark the Opening of a ward built at the Wathupitiwala hospital at a cost of Rs. 1.4 million—JD. According to US Senate Intelligence Committee's disclosures the CIA plotted to assassinate the Cuban Prime Minister Fidel Castro at least eight times and sought to poison the late Congolese Premier Patrice Lumumba. UN Secretary General Waldheim conferred for nearly four hours with Syrian leader Hafez Al-Assad and said he would travel to Israel tomorrow with Syria's latest ideas on Middle East Peace.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 26: Professor P. P. G. L. Siriwardena was yesterday appointed as Vice Chancellor of the University of Sri Lanka: Mr. L. H. Sumanadasa, the present Vice-Chancellor retires from service on December 5—CDN. The Revolutionary Command Council, the ruling body in Libya, agreed to provide all assistance to Sri Lanka to make the forthcoming Non-aligned conference to be held in Colombo a success: Colonel Muammar Gaddafi will lead the Libyan delegation for the Non-aligned conference to be held here next year—CDN. According to the *Daily Mirror* shortage of staff in the Civil Medical Stores, the premier institution that supplies all drugs to the Government hospitals, is likely to disrupt the smooth flow of drugs to the island's hospitals. Referring to a news item in the *Daily Mirror* regarding the evidence given by Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Finance and Justice, the Minister said that it was not correct to have said that the SLFP wished that seats should be demarcated on a political basis rather than on a religious and racial basis: Mr. Bandaranaike said that he told the commission the election of MPs today do not proceed on the basis of religious distinctions as was apparent from illustrations drawn from various electorates—CDM. Mr. Lakshman Jayakody, Deputy Minister of Defence and Foreign Affairs, replying to a question in the NSA yesterday said the emergency rule in the country cannot be lifted as the Federal Party has threatened a struggle: replying to a question by Dr. N. M. Perera as to why Mr. Anura Bandaranaike, son of the Prime Minister is followed by two ASPs to places where he travels, the Deputy Minister said that this protection is given to him on the basis of protection for families of politicians: Mr. Leslie Goonewardena, MP for Panadura, raised the question as to what connection Mr. Anura Bandaranaike has with the Government and on what authority and capacity he visited Maldivé Islands along with the Prime Minister when she went there and participated in official discussions—VK. The Bank of Ceylon will start a 100 acre cultivation of garlic in dry areas in the up country—DM. The *Aththa* editorially referring to a news item in yesterday's *Daily Mirror* which said several foreign organisations and individuals sought inquiries about the Budget proposals inviting foreign capital said that the paper

was attempting to establish a close relationship between the Finance Minister and Capitalists: the *Aththa*, further said, whatever it may be, the masses of the country must be fully informed of the terms and conditions of all foreign capital allowed to operate in the country and every such project with foreign capital must be passed in the NSA. US President Ford ordered a 10-year suspension of import duties from 137 developing countries and territories. An emergency was declared in the Lisbon area as the Portuguese rebel paratroopers took over the air force headquarters in Lisbon. Ford administration has ordered all Government officials to refuse to testify at a Senate Committees' public hearing next week into US's cloak-and-dagger operations in Chile.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 27: Sri Lanka's report to the current Colombo Plan Conference, now being held at the BMICH emphasized that external assistance should now be shifted from the generalities of economic growth to the more immediate and critical needs of human beings—CDN. The Prime Minister replying to the debate on the Votes of her Ministry told the NSA that according to information the Government had some emergency laws could not be removed immediately—CDN. Mr. Stanley Tillekeratne, Speaker, told the NSA yesterday that he will call an immediate meeting of the chairman of the two newspaper organisations *Lake House* and the *Times of Ceylon* following complaints by the Opposition members that those newspapers carried distorted versions of the proceedings of the Assembly—CDN. A medical specialist nobbed for alleged bribery attempted to commit suicide in the Bribery Commissioner's Department—CDM. The Minister of Finance had made a ruling that under no circumstances prematurely retired Government servants be employed by state corporations, boards and other institutions in any capacity—CDM. The Postal Department has increased the charges for special services like insurance, late fee, warehousing, registration, advice of delivery etc., effective from December 1: the overseas air mail and sea mail postal rates be increased in the early part of 1976—CDM. The Prime Minister and several Ministers participated in the ceremony held yesterday in the NSA premises to commemorate Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan—VK. Mr. Aziz, Appointed MP, told the NSA that the Minister of Agriculture and Lands, promised him that the latter would change the regulation which empowered Government Agents to oust estate workers without a court order and if ousted it could not be challenged in a court of law—VK. Credit Councils will start functioning from January next year—DM. Minister of Housing and Construction, Mr. Pieter Keuneman, ordered the immediate stoppage of the practice of charging arrears on house rents from tenants: the Department of National Housing was in the habit of charging an interest on arrears of rents to tenants of Government-owned houses—ATH. The *Janadina* editorially requested the full freedom for insurgents who were released from rehabilitation camps without laying conditions for them on their release from camps. Four people were killed, and two wounded when Police and security guards foiled an attempt to kidnap the Indian High Commissioner in Dacca. King Juan Carlos of Spain decreed a general pardon for political and common prisoners to mark his accession to the Throne. Government troops recaptured Portugal's Air Force headquarters which was earlier captured by rebel paratroopers.

Having A 'Baby

BY HERBERT KEUNEMAN

AS I RECENTLY WROTE to a friend: 'My movements in December are going to be very unpredictable indeed. Everything will hinge on arrangements for Dinga's baby (and, of course, on the actual date of the baby's arrival) and since neither is, on the one hand, firmly planned nor, on the other, categorically prophesied, I might just as well—for all the *kalabala* in which I find I am involved—be producing the wretched little brat myself!'

The fact is, however, that despite any camouflage such as calling the so-far unoffending hopeful quite unjustifiably a 'wretched little brat', I am hardly less excited about its impending appearance than Dinga and its father Banders; indeed, I do consider it in a sense my production, for I pride myself that had I not insisted on its five-years-married parents' consultation of a highly competent and truly sympathetic doctor eighteen months ago they might easily be still reproaching themselves or, worse still, each other for the absence of an issue it required only the most minor of surgery and a little careful calculation to engender. Besides, to become even an honorary grandfather is a pleasure of which I had never seriously anticipated the degree! No, I am all for this business: no matter how it interferes with my Christmas planning!

I am happiest, however, on Dinga's account. I had not realized how intense the reproach of childlessness, however dutifully disguised within the 'afflicted' family, could be in the village. Childlessness is, of course, here always blamed upon the woman (such a thing as an unprocreative man simply does not exist in the village scheme of things) and the woman who has never borne a child is regarded not merely as unfortunate but as inauspicious: with the kind of ill-fortune that may rub off on others! *musala* is the word. She is, for instance, as sinister a sight to lay eyes on first thing in the morning or at the beginning of a journey or the inception of an undertaking as someone carrying an empty water-pot, or a funeral

procession, or a Buddhist monk (strange to say) and, naturally, rather more likely than to be so encountered.

