

CEYLON *Today*



State Opening of Parliament

Premier's Address to Chamber of Commerce

Ceylon Villager's Ingenious Fishing Device
S. V. O. SOMANADER

State Machinery for dealing with Industrial Disputes

An UN adequate for the Sixties

Foreign Affairs

Pink Lotus

APRIL, 1960

Policy on Information defined...

"Government activities impinge directly or indirectly at many points on the citizen's daily life. It is essential for a healthy administration under a democratic system that the government of the day should use the media of mass communication to keep him informed of Government policy, to explain legislation, and to seek his co-operation in national policies. The citizen both at home and abroad has a right to know and his Government a clear duty to tell him fully, promptly and as regularly as possible what it is doing in his name, with his money and why.

"A true and adequate picture of Ceylon policy, the institutions, culture and the way of the people of Lanka should be presented to other nations for the better understanding of Ceylon overseas.

"A National Broadcasting Organisation should not be exploited by an individual or a group of persons for their own ends. The listener has a right to hear facts without distortion. Exchange of ideas with fair representation of major points of view is an essential safeguard of free institutions. Broadcasting must reflect the life and culture of this country and also present to the nation a fair picture of life, thought and achievements of other peoples throughout the world. I expect Radio Ceylon in its broadcasts to harmonise its loyalties to the people, to the Government, and to the medium of broadcasting."

The Hon. J. R. JAYEWARDENE
(Minister of Information and Broadcasting).

CEYLON

Today

PUBLISHED BY THE CEYLON GOVERNMENT INFORMATION DEPARTMENT

April, 1960

Vol. IX No. 4

All editorial correspondence should be addressed to the Assistant Director of Information, Information Department, Senate Building, Colombo 1

State Opening of Parliament

THE ceremonial opening of the first session of the Fourth Parliament of Ceylon took place at 2.30 p.m. on Wednesday, April 6, 1960, at Parliament Hall in Colombo.

The Royal Ceylon Navy provided a guard-of-honour opposite the Parliament building, while Girl Guides and Boy Scouts in uniform flanked the steps leading up to the main hall.

At 2.17 p.m., the Speaker and Members of the House of Representatives arrived, and they were followed at 2.25 p.m. by the President and Members of the Senate.

A 21-gun salute fired by the Ceylon Artillery then announced the arrival of His Excellency the Governor-General, Sir Oliver Goonetilleke.

There was an oriental welcome of drums and conch-shells as His Excellency entered the hall. After the Proclamation had been read, the Governor-General, from the red-carpeted dais, read the Throne Speech, first in Sinhalese and then in English. Copies of the speech in Tamil were made available to the Members of both Houses.

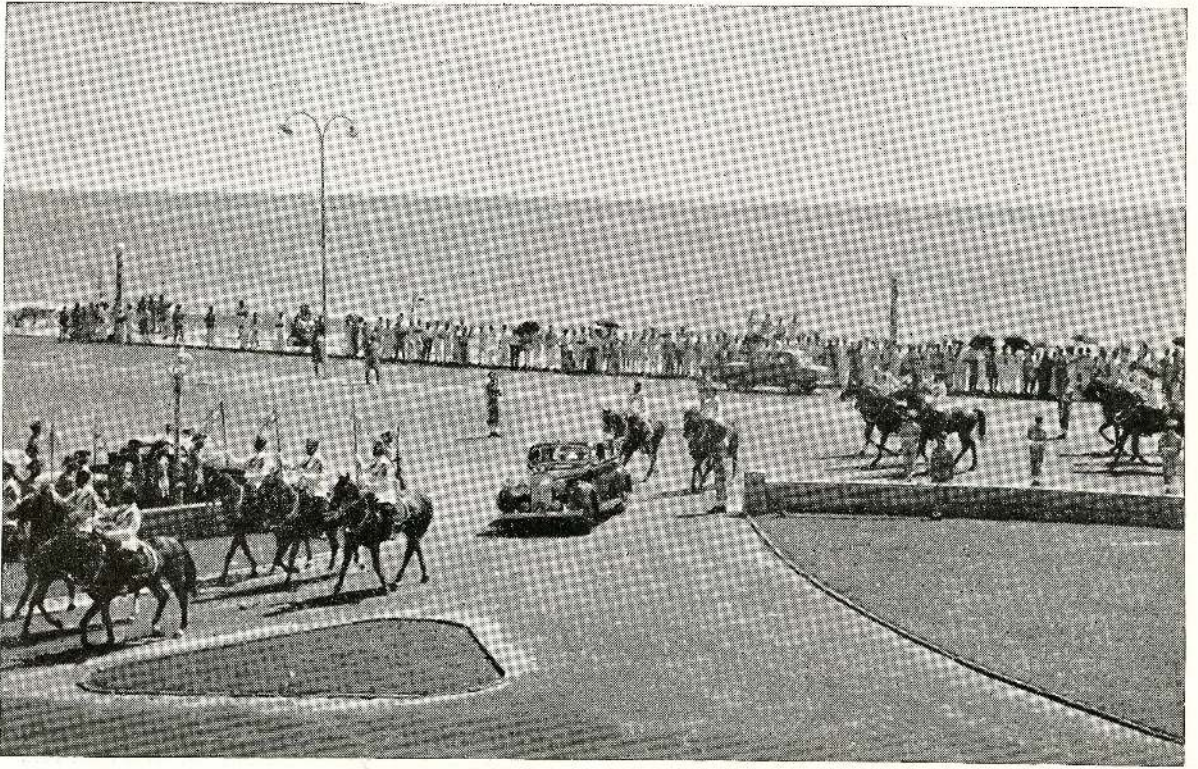
The following is the full text of His Excellency's Address:—

MR. PRESIDENT AND MEMBERS OF THE SENATE,
MR. SPEAKER AND MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

My Government will assist to the best of its ability in maintaining the cordial relations which have prevailed between Ceylon on the one hand and the Commonwealth and foreign countries on the other. My Government reaffirms the principle of strict neutrality and non-alignment with power-blocs and reiterates its policy of friendship with all countries.

My Government will avoid all wasteful expenditure and with this object will curtail the allocation of foreign representation abroad and the facilities for foreign travel at State expense.

It is proposed to take early steps for the revision of the Constitution for the purpose of establishing a Republic of Ceylon within the Commonwealth and for providing a guarantee of fundamental rights to the minorities.



His Excellency the Governor-General, Sir Oliver Goonetilleke, arriving in State for the ceremonial opening of the first session of the Fourth Parliament of Ceylon

My Government will introduce legislation to make it compulsory for all Ministers, Senators, Members of Parliament, members of local authorities, members of State corporations, officers of the public service and officers of local authorities to declare their assets and liabilities in Ceylon and abroad at prescribed intervals.

My Government deplores the estrangement that prevails between the two major communities in this Island and proposes to have early discussions with a view to improving communal harmony.

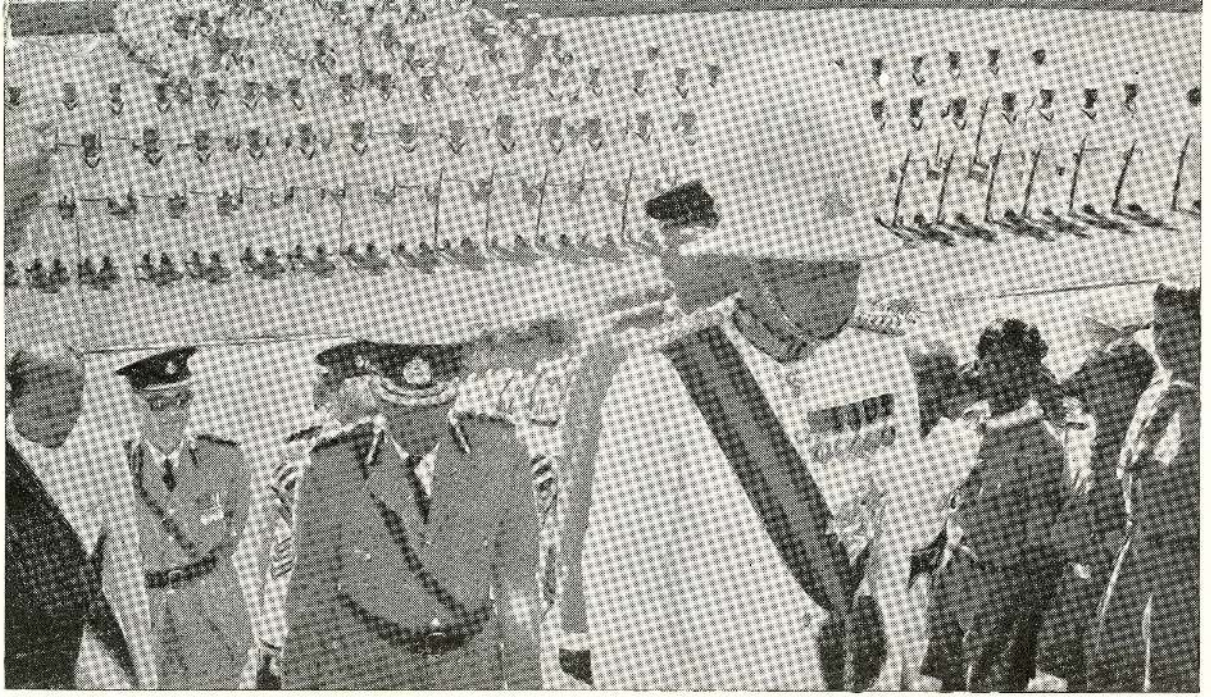
Steps will be taken to ensure that the nationalized services are run more efficiently.

My Government will give earnest consideration to the reorganisation and unification of the public service in order to conform

to the needs of national development. It is proposed to decentralise, as far as possible, the functions of the Central Government in order to achieve a closer and more effective relationship between the Government and the people.

My Government will take all necessary steps to increase the productivity of cultivated land and to accelerate the development of new lands. Cottage industries will be developed and easier credit facilities will be provided. The establishment of small and large-scale industries will be encouraged.

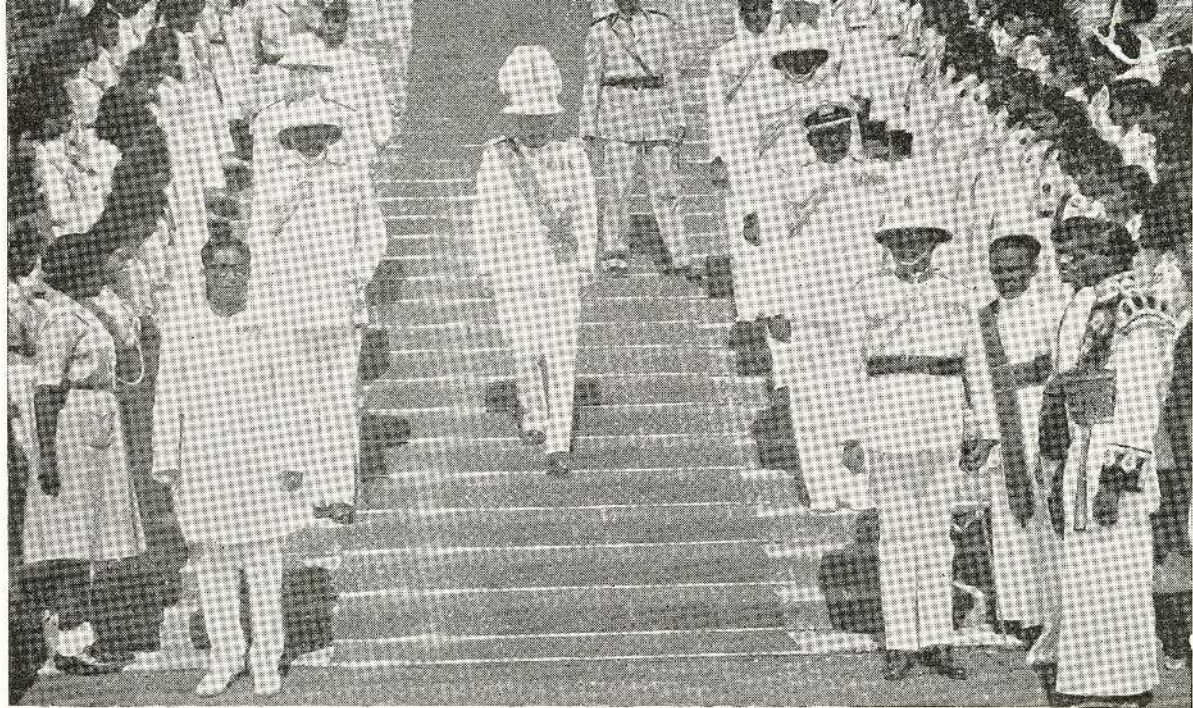
A practical and positive approach will be taken towards increasing economic productivity. The problem of production is not one of public versus private enterprise but of how both public and private enterprise can



▲ The Governor-General walking up the steps leading to Parliament Hall for the State Opening of Parliament

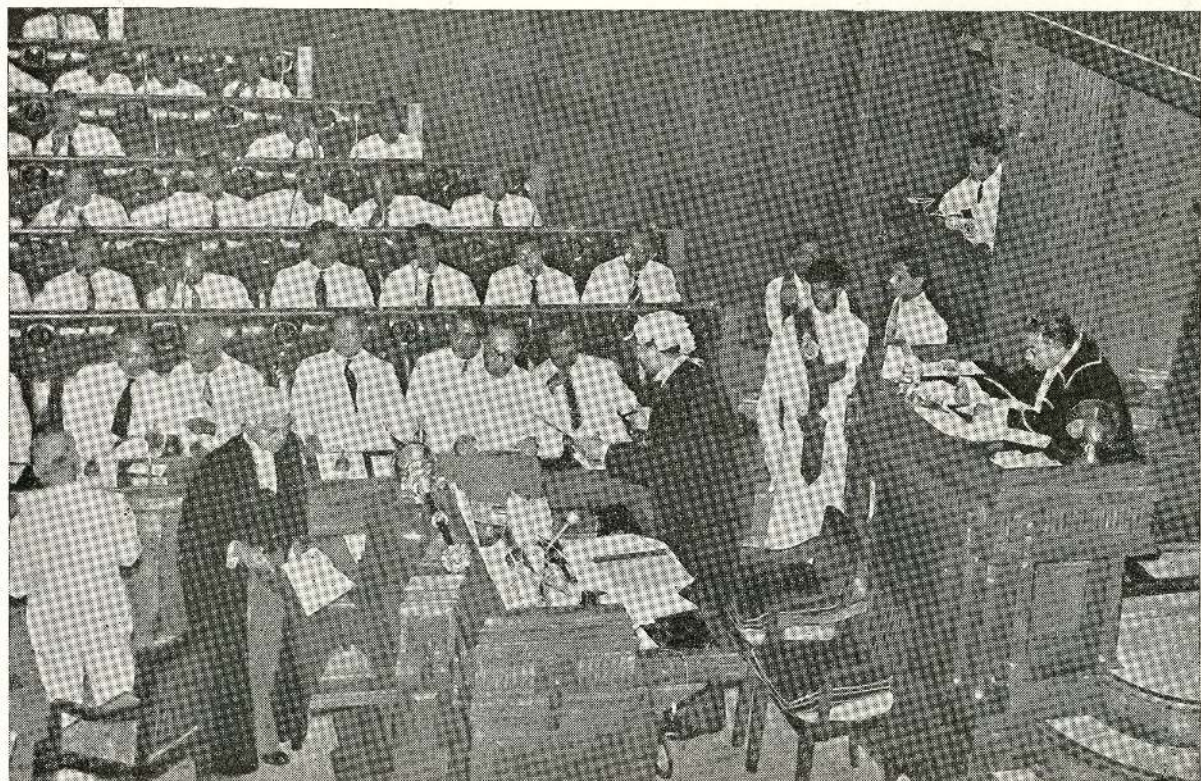
▼ The Prime Minister, Mr. Dudley Senanayake, handing over the Throne Speech to the Governor-General





▲ The Governor-General leaving Parliament building after the ceremonial opening of Parliament

▼ The Minister of Finance, Information, Broadcasting, Local Government and Housing, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, being sworn in as a Member of Parliament in the House of Representatives on March 30, 1960





▲ Ceylon's new Cabinet, with the Prime Minister, Mr. Dudley Senanayake, seated fourth from left. On Mr. Senanayake's left is Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, Minister of Finance, Information, Broadcasting, Local Government and Housing, and Leader of the House of Representatives

fruitfully co-operate with each other in the national interest.