It was only as I began to understand the superstitious depth of this feeling that I came to understand also the habitual look of lonely melancholy that had gradually invaded the sweet gravity of Dinga's face a couple of years ago; also her moodiness, her fits of the sulks, her too easily called forth irascibility though she hid it always under tears. But the Dinga of today is a different person, like the girl I remember when she was newly married.

It could not have been a much happier time for Banders either though the infrequency of his visits home—so much to be deplored as a typical economic necessity of our inhuman times—while largely the cause of the difficulty, helped to keep less obvious his own unhappiness because of his unstimulated pleasure in being with Dinga even temporarily; his genuine love for her—an un-village attitude for a husband towards a wife: not so much an unknown attitude as an unnecessary one—imparted to their meetings an air of gaiety that deferred hope could only have been eating away. Now he too the village regards as a parent fulfilled!

AS A PERSISTENT DO-GOODER who has for once helped bring something off, I should also be feeling fulfilled and without care. But alas! having once, and (arguably) to some purpose, interfered in this business I cannot wash my hands of it; and I find myself continually constrained to go on interfering. Everybody is very deferent to me, outwardly at least, and Dinga and Banders are, I think, 'on' my side, but it has to be admitted that the village beliefs about having babies and the modern ideas about having them which I have invoked are often at cross purposes. For example, it is the village custom to administer to the pregnant mother during the seventh month a really violent 'opening dose'! Sumana, a friend of Dinga's and a couple of months her senior in pregnancy, was administered a dose of such efficacy that she went almost into a coma after it and had to be given another dose not normally slated, to reverse the effect! I am afraid I put up Dinga to refuse to co-operate, and Dinga's doctor in Colombo and another gynae-

cologist friend and all the non-village mothers to whom I spoke about it applauded this stand and were horrified that any rationale could permit the treatment. But there it is: the village's custom not only permits but demands it.

Again, I have been insisting on Dinga's taking a daily pint of cow's milk. A few weeks ago Dinga was urgently advised by various village authorities to lay off. When I begged that she continue, the authorities (all of whom claim the qualification: 'Haven't I borne six . . . eight . . . ten—any number up to a dozen; but seldom less than six! and no mention made of the not-a-few they may have lost—haven't I borne N babies?') swore that if she did she would have only herself to blame when the time of reckoning arrived. Totally unqualified though I am, never having borne even one baby, I could only call upon Dinga's faith in me to keep up with her milk-drinking. The contest was at its height when fortunately the cow ran dry and I had put Dinga on milk powder. This for some reason is not counted as milk within the meaning of the act, so Dinga still gets her 'milk' but I have ceased to be execrated as her evil genius.

THE PREJUDICE against milk seems to spring from a rationale of a horribly cold-blooded kind, to which recommendations to the pregnant woman as to her food, exercise and medication (if any) are all are all subjected: *the baby must be kept small*, for the sake of the easiest possible delivery. If a small baby means also a weak one—though this is, naturally never consciously intended—well . . . if the worst comes to the worst, one can always have another go! The woman has proved her fertility and since the man's fecundity was never—is never—in question, another go is always possible!

Village recommendations in pregnancy are interesting to examine. Some of them must undoubtedly have an empirical validity. But in a system where water (up to 0°C) is supposed to be *sitalayi*, or 'cold-producing', but ice is *ginihamayi*, or 'heat-producing', how does one decide between what has been proved experimentally beneficial and what merely belongs to a logical process based upon false premises or fallacious syllogization?

For instance, as regards food: leaves of most kinds are good to eat (undoubtedly: rich as they are in vitamins and minerals) but not leaves with any reddish tint, because these cause babies with inflamed, eczematous skins (a clear piece of sympathetic credulity). Proteins should be avoided: they make the baby heavy. Mouse-deer flesh lessens the mother's milk. Vegetables should be eaten in plenty; but not *karavila* (bitter-gourds) because the baby will be born acneous or warty; and not pineapple or papaw, since these—especially when less than ripe—are powerful abortifacients, as also is a decoction of *ikiri: Barleria* spp. Yet unwanted babies continue to be born in large numbers, and village ladies of complaisant virtue rely almost exclusively on the Loop! As regards exercise the thinking is easier to follow: for the first three months, the more the better; but after the mother is noticeably *enceinte* it should be confined by preference to the sort, such as winnowing or sweeping or light mammy-wielding, which produce a *paddena gatiya* (a gentle rocking motion) a recommendation interesting in the light of the approval now being re-bestowed upon the cradle as an effective means to keep even urban babies secure-minded and and happy.

I SHOULD FEEL SECURER in my own mind in my role of obstetrician *manque* if I had had any previous experience of this baby business—the 'I've had x babies' argument of the village old wives still intimidates me even when common sense or common knowledge support me—or if I even had an up-to-date manual, however, 'popular' to support me. Instead, some years ago I even gave away my Dr. Spock to a friend to whom it would seem a more practically useful possession than, at that time,

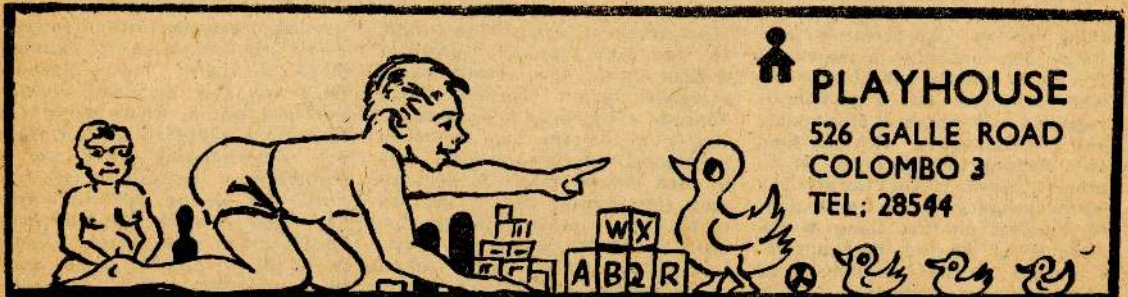
it seemed likely ever to become with me. But one never can tell, can one? Who would have, once, thought any baby would—for me—become more than the most academic of interests! And here now I find myself Eyeless in Gaza: I do not even seem to be able to discover authoritatively what is the standard size for a baby 'napkin'! Frantic letters even to much practised mothers of my acquaintance—who, I should certainly have thought would be bound to know—have elicited only shocking confessions of complete forgetfulness: 'she remembereth no more the anguish' though what traumatic there could be about the dimensions of a diaper is frankly beyond my imagination. As a last resort, a desperate search amongst the 1,000-odd pages of a Sears/Roebuck catalogue of Napoleonic vintage seemed to suggest 27" square! But I must have consulted by mistake the section devoted to Elephants; I should think: 27"—folded diagonally, as I seem to remember napkins are—would go round the sort of babies I have been at all accustomed to three times at least. (But what is most disheartening is that village mothers don't appear to use napkins, anyway: they mop up the mess, if it is moppable, with a corner of their cloths!)