My Government proposes, in consultation with the different Nikayas of the Buddhist clergy, to place before you legislation to incorporate each Nikaya. It is proposed to establish a Sasana Mandalaya consisting of representatives of the Sangha and the laity to work for the welfare of both without any infringement of the autonomy of the Nikayas.

My Government accepts the principle that a religious environment is an essential part of a child's education. In order to implement



◀ The new Speaker of the House of Representatives, Mr. T. B. Subasinghe, entering the Parliament Building after he had been sworn in at Queen's House ▶

this policy every endeavour will be made to provide for an educational system with a religious background by means of State denominational schools as well as State-aided denominational schools.

My Government guarantees to the people the freedom to practise their religion.

In the field of labour, My Government will consider what further legislative measures should be introduced in order to maintain better relations between employer and employee. Immediate steps will be taken to deal with the rapid increase in unemployment and under-employment. Stress will be laid on technical and vocational training in preference to academic learning.

MR. SPEAKER AND MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

The Estimates of Revenue and Expenditure for the forthcoming financial year will be laid before you.

MR. PRESIDENT AND MEMBERS OF THE SENATE,
MR. SPEAKER AND MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

My Government will make every endeavour to bring down the cost of living by making provision for increased production, improved marketing facilities and orderly industrial relations. As an immediate step the price of rice will be reduced to twenty-five cents per measure and a person will be able to buy his normal ration of two measures for fifty cents.

Medical services, including Ayurveda, will be improved in order to serve the needs of the whole Island.

The development of sport will be encouraged. Playing fields in villages and schools will be established.

All steps will be taken for the eradication of corruption in public life.

Some of the Bills which lapsed on the dissolution of Parliament will be placed before you.

I commend all these matters to you for your deliberation and I trust they will receive your most careful consideration.



The Prime Minister, Mr. Dudley Senanayake, addressing the Ceylon Chamber of Commerce

Premier's Address to Chamber of Commerce

I AM beholden to your Chamber for this opportunity—this early opportunity—on assumption of office as Prime Minister, to speak to you. I am glad that your Chairman invited me to make a few brief statements. I think you are all aware of the fact that we politicians have been through a lengthy, exhaustive and very protracted election campaign, and I must confess that the results have not certainly ended our troubles.

I am glad that I had the opportunity of hearing the speech of your Chairman; the very lengthy, exhaustive contribution he made covering diverse matters such as progressive employment, cost of living, and very many important topics that should receive our immediate attention. I was envious of him when he started off the opening bars with the sentence which I shall read—" You

will see that the income exceeds expenditure by Rs. 19,650, which is satisfactory, and is slightly in excess of last year's figures". I wish I could say the same of the institution for which I have been called upon to be responsible. But, however, with the co-operation of you all and that of the people of this country, I do hope that the day is not very distant when the person responsible for the finances of the country will be able to make a similar statement.

Your Chairman has referred to the recent elections and I would also like to make a few comments at the outset on these results. I must confess that one cannot say that they have been very satisfactory. In one way, you are well aware of the fact that the results have shown that no single Party could form a majority government on its own.

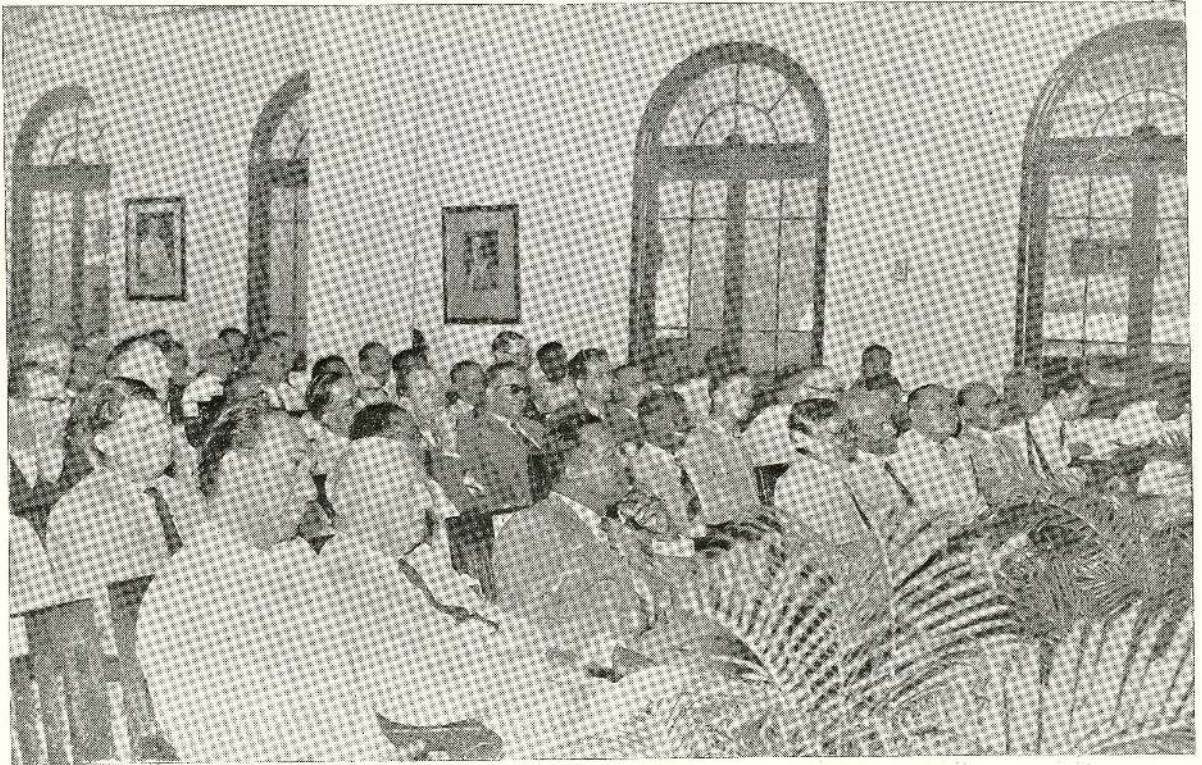
That fact is clear and it is unfortunate that it should have been so. I, as the leader of the Party with the largest number of seats, have assumed the responsibility of forming a government and I am confident that, with a manifestation of patriotic spirit among all, it would be possible for even a minority government to pull this country out of the chaotic condition in which it finds itself. In the difficult task with which my government will be confronted in fulfilling this objective, I have no doubt that I will have the support, encouragement and active assistance of all members of this Chamber, as I know them to be patriotic citizens of this country. The elections have shown that the vast majority of this country have undoubtedly decided to follow the democratic way of life. That certainly has been a feature of this election result and I feel it should be the endeavour of all who profess to follow those ideals to see that the victory for democracy at the polls is not turned into a defeat by any other means.

The Private Sector

SOME of the questions you have raised, Mr. Chairman, in your speech, I must say, have certainly not taken me by surprise. We have been addressing our minds, although we were not a part of the government, as a Party, to most of those questions, and the answers to some of them found a place in our election manifesto. One of the questions you have raised is the place we envisage for the private sector. Then you deplored the fact, Mr. Chairman, that the private sector, for various reasons, was left in an uncertain condition as regards its future and, therefore, you suffered from—shall I say—a certain paralysis of the sector. Undoubtedly if conditions were such,—and I have no doubt they were so—the private sector must have been fatally impeded in the part it had to play in the economic development of this country. In the definition of “progressive” you had the benefit of looking at a dictionary. I must confess that I have not had that

opportunity, but I always had a conception at the back of my mind that a measure was judged to be progressive or not from the extent to which it contributed to the enlargement of the freedom of the individual, economically, socially or culturally, without infringing on the general rule of society. It is not a dictionary definition, it is a conception of my own; you may take it or not. But according to my conception, certainly one must discard the notion that the path to freedom lies through nationalisation.