Nor, despite a round of intensive telephoning of bookshops when I was last in Colombo, have I been able to discover any Dr. Spockish kind of book in Sinhalese. There were two, it seems, which nobody I could find appeared to have read; but they are scarcer than Shakespeare folios. The fact is, it seems to be, that where the general run of Ceylon mothers is concerned what was good enough for their grandmother's babies is good enough for their own.

BUT WHAT I AM REALLY SCARED about is a problem in which at

some point in the near future I shall have to come down unequivocally on one side or the other. I shall do so. But I shall not stick my neck out and insist. The problem is: where is Dinga to have her baby? For a 'primi', Dinga is not exactly young: 28—. And there is the fact that with the scarcity of leave available to Banders it may be years before all circumstances are so propitious as to chime together so that they may 'have another (successful) go'. Originally, Dinga was going to trust herself to the local 'vartuva': Maternity Home. But fortunately—fortunately that is, for Dinga—her friend Sumana who is just her age and who took all the village precautionary measures has just been delivered of a baby after a very bad labour indeed. The baby was as 'small' as any village mother could have wished—5½ lbs.—she had three-and-a-half days of anguish producing it. At one point the 'Apo' suggested to her parents that they take poor Sumana elsewhere (anywhere they liked—he seemed to imply it would make no difference—yet not even an ambulance was summoned) but just then the midwife turned up after her spell off-duty and advised them to 'wait and see a little longer'; and eventually the baby was born and saved, although according to village gossip it was born with 'the cord' round its neck and just escaped strangulation. That is the story. And Dinga's face blanches every time anybody refers to it: as of course, with the weird sadism sadism peculiar to the 'mothers union' they do. Often. As also to any other similar horror-story they can recollect.

With all this, I know that Dinga would actually like to have her baby in Colombo where every resource would be available to her and where the doctor is on



whom, after so many consultations, she has utterly pinned her faith. Yet, scared as she is, so deeply is convention ingrained in her, that she would rather risk her baby and herself (if there be a risk) than flout the custom that says a girl should have her baby under the care of her mother-in-law or her mother. After Sumana's experience she has decided to go for her confinement to her own village, where there is a peripheral hospital complete with a 'DMO mahattaya'; but I think she would still be more at peace of mind in Colombo if she could get round to insisting upon it. So should I. But I daren't without a responsible ally, come right out and press for it. Else, if anything went wrong it would squarely be blamed on me. I must count on Banders and his good sense. If I could only get him to talk to, in time.

If only this were one of those countries in which they celebrated the sensible and humane custom of *couvade*! Here they talk of pregnant mothers as *leddu*: sick folk! There they rightly treat baby-bearing as a perfectly normal biological event and direct their attention to the real sufferer, the father. Him they mercifully put to bed, coddle and fuss over, until the baby is born. Maybe, in a few exceptionally civilized countries the custom is extended to grandfathers as well; even purely honorary grandfathers? If so, in one of them is where I long to be!

* * *

Dermatologist's Views on Shampoo
New Delhi,

Does shampoo, really help the growth of hair? A British dermatologist disagrees. When you rinse your hair, he says, everything in the shampoo, including the ingredients which does the cleansing by loosening the dirt, is washed out. Dandruff cannot be cured fully by using shampoo, but can help to control it, he says. Washing your hair more frequently is better, he advises. Hair is a dead structure and nothing can nourish it, according to the dermatologist.

Around Kandy

By Anatory Bukoba

August 1,

A two-and-a half hour wait at Polgahawela, the station-master said, so I changed buses at Warakapola instead, and came to Kandy in half the time. On the bus was a person who was head of the congregation which owned a house near Kandy, and so we caught the same bus to get here. They let me stay the night, and I met a fellow-guest from India. We drank some of the richest milk I have had anywhere. The conversation turned round prayer, love, and the best way to have these ideals. I was reminded that every man has to learn to solve his own problems, as each one's is essentially his own. This seems to be at the base of all psychiatry.

Then I dropped in on one of the country's hopefuls. The late excitement over, he was concentrating on his examinations. I was able to relax, take it easy, until we both went out together. Before this visit I had a delicate job to perform, and it involved someone else. I came away from this other man without my even having put my case. It was too delicate to rush, and I left it in the hands of a mutual friend after having fully appraised him of the situation. I wanted to know why the first man had left a certain place, and if he had come away empty-handed. He seemed to be wearing what were alleged to be not his, and these would have to be returned to their owners. On the other hand, if they were his, how did it all come about, and had he been given a push to do what he had done, leave?

That last paragraph was written at 2 a.m., and I had to beat a retreat to bed. I was up at 5.45 a.m. and after a spell outside, I am back at this task.

There was another visit I had made; a mother, her son abroad. A short chat, and then, with her permission, I stretched out in my upright chair and slept ten minutes. I woke not knowing where I was. She gave me coffee.

A wait for a bus, and then I remembered a friend of thirty

years ago, when we were Ceylon's hopefuls. A small queue of men to see him all standing at the day's end, and I sat out of sight until he had finished. A lift which took me a part of the way I had hoped the bus would go, and I set out to walk. I fell in with someone with whom I retraced my entire steps. We met others, and all of us had gone through an experience. We met by design. But I was somewhat in the nature of a guest, although one of them. We did what I had been doing the last twenty-four hours, a solemn rite which drew us together and brought us into touch with reality, a person, transcendent, invisible though visible under species, informing, alive as we could never hope to be.

This was followed by a chat, a talk, an eye on the clock, the hour late, dark, for some had far to go. Except for three men, the rest were all women. A disappointing dinner, which was not right, as I had paid for it, and then a bus, a walk, a climb, and I found a light lit, a man at a desk, figures, the last day of the month, and all that that entails. The rest, asleep, awoke, the inevitable tea in this hospitable place, a chat, and so to bed. I was up betimes, when the earliest light was dawning, and without waiting to wash or shave, I betook myself back, but first having said good-bye to everybody. I made it just in time, not ten minutes to spare. The rite again, a talk, a shave; a brief visit, a person here, a bookstall there some food, and then a bus.

That morn. and I approached a road, I had a breath-taking circumscribed view of paddy-field which lay at my feet. The grain was long. I would not have written this Kazi except for that view. I had paused, and I decided that a Kazi must be written, although I knew not what. That view summed up life. There are many beautiful places in this world, of which the Alps are not the least. Anyone who saw the *Sound of Music* will remember this. I had heard tell that on a beautiful mountain slope with a lovely view, people had been battered to death by Hitler's storm troopers. Incongruous, but that is life. The cross as a symbol, but the cross had carried a man. Many men had died on crosses, and perhaps many more will, but with the cross there was a resur-

rection, fully authenticated in history, and one's man's resurrection became every man's hope. This was what the rite celebrates, and it was fitting that it should be done in common, in little groups. Little groups make a crowd, and a crowd is the world; and then we come to a transcendent world, a being, three persons, from whom all other beings take their reality.