Nationalisation as an end in itself is something to which my government is certainly not wedded to. We realise and we have seen that nationalisation on a large scale of the means of production, distribution and exchange, undoubtedly leads not to the enlargement of freedom, according to my concept of a progressive measure, but ultimately leads to the denial of freedom and the ushering in of slavery on a large scale. It is possible to arrive at that conclusion as a mere matter of theory, but our theory is strengthened by the fact that we have seen it happen and we have seen the consequences. To my mind, if a society in which the concentration of wealth and consequently power, in the hands of a few is inequitous—as it should be—the concentration of all power and wealth in the hands of one omnipotent body, the State, is more inequitous. It leads undoubtedly, as I stated earlier, to the serfdom of the community to the State. In short, the ushering in of a slave State. Therefore it does not reconcile with my conception of a progressive measure. Although my definition of a progressive measure is entirely my own, I must confess that these two are irreconcilable. The path to a freer society, the path to a more just society, the path—shall I say—to the normally accepted socialist society, does not lie through State-ownership as an end in itself, but in the ownership and management of the affairs of the community by the community at large. That is, by a disposal of ownership and a decentralisation



A section of the gathering who listened to the Prime Minister, when he addressed the Ceylon Chamber of Commerce

of functions. In such a scheme of things, I can assure you in all sincerity, that I visualize a most important phase for the private sector. And it shall be the object, too, of my government to see that every opportunity is afforded to the private sector to fulfil that very great role it will have to fulfil in pulling this country out of the depths to which it has fallen.

Tasks Ahead

IN relation to the task we have before us, Mr. Chairman, you have made certain very valuable comments and made some very useful suggestions. The immediate tasks before us—I shall enumerate some of them. The first thing is greater production undoubtedly, which in the long-term can cure a number of the ills that afflict us at the moment, and the call for production is emphasised by another factor. The Chairman referred to

a record we hold in some sphere—I forget what it was. I gathered that it was not a record of which we could be proud. We hold another record, and that is in the propensity for increasing our population. I believe we often boast about some of our achievements, but I think we can challenge the world in that sphere of activity. Unfortunately, my people do not follow my good example! When we have to face up to the task of production, surely, if we are to maintain the normally accepted democratic way of living and face our programmes according to the manner in which we have seen this achieved, the private sector has to play an even greater part than the public sector in the sphere of development. And that is why I want to impress on you that the responsibility of pulling us out of this situation is your responsibility; it is even greater than my responsibility. That

is why I seek your fullest co-operation in the task I have to face. Be confident that every action of the government will be directed towards enabling the private sector to play its full role in the most urgent task that faces this country, the task of development. I can assure you that on behalf of my government.

Then there is the question of foreign capital; another matter to which the Chairman had occasion to refer. There were times when we, as a nation, were diffident of foreign capital. As a subject country we saw the effects of uncontrolled foreign capital operating in this country much to the detriment, in certain ways, of the indigenous population. We have seen it, and still we see some of the evils. I am not minimising the work that has been done by foreign capital in this country, but I am only stressing certain disadvantages which have accrued to the people of this country. But today we are politically free. Apart from that, we have pledged ourselves, and the recent elections have endorsed that view, that we must follow the democratic way of life.

As I stated earlier, the most important task facing us is the task of production at a more rapid rate. If we are to confine our rate of production to the available capital in this country alone, I feel that we will not be able to meet that challenge. As you know, a certain portion of the national income will have to be diverted for capital investment, and a certain portion for current consumption. The greater the amount of income diverted towards capital investment, the smaller the amount available for current consumption. Well, in a dictatorship, undoubtedly, you can divert a great portion of your national income towards capital investment, and even go to the extent of depressing current consumption. But to expect a democracy to function through such means, that is, confining ourselves, for investment purposes, to the resources available in this country alone and diverting a sufficient amount of that capital to end a rate of deve-

lopment necessitated today, would result in a lowering of standards of living which no government could face—and certainly not a minority government. And therefore there is no question that foreign investment in this country must take place and it is the intention of my government to very soon issue a statement on the precise terms in which that foreign investment will be welcomed in this country. As I said earlier, let us get over this phobia against foreign investment. It is a hangover from colonial times, and when we realise that there is political control and the conditions on which that investment comes into this country, I do not think the indigenous population will have any reason to complain.

Ending Strife

I NOTED down some of the other matters you referred to, and I would like to refer to the strifes that prevailed in this country in the last few years; strifes caused by class conflicts, communal conflicts, and an endeavour recently to create more strife by religious conflicts. Well, I wish to ask you this. Have not the people of this country, in the recent elections, given a definite reply to all such agitators? If one were to examine carefully the results of these elections, as your Chairman remarked, the people definitely rejected the conditions of strife leading to chaos. They registered a definite protest. As you know, in the recent elections, an endeavour was made to create religious bitterness and strife, and I am glad the people of this country were wise enough to totally reject such an endeavour and I can assure you that the Party and the government I represent at the moment fought this election on certain specific issues. We took a bold stand against religious and communal strife, and I am glad that, to a great extent, the people of this country endorsed the stand we took on those very important matters.

There has also been a great deal of disharmony between employer and employee.

It is true that some of it has been caused by an endeavour by interested parties to use employees as political pawns in a different battle. It is true that at times the trade union movement was prostituted for political purposes. But at the same time, let us realise that such a course of action cannot be successful if there is not fertile soil for such action and, therefore, I would like to impress upon you—most of you undoubtedly must be model employers—that the relationship between employer and employee must receive fresh consideration and that every endeavour should be made to make the employee feel that he is not merely a cog in the machine, that he is one who works for certain hours every day, but that he is an integral and active part in the implementation of an endeavour for the regeneration of this country. It will be the endeavour of my government to see that every effort is made to see that the employee will have a stake as well as a voice in the activities in which he is engaged. That was a part of our election manifesto which we held out to the people.

I referred to the fertile soil which was conducive towards the creation of economic strife. Undoubtedly, the rise in the cost of living has been a contributory factor towards the creation of this fertile soil. As far as the government is concerned, it has to view this very important question, as well as the one of employment, from two different angles. One would be the long-term one. As regards the long-term solution of employment and the lowering of the cost of living, it is only through the creation of stable conditions, a planned programme of production in which both the private and public sectors play a predominant part, that we can make a certain amount of impact on a solution of the problem of unemployment and the lowering of the cost of living. There are also certain short-term measures that have to be taken. I can assure you that my government will be taking immediate steps towards a lowering of the cost of living. In a few

days, steps will be taken which will result in the lowering of the cost of living. But there, too, the members of this Chamber—I am now speaking of the long-term solution of this problem—with various factors at their command such as land, organization, distributional facilities, can play a big part in organizing measures in co-operation with the government for the lowering of the cost of living. That is a vital matter and I would beg of you to give us your help and co-operation in the fulfilment of that vital task.

As regards employment, I would like to mention this. There is unemployment on the one hand and under-employment on the other in the rural areas and, of course, the need for short-term measures of immediate projects to be started, particularly in towns, to absorb the unemployed. As far as under-employment in the rural areas is concerned, I feel that our programme of development of rural industries by small industries in rural areas through rural electrification, will, to a great extent, ease the problem of unemployment in rural areas, and in the sphere of education a greater stress on vocational and technical education will, in the long run, help us towards relieving this urgent and burning problem apart from immediate measures to be taken.

As I said earlier, I am glad that I was afforded this opportunity of addressing a very important sector of our economy—a sector that has to play a predominant part in the regeneration of this country and, as citizens of this country, I have no doubt that you will more than play that part. I, for my part, can assure you that I and my government will in no way impede you in the performance of that predominant task. What is that task? Our country as a whole must develop and prosper. The vast masses of this country must have a proper place and a fair share in the fruits of civilization, and it is by both the private and the public sector working hand in hand, not in antagonism, that that task can be fulfilled.