August 21,

At *Perahera* time, you will find the spirit of the crowds of people in Kandy and its environs an epitome of the spirit of the people of Ceylon at its best, and a best that would be hard to beat anywhere else where crowds pour in, and they pour out, daily. Some come by lorry, but these lorries are not conspicuous. The bulk of people use public transport, and that, so far as I know, means buses. It is done well. I was at the tail end of a queue, that was longer than I would like to see any queue, and yet it was cleared, and we were all away in buses within half-an-hour. The masses of people, everywhere, was truly great, and yet all these people would get away each night. The temper of everyone is at its best. The transport staff are all out to help. There are extra staff on duty directing people where to go, and they know just where you should go. This goes on even during the day, when there is no visible *perahera* activity. At one time today, buses were on their way to Kandy at the rate of one a minute, for we passed them, and it was what a driver said, a C.T.B. man himself, and he said it when we were half-way to Colombo.

The good humour extends even to the food and fruit vendors, both pavement and ship, in Kandy particularly. Not for years have I seen plantains so cheap wherever one went, whatever street, whatever shop, *kurumbas* or coconut water seemed the exception, and this on the Colombo road, but two lads were doing a roaring trade selling it, a mountain of used coconut behind them, even at sixty cents; but, then, *Kurumbas* are heavy to move around, like plantains.

Where I had my stand for the *perahera* was on one side of the police post in front of the *Dalada Maligawa*. Five processions make up the *Perahera*, on the day that

I saw it, anyway. Each has to wait until the one immediately behind it arrives, before it can set off. The organizer of each *Perahera* procession, each a *perahera* in its own right, takes part himself, in his traditional pomp and considerable glory. A considerable section of his own *perahera* is occupied paying *poojah* to him, Kandyan style. This body of men, or men and women, takes up some room, and immediately before them goes the casket of relics of that *perahera*, mounted on the most majestic of the elephants in that *perahera*, with two more elephants on the flanks. Before the three elephants there is another body of men, large but smaller in numbers than that other lot I have alluded to and these, in the same way, pay honour, in the usual gay traditional style, which I have referred to as Kandyan, to the relics. Before these in turn goes the considerable body of each *perahera*, headed by an elephant nobly clad. Each relic party if I may call it so, has a dignitary or functionary, lay, walking in front. The master of each *perahera*, the men I have referred to earlier, is himself, supported on each side by their presnece, with two people of similar rank, and with just a bit less dignity, so far as their importance and their dress goes. All the elephants, and there are a very considerable number, walk in pairs or threes. The more important elephants carry their own electrical system or circuit, which is lit up a little before they set off in the procession. No monks take part in the *perahera*. It is a layman's show, but religious because of the relics they carry, relics which are the whole purpose of the *peraheras*. The relics are mounted on their elephants within their temple precincts. The *Maligawa* elephant, tall and magnificent with the casket mounted on his back could only just get through his entrance and porch, big thought it was. All these elephants are not above eating on the way, if they can pick up anything, such as a discarded branch of a tree, but, for the most part, they walk with their trunks in their mouths, or, rather, the tip of the trunk.

Right up to the start of the *perahera*, people walk around, and there is a vast concourse, seated or standing. I stopped in front of

the *Dalada Maligawa*, as I was hailed by a friend. So I stood with him and his ward, and he said I had better come to his place. When we got down from the bus, we crossed paddy fields and then climbed a big hill. We were let in by those who had stayed behind, and at once tea was made for all. This is always so, whatever the hour, in this kind of house.

Bogambara, all said, was worth a visit, as far as I could gather, it had been turned into something more than a fairyland, and whoever said they would go there, after seeing the *perahera*, thought they would see the rest of the night through there. It was not for me, and I was glad my host had eschewed it too.

* * *

Singapore Minister Sentenced for Corruption Singapore.

Wee Toon Boon, Minister of State for Environment, Singapore, was to-day convicted on all five charges of "corruptly accepting gratification as a reward for doing acts" for Lauw and Sons and was sentenced to a total of four and half years jail and a penalty of \$ (Singapore) 7,023 after a 39-day trial. In a judgement running to about 115 pages the First District Court Judge, Mr. T. S. Sinnathuray, found Wee guilty of corruptly accepting galvanised roofing worth \$ (S) 3,500 for his house, security from Lauw and Sons for overdraft from a bank for \$ (S) 300,000 for buying shares, a \$ (S) 532,000 worth two-storey house and a plot of land and air tickets worth \$ (S) 3523 to Jakarta. The offences were committed over a period of five years. Wee was defended by the former Chief Minister of Singapore and leading criminal lawyer, Mr. David Marshall. Bail was disallowed, but a motion for bail and appeal against the sentences have been launched with the High Court. This is reported to be the first time in South-East Asia that a Minister is tried in court for corruption though men in high positions have been asked to resign or were transferred for corruption.

Inania of this, that and
the other

Canine Instinct And Holy Women

By Inna

I am in touch with some clergymen who have interesting things to say on life and death, but of recent times, mostly about life. And how interested they are about men and their socializing trends in the country.

Recently one of them had gone on a survey-tour during his fortnight's holiday, as he said, "to see people, meet them, talk to them, but mainly listen to them." He was very bitter about women, especially some Religious women, "especially in this Women's year" he said. It may well be that if people hear his plea; if they listen to him sympathetically, he could take them to deeper reflexion. Not knowing the deeper intricacies of what he called Religious life of Women devotees in christian circles, I will sum up the burden of his Traveller's Tale.

"Women religious are good people. They are kind and gentle, generally". They had about seven sections in that building and were determined to help widows and orphans and poor people and the destitute, but for the life of me (he said) I could not understand why they had seven dogs! Now mind you, I like dogs in their proper place, but when big "danda" Alsatians run all over the garden and house, I wonder what happens to the idea of poverty. It is only when you have possessions that you want to keep and not share; that you get the idea of defending house from the vandals and marauders, brigands, bandits, rogues. The economic situation of that part of the valley in which they lived, was very low. The people eked out an existence, and here were these good, but senseless women, helping the poor in a condescending manner and frightening them by keeping dogs meant to attack if any man—called the poor "anawim of Yahwe"—ever jumped on a window-sill and took away a mosquito net or a broken Ming vase."

I had nothing to say.

He was competent enough to talk because I gathered he had been spiritual leader to some of these religious women for over ten years.

He had gone everywhere to "teach them to sing and to praise God, to reflect and to dedicate themselves more deeply." He was bitter: "and this is what they have gone and done in the name of God." I asked him to be patient. May be, they will think and reflect on the poor who have only the dogs to lick their wounds and only women to incite the wound-licking dogs to inflict more wounds! "Tender-hearted women become still more kind-hearted when they become christians" (or at least that was what I was told, said he). He heaved a deep sigh and added: "But religious women are said to be kindness incarnate."