Standing away from the buried net, the fishermen, with sticks, are driving the panic-stricken fishes into the nets by beating, or otherwise disturbing, the water

Ceylon Villager's Ingenious Fishing Device

S. V. O. SOMANADER

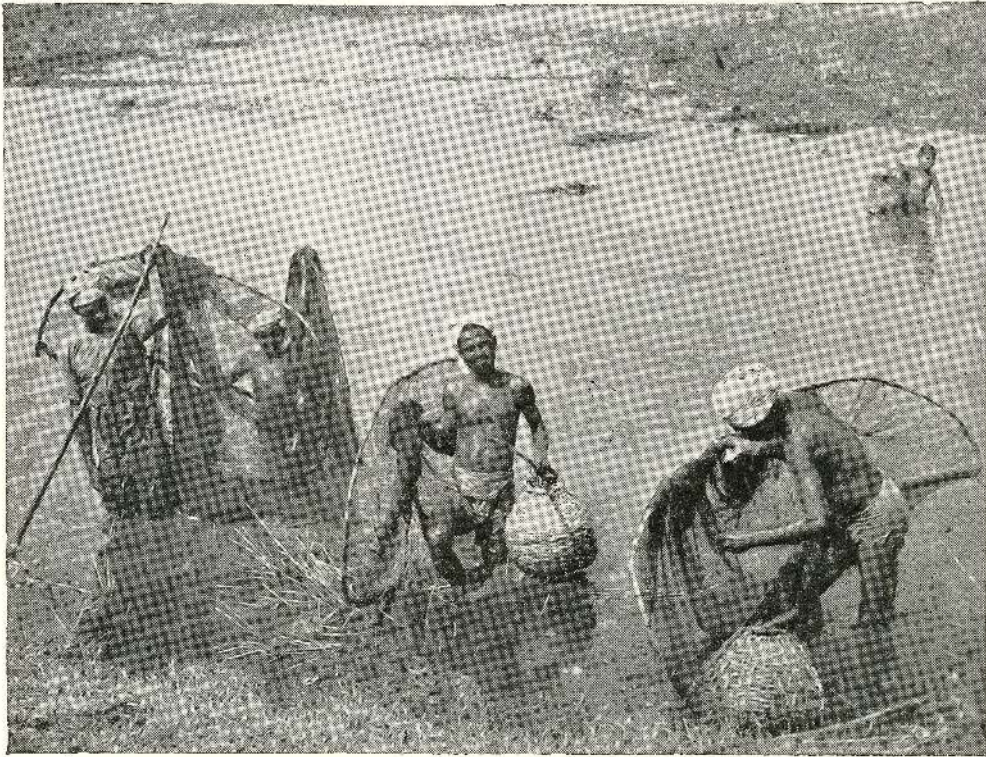
CEYLON, like many another country, has its own peculiar and novel ways of doing things, not the least interesting of which are the strange but simple methods adopted by rural folks in the pursuance of their arts and crafts. And, among the latter, a visitor to this beautiful coast will find much interest when he watches the various ways in which different methods of fishing are carried on in the inland ponds, tanks and lagoons.

In the East Coast, for instance, peculiar forms of fishing exist in some of the coastal villages like Nindavur, Addalachenai and Akkaraipattu to the south of Batticaloa. Among these modes, the *Kondady-Athangoo* type of fishing is perhaps one of the most

interesting to watch. It can be observed by any traveller from his vehicle halted on the roadside.

Portable Hand-net

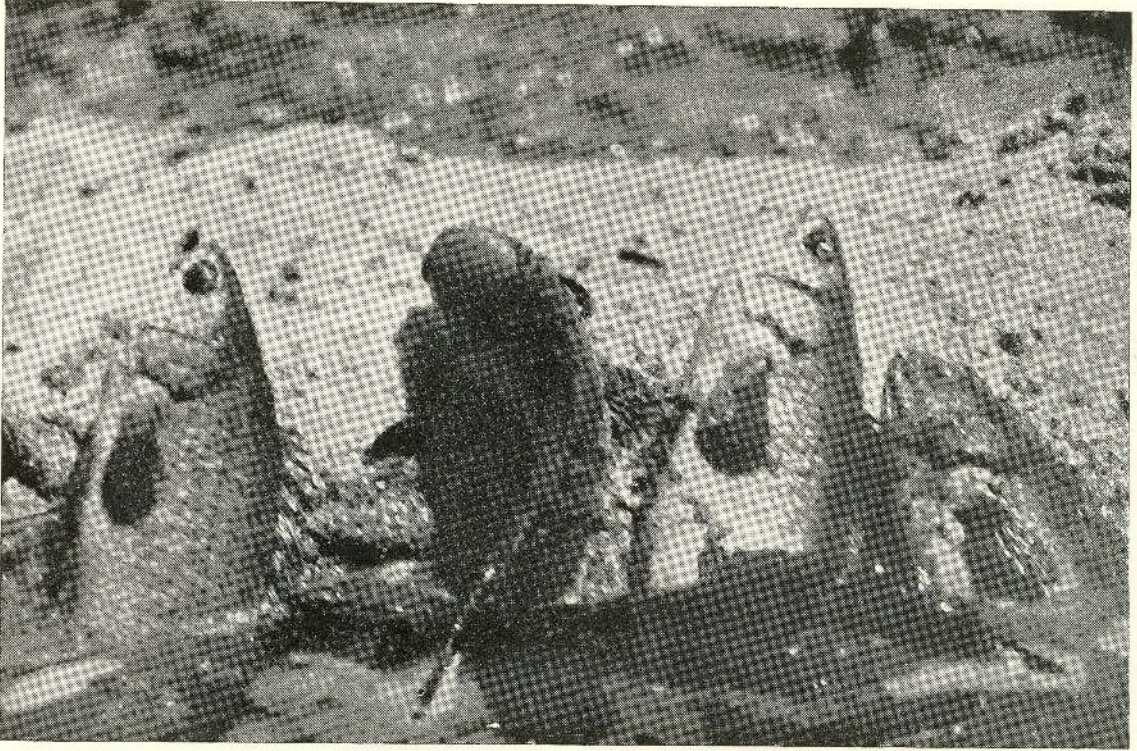
IN this method of fishing, the rural fishermen, after selecting a suitable pond or other large fresh-water sheet bordering the village, bury their *athangoos* in a horizontal position in the bed of the shallow water, making only the top of the stick-handle appear above the surface. This *athangoo*, by the way, is a special type of large hand-net, with a rounded or elliptical framework made of bamboo, or some other pliable jungle-stick. It is portable and can be carried to long distances.



◀ The fishermen, with their nets and other paraphernalia, returning to the shore of the pond, after completing the fishing



▶ Fisherman drying his nets in the sun, in readiness for the next day's fishing



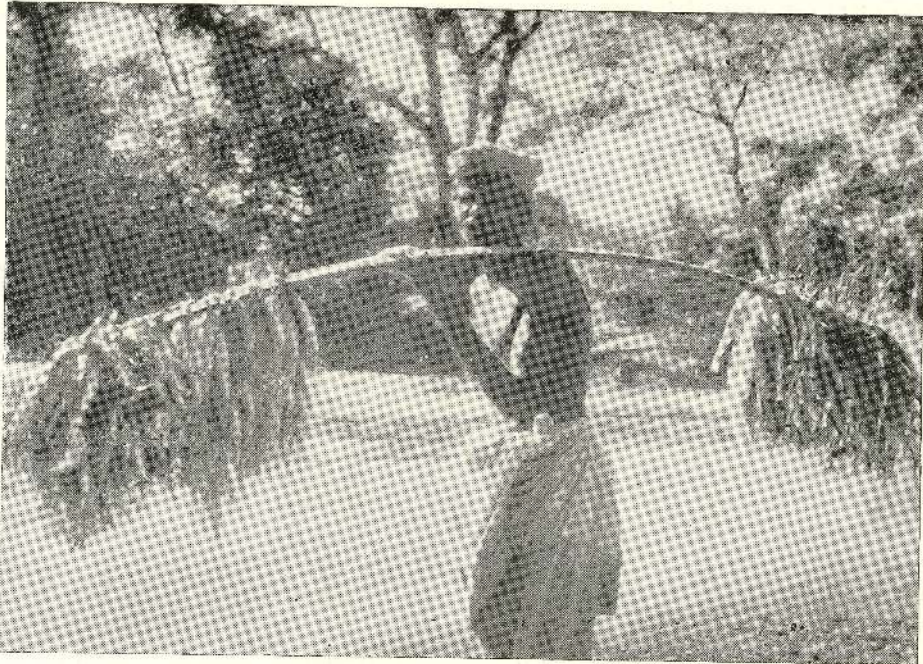
Some climbing fishes (inhabitants of fresh-water ponds and tanks) which often form part of the catch of the *Kondady-Athangoo* fishermen

Each man, in addition to his net, has a long stick with a curve at one end—roughly resembling a hockey stick—and with this, he wades away from the buried net, or rather goes round it, beating the water with the stick with all his might, and driving the excited fishes into the almost entirely submerged net or trap. He repeats this process several times and, when he has rounded up all the fish, he raises the net vertically with a sudden jerk—to find a goodly number of assorted fresh-water fishes wriggling helplessly at the bottom.