Perhaps he does not have the patience, of God, who still loves, these women and makes them reflect. Perhaps if they read this and the turmoil which their "canine instinct" causes (the instinct to keep their possessions at all costs by training Alsatians to go on the scent and track the poor), they would stop. "A man in his misfortune wanted something to eat and looked for it in the house of Yahweh's sons and daughters and his search ended either with a gaping wound or a jail sentence." "Yahweh, have mercy on us," was his prayer.

* * *

BACKGROUND

New Zealand —Elections And The Electoral System—

A General Election has just been concluded in New Zealand. The Labour Government, led by Mr. Norman Kirk, had been elected in 1972, and it had brought substantial changes in the country, especially in its foreign policy orientations. Under Mr. Kirk, New Zealand had edged towards a special kind of non-alignment with a special shift of emphasis towards China. Mr. Kirk, however, died unexpectedly and he was succeeded by Mr. Rowlings as Prime Minister.

ter. In the General Elections, due every three years, which concluded last week, the Labour Party has been defeated and the National Party led by Mr. Muldoon has come to power. As very little is known of the political setup in New Zealand, (unlike Australia about which much more news and information has been available in the world press), we are publishing a short note issued by the Information Service of the government of New Zealand on elections and the electoral system.

—Ed.

EVERY THREE YEARS New Zealanders go to the polls to elect a new Government. Anybody, 18 years and over who has resided in the country for one year and who has been a resident of a district for one month, can vote. The three-year term has been extended during war time and the 1930s depression. It has rarely been reduced—when a Government has sought the confidence of the electorate on some topic of national importance.

Although the country has no written constitution, New Zealanders enjoy an enviable stability in their political affairs although their desire for national debate runs strongly. This stability is probably partly due to the country's two party electoral system which allows the party which wins the most seats to form the government and for its leader to be Prime Minister.

LIKE GREAT BRITAIN, New Zealand has a two-party system although it is of relatively recent origin. From 1912 to 1935 there were three main parties sharing seats and votes—the Liberal Party (fighting elections under the names Liberal-Labour in 1922, National 1925, and United in 1928), the Reform Party, and the Labour Party.

The present two-party system began in 1936 when the New Zealand National Party was set up to oppose the newly elected Labour Government following the crushing defeat of the National Coalition Government the previous year. The existence of a two-party system was confirmed in 1949 when the National Party came to power, and in 1957 when the Labour Party became the first party in New Zealand history to regain

office without any support from other parties. National regained office in 1960 (45 seats to 35), and Labour was again re-elected in 1972 (55 seats to 32).

From 1902 to 1969 the total number of seats in the New Zealand Parliament remained at 80. They were increased to 84 before the 1969 election and to 87 before the 1972 election. There have been four Maori seats since 1867. Although the number of seats remained at 80 for so many years, because of the drift of population from the South Island to the North Island, it was decided to change the basis for redistribution and fix the South Island seats at 25. This figure of 25 is divided into the total general population for the South Island to give a quotient. This is used as the divisor for the North Island general population to give the number of North Island European seats:

Only 11 Holidays in Maharashtra

Bombay,

The number of public holidays enjoyed by the State Government employees in Maharashtra in a year has been reduced to three from the present 17 following a Cabinet decision, the State Chief Minister, Mr. S. B. Chavan, announced here to-day. The decision would come into force in September and would continue till the Emergency was lifted, Mr. Chavan said. The Cabinet, Mr. Chavan said, had decided to allow eight optional holidays following requests, made by employees to the Additional Chief Secretary, Mr. H. Nanjundiah. The State Government employees would now be entitled to 11 holidays in a year, including the optional holidays, instead of the present 21 (including four optional), Mr. Chavan said. All Saturdays would henceforth by full working days, he said. (At present the second and fourth Saturdays are holidays) The employees would choose their optional holidays from a list that would be circulated to them. In reply to a question, Mr. Chavan said the employees were satisfied with the Government decision.

PTT

NEXT YEAR, 1976, there is to be a new census and the electoral quotient could change. For the 1978 election, the Maori seats will be redistributed and based on the South Island quotient for the first time. Before 1975, Maoris voted on the Maori or European rolls. A more than half-cast Maori had to vote on the Maori roll while a half-cast Maori had the option of either roll. A less than half-cast Maori had to vote on the European roll. However, anyone of Maori descent can now define themselves as a Maori and choose on which roll they wish to enrol and vote.

In New Zealand a general election is initiated by the Governor-General dissolving Parliament. Writs are issued by the Clerk of Writs to the 87 Returning Officers directing them to call for nominations to contest the election and setting the nomination day. This must be no less than 20 days and not more than 27 days before polling day. The writs are returnable within 50 days of being issued. Within the 10 days before polling day, every voter must receive the names of all candidates, their party affiliation, and a list of the polling places in the electoral district.

The governing of the country continues through the Executive Council which for all intents and purposes is composed of the Cabinet. It remains in office until a new Executive Council is appointed after the election result is known.

A period of 10 days after the close of the poll is allowed for the arrival of special votes. The names of all voters are checked as to their qualification to vote and as a safeguard against plural voting. Once the final result is known—as soon after the return of the special votes as possible—the result for that electorate is announced and the writ returned. Not until the appropriate writs have been returned can a new Executive Council be formed and sworn in by the Governor-General.

One of the main assets of the New Zealand two-party system is that it produces strong and responsible government. It does this by ensuring that Cabinet is sensitive to public opinion. This can lead to closer agreement in the community on important issues.

Perhaps even more important is that differences within society are reduced because parties concerned with winning a parliamentary majority must seek to gain support from individuals and groups not attached to them, or perhaps allied with the other party. To do this they develop moderate policies and abandon ideas which have proved unpopular among voters.

In this process they carry their party supporters with them. Thus differences within society are kept at a minimum even though great social and economic changes may be taking place.

—New Zealand Information Service



PAN-AMERICAN GAMES

CUBA'S Performance

—Outstanding For Small Country—

MEXICO CITY,

Two closely-related facts stand out in the 7th Pan-American Games, which just came to an end in this city (at the end of October). The first is that Cuba is the only country in Latin America with the power to compete with such a highly developed country as the United States, and, the second, that the Cuban athletes' tremendous performances enabled them to surpass the goal they had set for themselves—winning more than 82 gold medals—in honour of the 1st Congress of the Party.

At the end of two weeks of hard competition and after the inevitable—and always difficult to say—good-byes to worthy rivals, the Cuban athletes can't hide their satisfaction over the fact that they met their goal by winning 37 gold medals more than they did in the last Pan-American Games, in Cali, Colombia, four years ago. Moreover they succeeded in bringing up the total this time to 273 (119-92-62), as contrasted to 254 (82-101-71) in Cali.

Even though the results in a number of team events weren't up to expectations, the performances in individual events were outstanding enough to make up for the difference. The weight lifters and fencers—who won the most gold medals for Cuba (18 and 17,

respectively)—practically made a clean sweep over their rivals, including those from the USA. As far as the total number of medals won by event is concerned, the most outstanding performances were those of our track-and-field team with 38 our marksmen with 29 (one over Cali), and our weight lifters with 27. It should be pointed out that the weight lifting competition didn't include pressing this time. In team sports, volleyball and baseball deserve special mention, for both our men's and women's teams held on to their continental supremacy without losing a game in stiff competition with powerful and numerous rivals.