Among the fishes caught by this queer but ingenious device is the curious Climbing Fish (*Anabas testudineus*), called also the Climbing Perch, which can move, even on uneven ground, from one drying pond to another during seasons of extreme drought. For this purpose, it has on its head special

adaptations which nature has provided to enable it to breathe on land. Other fishes which are caught so cleverly with the help of the *Kondady-Athangoo* include the very tasty and popular Murrel or Striped Snake-head (called in Sinhalese *Luhula* and in Tamil *Viral*), the *poddiyan* (which aestivates in the mud during the dry season, and which is called “the Million”, used in wells for killing mosquito larvae), the Cat-fish (called in Sinhalese *Angulava* and in Tamil *Keluthy*, with its serrated spines which can cause dangerous and painful wounds), the *Chunkan*, the *Kanayan* and the *Kokkichan*.

To return to the *Kondady-Athangoo* fisherman. After dropping his catch into the crude and rounded rattan-basket, or some other similar receptacle made from the bark of certain jungle-creepers like *Nava-kody*, he carries out his fishing operations several



◀ A fisherman carrying, pingo-fashion, heaps of " Kanayan " fish caught with his ingenious device



◀ A fisherman taking to the market, for sale, a heap of " Viral " fishes (in front), and (behind him) a basket full of other fresh-water fishes netted with his peculiar contrivance

▼ A rural housewife splitting a heap of fresh-water fishes, to be dried in the sun for sale or to be used for curry



times until the bag, dangling about his submerged and semi-nude waist, becomes full, or nearly so. And then, crying halt to his craft, he hurries over to hand over his catch to his wife and children at home.

Ready Sale

MORE often than not, when he gets a surplus out of a big catch, he sells it to waiting middlemen, or carries it himself to the nearest village fair, where the fishes command a ready sale. For these fishes, fried or curried to be eaten with rice, form the poor man's food in rural households, because they are comparatively cheap. And the rural folks at home are so hospitable

that, if you feel inclined, they will let you taste them.

Sometimes, of course, the elusive fishes in the large pool send him home with an empty bag—and a disappointed face. But this does not discourage our local "Izaak Waltons"; for, the next day, they "go at it" again—and this time, they are not likely to draw blank. But, whatever the result, "the compleat angler" does not fail to put out his net to dry in the open, so that it may be ready for the next day's adventure.

This is how life goes on with these resourceful and determined fishermen, whose doggedness to succeed, in the face of disappointments and difficulties, commands our admiration and praise.

New Issue of Ceylon Stamps

A special issue of stamps of the denominations 4 cents and 25 cents has been made to commemorate the World Refugee Year. These stamps will remain on sale till 31st August 1960 or until stocks are exhausted, whichever is earlier. During this period the sale of the corresponding denominations in the current series of stamps will be suspended.

The two stamps have a common design which has been adapted from a symbol created for World Refugee Year stamps by United Nations Artists.

The four cents stamp is printed in chocolate and gold while the twenty-five cents stamp is in slate grey and gold. A miniature of the lion bearing the sword as appearing in the National Flag is incorporated in the two designs.

For the benefit of philatelists and stamp collectors, arrangements were made to provide philatelic cancellation of first-day covers at all Post Offices and Sub-Post Offices on April 7, 1960.



Lacquer Work

State Machinery for dealing with Industrial Disputes

THE earliest legislation on industrial relations in Ceylon related to Indian immigrant labour, but the basis of that legislation was strictly on the footing of master and servant in the narrowest conception of such relationship.

Moreover the necessity for any machinery for dealing with industrial disputes did not then exist since there was little or no organisation among the workers and hence there were no "industrial disputes" in the sense the term is understood today.

The mid-twenties of this century saw the beginnings of a trade union movement. This attempt at organising the workers naturally led to conflicts between employers and workers. After sometime, organised workers and employers realised the necessity for devising a *modus vivendi* for avoiding unnecessary conflicts. Thus an agreement was reached between the All Ceylon Trade Union Congress and the Employers' Federation of Ceylon—pioneer organisations of workers and employers respectively in 1929. The main features of this agreement were that the parties acknowledged the right of each other to negotiate on behalf of their members on all matters affecting them and the All Ceylon Trade Union Congress undertook that no strike would be called without an attempt being first made to arrive at a settlement and, failing any settlement being reached by negotiation, without giving 7 days notice to the Federation.

State Machinery

At Government level the need for establishing some state machinery for the settlement of industrial disputes came to be felt about the same time and this led to the enactment of the Industrial Disputes (Conciliation) Ordinance, No. 3 of 1931—the first legislative provision for the investigation

and settlement of industrial disputes. It provided for—

- (a) the appointment of Commissions by the Governor to inquire into any matter relating to industry referred to it;
- (b) the Commissioner of Labour (then the Controller of Labour) to take steps for the purpose of enabling the parties to a dispute to meet with a view to the amicable settlement of the dispute; and
- (c) the reference of disputes to Boards of Conciliation to endeavour to effect a settlement (such Boards be tripartite if the parties so agree).

The settlement reported or recommended by the Board was published in the *Gazette* and the parties were given an opportunity to accept or reject such settlement. A settlement which was accepted by both the parties was binding on them until it was duly repudiated by notice as provided in the Ordinance. It may be noted that there was no element of compulsion; except that of public opinion—in this machinery.

This enactment was of a very slender character, and it was not utilised very much, particularly because during the thirties, industrial disputes, as such, were few and far between.

In 1935, the Trade Unions Ordinance was enacted and this made provision for the registration and control of trade unions. This Ordinance provided for the first time, the customary immunities from civil and criminal liabilities to enable trade unions to function effectively. Contrary to what may have been naturally expected, there was no immediate upsurge of trade unionism among the workers.

The beginning of the second World War in 1939, which coincided with the stoppage of the free flow of unskilled labour from

India to this country, resulted in near full employment conditions which provided the necessary climate for the workers to organise without much fear. The new organisational strength of trade unions began to reflect itself in the incidence of industrial unrest in increasing measure. The initial reaction of employers to this new development was one of hostility and they were reluctant to organise the role of trade unions whom they considered as interlopers out to encroach on the employers' preserves. It was also inevitable, that in their immaturity, trade unions were often inclined to resort to hasty strike action or even adopt violent means to enforce their demands, especially when they were confronted with obstinate employers who refused to appreciate the new spirit of industrial relations that was sweeping the world.

In the years between 1939 and 1941 there was a wave of industrial unrest on plantations and the Hon. Minister of Labour, Industry and Commerce held a series of conferences with organisations of plantation employers and labour with the express purpose of providing a recognised procedure for the conduct of negotiations between Superintendents of Estates and the trade unions whose members were composed of plantation workers. These resulted in what is popularly known as the Seven-point Agreement. The principal features of this agreement were the acceptance by the employers of the right of workers to organise, agreement by employers to negotiate with trade unions and agreement by both parties on a procedure for the settlement, as far as possible by negotiation, of all differences. Although this agreement worked fairly satisfactorily, the absence of a similar agreement in regard to the industrial sector created a void.

Essential Services Order

IN 1942 with the spread of the war to the East and nearer the shores of Ceylon, it

became absolutely necessary for the war effort and the life of the community to ensure that production and essential services were not hampered by industrial strife. Hence the Essential Services (Avoidance of Strikes and Lockouts) Order, 1942, was promulgated under the Defence Regulations which were in operation then. Under this Order, all services essential for the war effort and the life of the community were declared "essential services" in which strikes and lockouts were prohibited. At the same time provision was made for compulsory arbitration in regard to disputes in "essential services" by Special Tribunals. Awards made by these Tribunals were binding not only on the parties concerned but also on all employers in the same or similar industries.

During the period 1941 to 1946 a very large number of industrial disputes were thus settled by Special Tribunals. Some of these Awards, for instance the George Steuart Award, constituted landmarks in the history of industrial relations and they continued to be followed in practice even long after the rescission of the Regulations under which they came into existence.

It must be said that the machinery for the settlement of industrial disputes in the war period was only suitable for the conditions that obtained in that period. Compulsory arbitration at that stage helped trade unions to secure recognition from employers who were unwilling to deal with them. It can be further said that in the special conditions obtaining in Ceylon in that period the compulsory arbitration provided in the state machinery enabled organised trade unions to develop a sense of responsibility and a degree of maturity. It also brought home to the employers that it was no longer possible to ignore trade unions or to subvert their efforts to bargain collectively by seeking to destroy trade unionism by resorting to unfair labour practices.