The men's volleyball team turned in tremendous performance, not losing a single set. The girls lost two sets, but in their game against Peru, the strongest rival, they played a beautiful game, winning 3-0, clinching 12 gold medals. The showing made by our ball players at the beginning was cause for alarm to some—except our ball players themselves, who realized that there's no such thing as a weak rival in baseball and went on to redouble their efforts, win games with brilliant plays and again beat the team from the USA.

In the upset department, we must mention first the water polo team—considered a good prospect for gold medals, on the basis of its performance in Cali—which finally wound up in third place. Neither the judo team nor the men's and women's basketball teams did as well as expected. As had been previously reported, the men's team was facing its hardest test this time.

Speaking of track and field, the center of attraction in international events of this kind, the USA was dealt one of its hardest blows in the Pan-American Games. It held the lead, as on other occasions, but no longer with the marked superiority of other years, as shown by the fact that it lost in a number of events that, until now, had been a "sure thing" for US athletes. The accident suffered by Cuban sprinter Silvio Leonard after crossing the finish line ahead of the field in the 100-meter race was deplored by all. The accident kept Silvio from competing in the 400-meter relay race and from repeating a feat anxiously awaited by all Latin Americans: that of

beating the US team. The accident also kept Silvio from winning the 200-meter finals. It was up to Guyana's James Gilkes to beat the USA out of the gold medal in the 200 meters.

Brazil's Joao Carlos de Oliveira made a spectacular triple jump after winning the broad jump, and Cuban Rigoberto Mendoza came in first in the marathon race giving Cuba its first gold medal in this traditional event. Another outstanding performance was that of Cuban fencer Margarita Rodriguez, who, in spite of being bothered by a pulled leg muscle held on to her championship title in foil and was the key factor in the Cuban team's victory. Gymnasts Robert Leon Richard and Jorge Cuervo were brilliant exponents of the progress made in this sport in Cuba. They each wound up with three gold medals. Another Cuban "first" was scored in boat racing (four-man shell, short oars) when the Cuban boat crossed the finish line first, winning the first gold medal for Cuba in a sport that is practiced only by the elite in the rest of the hemisphere, while in Cuba, like all other sports, is within the reach of everyone.

On the next to the last day of the Games, Cuban cyclist Aldo Arencibia pulled away from the pack and went on to win the long-distance race. Cuban route racers also did an excellent job, making up for the poor showing in track racing—finishing third and fourth. Mexico—which made possible the holding of the 7th Pan-American Games—can be proud of the way it organized the event, and the Mexican people earned the admiration of visitors—especially of the Cubans—for their hospitality and demonstrations of affection.

The Cuban athletes return home with the satisfaction of having once again upheld the prestige of their country, a small island in the Caribbean which is constantly demonstrating the indisputable progress made by its socialist Revolution. The closing ceremony—a demonstration of brotherhood in sports—is over and the Pan-American Games' torch is extinguished. The floodlights have been turned out, and the stands are empty. Now all we have, to do is wait until we meet again, in Puerto Rico four years from now, for another international event.

—Granma

MEDALS WON BY EACH COUNTRY

	G	S	B	Total
USA	233	129	57	419
CUBA	119	92	62	273
Canada	25	88	56	169
Mexico	21	31	124	175
Argentina	18	12	40	70
Brazil	10	29	58	97
Colombia	2	9	7	18
Peru	1	12	0	13
Ecuador	1	1	1	3
Guyana	1	1	0	2
Puerto Rico	0	15	7	22
Panama	0	2	4	6
Dominican Republic	0	1	7	8
Venezuela	0	1	30	31
Jamaica	0	1	3	4
Bahamas	0	1	1	2
Trinidad and Tobago	0	1	0	1
Netherland Antilles	0	1	0	1
Uruguay	0	0	4	4
Chile	0	0	2	2
Guatemala	0	0	1	1
Barbados	0	0	1	1
El Salvador	0	0	1	1
Nicaragua	0	0	1	1
	431	427	467	1325

Note: First and second places in soccer not included

LETTERS

* On The Jackal
 * Food Production
 * Bishop Horsley And
 Indigenisation
 * Tribune

Sir,

The symbolism of the Jackal can be interpreted as representing the middle man or mudalali who invariably walks off with the "jackals share" of the profit with no expenditure of labour on his part (vide *Tribune* 20.9.75). The methods of doing this are numerous and too well known to merit description here. One of the simplest methods is a collusive action between the middle man and the purchasing officers of the PMB, who make it so inconvenient for the farmer to dispose of his paddy so that he sells it to the middle man at a lower price.

While this symbolism may seem appropriate in relation to the middle man, we should bear in mind that it is an unfortunate anthropomorphism and is certainly not fair by the jackal, who perform a vital function as a scavenger in the natural scheme of things.

Laki Senanayake

Diyabubula,
 Dambulla.
 3.10.75

*

Sir,

Reference your interesting article under the caption, Editor's Note Book (11.10.75), I would like to quote from foreign magazines as to what happened in socialist countries where production had been low, due to political and economic bungling. *Time* magazine of 1.9.75 (page 5) states: "part of Russia's failure to produce enough grain to feed its people this year is due to the inefficiency of its Government controlled agriculture. The typical Russian farmer produces only one-tenth as much grain as his American counterpart. Farm managers, most of whom have been chosen from their political reliability rather than agricultural skill, are lacking in

knowledge of modern farming technique." Reader's Digest of July 25th (page 10) "China is short of agricultural capital...but to a remarkable extent, China's agriculture is dependent on human manure. It is reported that in Sian, a city law obliges every healthy adult to personally deliver close to one ton of night soil to the country's fertiliser stock each year. In Sri Lanka too, political authorities in each district control food production.

Richard Wickremeratne

The Walauwa,
 Telijjawila.
 16.10.75

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Sir,

I would refer you, Sir, to RWW's letter dated 8.10.75 published in your issue of 1 November 1975. The *post hoc, ergo propter hoc* argumentation of the letter writer does not appear to be factually warranted. It is most unfortunate that the specious presentation of the premised facts should lead the uninformed reader to the fallacious belief that what succeeded was the end result of what preceded viz that Dr. Horsley's indigenization measures were the root cause of his premature resignation from the see of Colombo.

Now, even if the circumstances leading to Dr. Horsley's resignation were as recounted by RWW, it would only indicate that he was far ahead of his times, his prophetic role enabling him to sense the direction in which resurgent nationalism would begin to assert itself. The gradual indigenization of worship—such was the categorical imperative arising from his *Christian vision of evangelization*—had to be taken in hand and the first steps firmly planted in spite of any apathy or silent resistance from such as would cling tenaciously to a liturgy truly more at home in England than here in eastern surroundings. There is no doubt that when he did sense opposition likely to impair or imperil his approach to evangelization, he did not hesitate to restrain his apostolic ardour but rather allowed time to soften displeasure reserving his Pauline approach of all things to all men to the far less sophisticated peasantry in the strictly rural areas.