Most of the Regulations relating to Essential Services were rescinded in 1946 and no Special Tribunals were appointed after 1946. Thereafter the only state machinery available for the settlement of industrial disputes was that contained in the Industrial Disputes (Conciliation) Ordinance of 1931. In some of the disputes that arose after 1946 the government sought to use the machinery of "voluntary" conciliation provided in this Ordinance, but it was found that the provisions of the 1931 Ordinance were totally inadequate to meet the needs of the time. Recommendations made by Boards of Conciliation were invariably rejected by the parties where such recommendations did not accept their respective positions in toto; that is, the spirit of compromise was found lacking. Besides, the seven-point agreement also ceased to be operative about this time.

Industrial Disputes Act

IT was in these circumstances that the Government enacted the Industrial Disputes Act No. 43 of 1950 and it came into operation on September 1, 1951. This enactment is now the basis for all State machinery for the settlement of industrial disputes in the country. The scope of the enactment has been extended by amending Acts No. 25 of 1956, No. 14 of 1957 and No. 62 of 1957. The consolidated Regulations made under this Act are contained in *Gazette Extraordinary* No. 11,688 of March 2, 1959.

The State Machinery for dealing with Industrial Disputes, as contained in the Industrial Disputes Act can be examined under five heads :—

- A. Collective Agreements.
- B. Conciliation.
- C. Voluntary Arbitration.
- D. Compulsory Arbitration.
- E. The Labour Tribunal.

The Act envisages resort to joint machinery established by agreement between employers' and workers' organisations, in the first instance, where such machinery exists.

Three instances of such joint arrangements exist at present. The first one is between the Ceylon Estates Employers' Federation and the Ceylon Estates Staffs' Union which was made in 1947. The parties have set up a joint council under this arrangement, which makes comprehensive provisions for the resolution of all differences between the parties.

The second one is between the Ceylon Estates Employers' Federation and the Ceylon Workers' Congress which was made in 1951 regarding procedure for negotiations for settlement of industrial disputes relating to members of these parties. This is known as the thirteen-point agreement.

The third one made in September, 1958, between the Employers' Federation of Ceylon and the Ceylon Trade Union Federation provides for the regulation of the relations between these parties based mainly on the procedure suggested by Government for the settlement of disputes. Incidentally this is in the form of a collective agreement and has been published in the Gazette under the relevant provisions of the Industrial Disputes Act.

Collective Agreements

THE Industries Disputes Act contains provisions for giving legal status to Collective Agreements arrived at between employers and employees by publishing such agreements in the *Gazette* and enforcing the provisions of agreements so published. The Act thus sought to encourage the regulation of industrial relations by means of Collective Agreements. The practice of regulating terms and conditions of employment by means of collective agreement, however, did not come into vogue to any appreciable extent, until recently. But since 1958, a number of Collective Agreements relating to wages and terms and conditions of employment and having wide application have been entered into between employers' and workers' organisations.

The Act also makes provision for the extension of the application of Collective Agreements entered into between representatives organisations of employers and workers in an industry to the entirety of the industry. Under this provision extended application has been given to four agreements entered into between the Ceylon Estates Employers' Federation and the Ceylon Estates Staffs' Union. Very recently action has been taken under this provision in respect of a collective agreement in regard to the Coconut Fibre Export Industry.

The provisions of the Act relating to Collective Agreements closely follow the provisions of I.L.O. Recommendation (No. 91) concerning Collective Agreements.

Conciliation

THE Industrial Disputes Act provides for conciliation by the Commissioner of Labour or an Authorised Officer appointed by him, in the first instance. The purpose of such conciliation proceedings is to effect an amicable settlement.

If the Authorised officer succeeds in settling the dispute, the settlement is set out in a memorandum which is signed by both parties on whom it is binding until duly repudiated by notice as provided in the Act. Where he is not able to effect such a settlement, the Authorised Officer is called upon to prepare a full report regarding the dispute and set out his recommendation for the settlement of the dispute. Parties to the dispute are called upon to state whether they accept or reject the settlement as recommended. If the recommended settlement is accepted by both parties the Commissioner of Labour publishes the report in the *Gazette* and it becomes binding on the parties until duly repudiated by notice. If it is not accepted by either party the Commissioner of Labour may still, at his discretion, publish the report but it is of no effect.

This manner of conciliation was really an extension of the principle underlying the

Industrial Disputes (Conciliation) Ordinance of 1931. In the years between 1951 and 1956 the principal means employed by Government for dealing with Industrial Disputes was the reference for settlement by conciliation to Authorised Officers. Although such Authorised Officers were able to effect settlements in a large number of minor disputes of a parochial nature, this method was not successful where major disputes were concerned.

Voluntary Arbitration

UNDER the Industrial Disputes Act, the Commissioner has the power to refer disputes to voluntary arbitration with the consent of parties. Awards made by such arbitrators are binding on parties for a minimum period of one year. Thereafter arbitration awards can be repudiated.

The Arbitrator can be either nominated jointly by the parties or, in the absence of such nomination, be nominated by the Commissioner of Labour.

It is also significant that in the period from 1951 to 1956 there were only a negligibly few settlements by voluntary arbitration.

Compulsory Arbitration

THE machinery provided in the Act for compulsory arbitration was not set in motion until March 1956 when, for the first time, a Panel of members, from which Industrial Courts are constituted, was appointed. By the Amendment Act, No. 62 of 1957, provision was also made for compulsory arbitration in regard to minor disputes by reference to Labour Tribunals or *ad hoc* arbitrators.

The Minister is empowered by the Act to refer to compulsory arbitration—

- (a) minor disputes to Labour Tribunals or Arbitrators appointed 'ad hoc' by him; and
- (b) any dispute to an Industrial Court, in his discretion.

Awards made by Labour Tribunals or Arbitrators in regard to disputes referred to them under this provision have the same effect as voluntary arbitration awards, that is, they are legally binding on the parties for a minimum period of one year and until repudiation thereafter.

An Industrial Court award is similarly binding but there is no limitation on the duration of its operative period unless the award itself specifies a period. For this reason provision has been made for review of an Industrial Court award on application by any party. Such application made within one year of the operative period of the award cannot, however, be entertained unless it is accompanied by a Certificate under the hand of the Commissioner of Labour to the effect that economic and labour conditions have so changed as to warrant a review of the award. This would ensure that frivolous applications are not made frequently.

It is unlawful to stage a strike or lockout with a view to procure the alteration of the terms of an award including a voluntary arbitration award which is for the time being legally binding. In view of this position strikes and lockouts after the reference of a dispute to arbitration are also made unlawful, since, there is no purpose in doing so.

In view of these prohibitions against strikes a further safeguard has been provided for workers and, that is, during the pendency of the arbitration proceedings an employer is precluded from—

- (a) dismissing or punishing a worker, without the prior approval of the Labour Tribunal, Arbitrator or Industrial Court concerned, for any misconduct connected with the disputes ; or
- (b) altering the status quo in regard to conditions of service connected with the dispute.

The majority of trade unions have been consistently opposed, on principle, to compulsory arbitration. Nevertheless, paradoxically, most of the references (the exception being only a very small percentage) so far made for compulsory arbitration have been so made at the instance or with the consent of the unions concerned. Their position is that where they are weak, they welcome compulsory arbitration but where they are strong, they strongly resent this curb on their bargaining strength. This is natural for them and their attitude is understandable but the State, it should be remembered, has a responsibility to the community as a whole.

It is appropriate to quote in this context what the Hon. Minister of Labour stated while moving the Industrial Disputes (Amendment) Bill—

“ It is the Government policy that disputes should be settled by voluntary conciliation or arbitration as that is the way to lasting settlement. In Great Britain, disputes are largely settled this way through joint negotiating machinery. This country has not made any appreciable advance in this direction primarily because of certain inherent defects in the trade union structure and the immaturity of trade unions. Unions are not organised on any rational way and there is a multiplicity of unions formed not on a trade or functional basis but according to political affiliations with all the attendant evils of factions and frictions at every level. Hence till conditions improve it is necessary to have the power to refer disputes for compulsory arbitration unless the “law of the jungle” is to be allowed to prevail.

Though the period between 1956 and 1959 saw a marked increase in industrial disputes arising from the release of socio-political forces that had been dormant before then, it must be said that the state machinery for the settlement of industrial disputes contributed a great deal towards resolving them ultimately.