The response to progressive indigenization may have been ex-

asperatingly discouraging but if he left to pave the way for the more scholarly and accommodative Graham Campbell, it was not because of the obstruction encountered in the introduction of indigenizing measures but solely I believe because it was his settled conviction that there could be no compromise on doctrinal essentials in any contemplated Scheme of Reunion of Churches sundered long by profoundly divergent credal differences. In England it was the lack of the required unanimity that stayed the hand of amalgamation: in Ceylon there was indeed the required voted approval without however any prior formulary of faith agreed upon by the coalescing Churches but no reckoning had been made of the more rigidly orthodox Anglican sectaries at whose eleventh-hour instance the District Court intervened declaring the entire crucial Reunion proceedings null and void.

If pews are empty at an indigenous service held in a suburban Church in Colombo, it is, not the officiating presbyterate that is to blame however much wedded it might be to the English service in which it has been reared and nurtured; it is not the elders either who should be taken to task for indifference and apparent hostility: they too have been nourished in the parent liturgy rich with the music of Cranmer and the sweetly sad cadences of the Authorized Version; it is rather the youth of this over youthful land, teenagers soaked in the national media and grilled in the politically oriented instruction imparted for some time now in our state schools whose indoctrinated contempt for the religiosity of their elders is in the main responsible for the emptiness of those pews and the consequent reluctance of pastors to minister to near-empty congregations.

For their benefit and edification has the service been arranged; for their benefit again has the pastor pruned and primed his homily; on them too has he invoked the blessings of the Most High. But choked is their desire to hear the word and keep it, smothered by the allurements of society and the permissiveness of modern living. Drilled at school with free thinking as the watchword, freedom they interpret as

acting counter to established codes of behaviour, counter to the inhibition of society, counter even to paternal direction and counsel.

Everywhere on the wane is religion. There is today in life—as imputed by Livy to Hannibal, Rome's most inveterate foe—no truthfulness, no operative sanction of religion, no reverence for the gods. As for those in authority whether civil or ecclesiastical, they have for the most part made it a whoring mockery; so unregenerate is their approach to its stirrings, so hypocritical their attitude to its elevating requirements, so selfish and self-centred their refuge to its observances.

Observances may change, new liturgies arise, supplanting older rites and time-honoured modes of ministrations; but Christ remaineth the same yesterday and today, the same for evermore, his gospel of love and charity transcending time and space, knowing neither flesh nor blood nor race nor pigment but stricken humanity alone to be raised from its present gory moorings here on earth to the sublimer mansions above of truth and never-ending beatitude.

E. Seemanpillai

Mylambaveli,
Chenkaladi.
10.11.75

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Sir,

It was during the recent Local Political Crisis that I was introduced to the *Tribune* by a friend of mine. Since then I have not missed a single issue. I have also sent copies of the *Tribune* to a Doctor friend of mine in Australia who has thanked me and asked for every weekly issue to keep in touch with current news in Sri Lanka. What is more, I find even my children relishing the articles like *Building of a Village House*, *Around Kandy*, *Jungles of Rajarata*, *to Kandy by Rail and Road* etc. I commend the *Tribune* to everyone who is interested in a detached, but studied view of Sri Lanka politics, its economy as a developing nation, the candid exposures and above all for the lucid and good English that fills its pages.

James N. Benedict

108, Manning Place,
Colombo.
17.11.75

FLASHBACK

Birth Of A Nation

by Jayantha Somasundaram

The exploitation of man by man, race by race, nation by nation, has gone on from time immemorial. This is what history is all about. However, little did the world realize when Pakistan was born twenty eight years ago, that it would become the scene of one of history's most bitter and tragic struggles. In Pakistan's western wing live the light skinned Punjabi to whom domination over the Bengali majority in the eastern wing was considered a matter of right.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's landslide victory at the December 1970 polls on a platform of economic and diplomatic authority for the East, set in motion the catastrophic events in which three million Bengalis were murdered and a new nation born in war.

Yahya Khan had decreed that the threat of succession was to be eliminated even if it meant the devastation of the country and people. Not since Hitler's "scorched earth" policy has such a terrifying doctrine been propounded. Lt. Gen. Tikka Khan was given the task of protecting the "integrity" of Pakistan.

But at that time itself, a leading Karachi editor remarked: Pakistan died in March. The only way this land can be held together is by the bayonet and the torch. But that is not unity, that is slavery. There can never be one nation in the future, only two enemies.

The western press compared the genocide in Bengal with My Lai and Lidice—except that the agony in Bengal lasted from March to December 1971.

Millions fled across the border into India. Here the *Mukti Bahini* began to take shape. The Bengal Liberation Movement was looked upon with suspicion by India who feared both Naxalite penetration of the *Bahini* and a Bengali secessionist movement in her own country. China the other neighbour had got her proletarian internationalism priorities mixed up.

Meanwhile refugees poured into India at a rate of 40,000 a day, costing India Rs. 30 million a day

to feed the 10 million. It reached a point where the New Delhi Institute for Strategic Studies, cold bloodedly computed that it would now be cheaper for India to go to war with Pakistan.

By November the *Bahini* had 100,000 men under arms and was tying down a Pakistani Army of 80,000 in the East. This weekend the Pakistani deterrent force in the West where India was positioning 15 divisions for assault.

On the Eastern Front Indian involvement in *Mukti Bahini* operations continued to escalate to the point where Pakistan felt the initiative passing completely to the enemy. Thus in early December she struck.

200 fighter bombers of the Pakistan Air Force—French Mirages, US F-86 Sabers and Chinese Mig-19s—in lightning raids hit Indian Air Force bases in Srinagar, Pathankot, Agra and Jaipur. Pakistan's objective was to cripple the Indian Air Force. They failed.

India thus struck back savagely. The IAF hit Karachi and nine other airfields in East and West Pakistan. Then the Army rolled into the East.

This was India's 'finest hour'. She was now going to dismember her traditional foe, Pakistan. And she would do this in the teeth of the threats and opposition of her long time protagonists the United States and China.

"Today we will do what is best in our national interest", said Indira Gandhi, "and not what these so-called big nations would like us to do." While the Soviet Union killed ceasefire resolutions in the UN, the Indian Army was establishing India's status as a major world power. Soon all of East Pakistan became a giant 'Dienbiemphu'.

Within a fortnight it was all over. 93,000 Pakistani soldiers surrendered in the East where Gen. Aurora, India's Eastern Commander, accepted the surrender. Thus was Bangla Desh born four years ago.



Confidentially

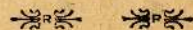
G. M. R. And Rail Collisions—1

IS IT NOT TRUE that the GMR seems to have adopted a new kind of bureaucratic stance to smother the truth about disasters in the railway? That a District Inspector of Railways has been interdicted because his preliminary report on the Batuwatte train accident—correct on all accounts from what we learn—had leaked to the *Daily Mirror*? That this kind of bureaucratism is intended only to suppress information and mislead the public? That this particular story started with a frontpage splash in the *Daily Mirror* on 24/11/75 with a spectacular heading that ENGINE DRIVER HAD NO FITNESS CERTIFICATE? That in the course of the report the term “certificate of competence” was also used? That this report was quoted in full in the *Tribune* of 29/11/75? That the GMR in his new found bureaucratic courage—he has evidently made his peace with the new Administration after having played ball (and havoc) with the last—issued a thundering statement (“thundering”, a Ceylonism much in use in the CGR and elsewhere) that came over very heavily on the SLBC? That below we publish the full text of the GMR’s statement? That it reads: “It is indeed a matter for great surprise that the news item is based on a preliminary report of Railway District Traffic Inspector which up to the time of publication of this news item has not been seen me or my Operating Superintendent or any other Railway Official. It would appear that the report has first been made to the Press rather than to the authorities concerned. Railway engine drivers are not offered certificates of competence as in the case of car drivers. After a training, they are subject to an examination, and if they are successful at this examination they are passed by the engineers as being fit in all respects to function as engine drivers. Mr. G. K. P. M. Perera, engine driver, who was involved in the recent collision, had successfully completed his training and also passed the Engine Drivers’ examination, and therefore was consi-

dered by the Motive Powers Superintendent to be competent in all respects to function as a railway engine driver, but as there were no vacancies in this cadre, he was in a pool of spare drivers whose services were being used all the time for driving trains to cover absenteeism, etc. Mr. Perera had been driving trains in the suburban area for sometime at the time of the accident. The news item goes on to state ‘Earlier a person had to work as a special apprentice steam-driver for at least five years. But with the introduction of the power sets, no proper scheme of selecting drivers has been enforced. It is learnt that it has resulted in employees from the lower grades of the Running Sheds being promoted as engine drivers overnight’. This statement is definitely wrong and thoroughly misleading. The special apprentice steam-driver scheme was done away as far as far back in 1958, and thereafter trainees were selected from within the Railway for training as drivers. Those selected for training for several years, at the end of which they have to pass an examination before being qualified for appointment as drivers. In pursuance of a recommendation of the L. B. de Silva Salaries Commission Report, I am taking action to get the scheme for recruitment for engine drivers amended to also provide for recruitment from outside as apprentice drivers. Since your news has been given the highest possible publicity, and therefore may have created the wrong impressions among your readers, I shall be glad if this correction also receives the same publicity.”

IS IT NOT A FACT that there was no need for the GMR to have asked for the “highest publicity” from the *Daily Mirror* for his communique after it had come on the SLBC and a far wider public (than the readers of the *Daily Mirror*) had been alerted? That the GMR does not seem to know that the public now believes the opposite of what is stated in a government communique especially when it is put across with such pompous braggadocio over the SLBC? That all railway travellers and many more know the mess in the Railway and the GMR’s communique compelled many more to think that a new attempt was being made to hush up the rot inside the CGR in high falutin’ terms? That the *Daily Mirror* published this communique with much more publicity than it deserved together

with further excerpts from the report of Mr. T. C. F. Perera, the District Traffic Inspector, who had investigated this accident? The GMR’s first complaint was that this report had appeared in the press before he or his Operating Superintendent had seen it? That the GMR must know that the press has the right to get its “scoops” on matters of major public interest? That the Batuwatte collision, following on so many other railway accidents, has evoked the greatest public interest in rail collisions? That it must be remembered that the GMR and the CGR are still sleeping over the Hitachi-Podimenike collision after so many months and this has created an impression among the public that an OPERATION HUSH-HUSH is under way? That the CGR authorities seem to think that the public will forget about the Hitachi-Podimenike affair with the lapse of time? That, if the Press saw the Batuwatte report before the GMR or his Operating Superintendent, it may well be due to the fact that important reports often lie in the trays of the GMR’s table for days or even weeks together before he sets his eyes upon them? That it would be interesting to know when this particular Report was submitted to the GMR and the Operating Superintendent — the actual date and time? That, in the meantime, the District, Inspector has been interdicted, according to a report in the *Daily Mirror* for bringing the “public service” into “disrepute”? That it is yet to be seen whether the District Inspector has done the Public Service a commendable act in the public interest or whether he has, in fact, brought the public service into “disrepute”? That the GMR, as *Tribune* had pointed out last week, based his defence on a quibble that engine drivers were not issued “certificates of competence” in the same way as motor car drivers? That whilst it is true that engine drivers were not issued “certificates of competence” as under the Motor Traffic Act, it was a practice (which now appears to have been discontinued) to issue engine drivers letters or certificates that they had acquired the necessary training and experience to be in charge of engines? That this column will go more fully in coming issues into the GMR’s conduct regarding this matter?



UNANI MEDICATED

TOOTH POWDER

MANJAN - E - SURKH

(MANSU)

Once upon a time a farmer called her farmyard neighbours and said, "I will work together with you and uncover the Little Red Hen for me. Who will help me?"



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The Little Red Hen

This is an old fable recently updated,

Once upon a time there was a Little Red Hen who scratched about and uncovered some grains of kurakkan. She called her farmyard neighbours and said, "If we work together and plant this kurakkan we will have some fine rotti to eat. Who will help me plant it?"

"Not I", said the Duck. "Not I", said the Goose. "Not I", said the Cow. "Not I", said the Pig. "Then I will", said the Little Red Hen.....And she did.

The kurakkan grew tall and ripened into golden grain. "Who will help me reap the kurakkan?" asked the Little Red Hen. "Not I", said the Duck. "Out of my classification", said the Pig. "I'd lose my unemployment insurance", said the Goose. "I'm on retraining", said the Pig.

"Then I will", said the Little Red Hen.....and she did. She baked five rottis of kurakkan and held them up for her neighbours to see. "I want some", said the Cow. "I want some", said the Duck. "I want some", said the Pig. "I demand my share", said the Goose.

"No", said the Little Red Hen. "I can rest for a while and eat the five rottis myself."

"Excess profit", cried the Cow. "Capitalistic Leech", screamed the Duck. "Company Fink", grunted the Pig. "Equal rights", yelled the Goose.

And they hurriedly painted picket signs and marched around and the Little Red Hen singing, "We shall overcome". And they did.

For when the farmer came to investigate the commotion he said, "You must not be greedy, Little Red Hen. Look at the oppressed Cow. Look at the disadvantaged Duck. Look at the under-privileged Pig. Look at the less fortunate Goose. You are guilty of making second-class citizens of them."

"But....but....I earned the rotti", said the Little Red Hen.

"Exactly", the farmer said. "This is the wonderful free enterprise system; anybody in the farmyard can earn as much as he wants. You should be happy to have this freedom. In other farmyards you would have to give all five rottis to the farmer. Here you give four to suffering neighbours and keep one for yourself."

And they all lived happily ever after, including the Little Red Hen, who smiled and clucked, "I am grateful." But her neighbours wondered why she never baked any more rottis.....

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