While on the subject of compulsory arbitration it would be relevant to refer to an allied provision which relates to "essential industries". Any industry which is declared, by Order made by the Minister and published in the Gazette, to be an industry essential to the life of the community is an "essential industry", according to the Act. The effect of such declaration is that it is unlawful to stage a strike or a lockout in furtherance of an industrial dispute without giving 21 days' notice to the other side and the Department of Labour. This provides a "cooling off" period during which negotiations could be held with a view to resolving the dispute without actually causing dislocation of public utility services. Operations relating to the loading and unloading of goods and port operations in the Port of Colombo and storage, transport, supply or distribution of fuel including petroleum products have been declared to be "essential industries" under this provision.

Besides, penal sanctions are prescribed for contraventions of the provisions of the Act by employers or workers or trade unions and where appropriate, penalties provided for continuing offences.

Where, in terms of an award, wages in respect of any period prior to the award or as compensation as an alternative to reinstatement due are not paid within the time specified in the award, an easy method of recovery is provided. Such dues can be recovered as a fine imposed by a Court, on a written petition by the workmen concerned to the Magistrate's Court of the area.

Labour Tribunals

A unique feature of the Industrial Disputes Act is the provision contained in Part IV A under which a workman or his trade union, on his behalf, is entitled to apply for relief or redress in respect of (a) termination of services by the employer or (b) terminal benefits or (c) other prescribed matters. (For

the present no other matter has been prescribed). The Tribunal has identical powers as an Industrial Court to inquire into such applications and to make binding decisions which are called "orders" to distinguish them from "awards" which are made in relation to industrial disputes as such. One difference is that there is provision for appeals to the Supreme Court against the orders of Labour Tribunals on points of law. The procedure has been simplified to a degree that it invests the Tribunal with the character of a popular court to which the ordinary worker has easy access. In the relations between master and servant the Labour Tribunal has superseded the ordinary Civil Court in a manner that has introduced a very significant change in legal relationship.

A word about procedure generally followed in proceedings before arbitrators, Labour Tribunals and Industrial Courts. They are not bound by the law of evidence and they are to a large extent allowed to regulate their own procedure which permits of great flexibility which is very essential in such proceedings.

Wages Boards and Remuneration Tribunals

IN addition, Wages Boards established under the Wages Boards Ordinance which are tripartite in character have, though indirectly, in no small measure contributed towards prevention of industrial disputes.

Reference should also be made in this connection to the provisions made in the Shop and Office Employees (Regulation of Employment and Remuneration) Act for the determination of remuneration by the Commissioner of Labour with the consent of employers and workers and also determination of remuneration by tripartite Remuneration Tribunals which operate more or less in the same way as Wages Boards except for the fact that the former do not have the same continuity as the latter. This machinery has, however, not been availed of to any appreciable extent for the regulation of remuneration of shop and office employees, due

perhaps to the existence of arbitration machinery of a wider scope under the Industrial Disputes Act.

In conclusion, it would be useful to refer to the policy of Government in regard to the settlement of Industrial Disputes which is aligned to the provisions of the Industrial Disputes Act. This was set out in Press notes issued by the Minister of Labour, Housing and Social Services in October, 1956, and February, 1958. The Minister emphasized that "if orderly progress is to be made in the sphere of industrial relations it is necessary that representatives of employers and workers should take a realistic view of collective bargaining and make serious efforts to reach accord by following established methods of negotiation."

He also outlined the following principles to regulate negotiations when disputes arose:—

"A union must, in the first instance, submit its demands to the employer. It must give him six days to send a reply and if this is unsatisfactory take further steps to negotiate with him.

Where the Union concludes that negotiations with the employer have been fruitless, it should ask the Labour Department to intervene and give the Department sufficient time to arrange a Conference, etc. At least one week will be regarded as adequate for the Department to send a reply but a Conference will be fixed not later than the second week. Negotiations must then proceed till such time as the Department reports failure.

At this stage the Department will endeavour to get the parties to agree to voluntary arbitration. The Department can state a case for adjudication by an arbitrator or a proper court where either party is willing.

Where neither party wants to accept arbitration or refer the matter to the Industrial Court or the Labour Tribunal, they should be allowed to fight it out, except where Government considers the industry to be a public utility service and on its own motion and not because of pressure from a Union, refers the matter to the Industrial Court or to a Labour Tribunal in all other cases.

If a Union resorts to strike action without following these rules it must send its workers back to work and follow these rules if it wishes to have Government intervention. Government would then see that the above rules are followed.

When negotiations take place between the employer and the Union or when a dispute is submitted to arbitration or adjudication, the strike must cease forthwith."

This is in brief the existing state machinery for dealing with industrial disputes together with the policy adopted by Government in giving effect to the provisions under the Industrial Disputes Act.

The Government is however aware that good employer-employee relations cannot be established by legislation. The most that legislation could do is to provide suitable machinery and the Industrial Disputes Act is an attempt in that direction. It is only by employers adopting a realistic attitude in keeping with the times and workers' organisations adopting a responsible attitude that employer-employee relations can be established on a satisfactory basis. A mutual war of attrition can do nobody any good. Besides the parties immediately concerned, there is also the larger entity—the country as a whole adversely affected by industrial strife.

An UN Adequate for the Sixties

THE following is the text of an address by H. E. Sir Claude Corea, Ceylon's Permanent Representative to the United Nations, at the annual luncheon of the International House Conference on the United Nations, New York City.

Here we have people from all over the world gathered together, particularly in their younger years when they are engaged in deep study and almost just before they go back to their own land to participate in the active civic life of their countries.

I am delighted to be here and to have the privilege of addressing you on the United Nations at this Conference. In a sense, today's meeting appears to be very symbolic. You have had introduced to you a little while ago those distinguished representatives of the United Nations Secretariat who are here to help you through today's Conference. I am sure their assistance will be most valuable, but they and I come from the East Side on the East River, all representing the United Nations. You are here on the West Side on another beautiful river, the Hudson, and therefore, you and we who have come here today bridge the gulf of space between the East and the West.

What more symbolic event of greater importance could happen, particularly at this time in the world when, if there is one cause of concern to all of us in the United Nations or elsewhere, it is the gap which, though narrowing, still exists between the East and the West? I am not speaking of a geographical East or West, but, as we understand it today, the ideological East and West. This is one of the primary needs of the United Nations—that something should be done to narrow this gulf. Because when you think of the United Nations, you have to think of it as it was at its inception.

That was a time when the East and West as such, did not exist, when the United Nations was formed by people who were in close alliance, and in fact, if there are diffi-

culties in the Charter of the United Nations, or indeed, in the rules of procedure of the General Assembly, these are entirely due to the fact that the people who drafted the Charter and the rules of procedure—the people who established the United Nations—were at that time close allies and victorious allies. These people at that time had no doubt at all that they would carry out the purposes and functions of the United Nations harmoniously and in agreement, and they believed they had established something which was going to bring peace on earth and happiness and goodwill to all mankind.

But since then a change has come over, we today recognize a kind of a polarization of the relations between these two groups. Today we have a division between these two groups, between those who were at one time allies. There is a recognizable difference and it is that difficulty which is important when you think of the United Nations. And it is important to remember this because you who represent different countries here, who come from all parts of the globe and who go back to your own geographical areas, will have to join in a great effort to reduce this gap to bring about once again a common understanding and common purpose to give effect to the undoubted value of the United Nations principles and purposes, embodied and enshrined in the Charter. That is why I state it is very important to recognize the gap that exists today.

Now when I came here this morning I had a few notes prepared carefully on points I should speak to you about, but I find that I have to put them aside because I thought I was to speak to you on the General Assembly, particularly in relation to the last Assembly which concluded only at the end of last year. But I understand that you have discussed that subject this morning. I am glad that with the help of Mr. Menensines

you have been able to thoroughly discuss the General Assembly, how it functions, what its purposes are and what it achieves. I shall, therefore, have to change over to talk on the subject which according to the programme has been allocated to me, namely, "The United Nations in the 1960s". Well nothing could be more pleasurable than to think for a moment with you, in the very brief time at my disposal, of the United Nations in the 1960s.

The Next Ten Years

LET us, therefore, project our thoughts to this decade. Let us think of this future period. The year 1960 is just beginning this decade and if we are to think of the United Nations in the 1960s, in what terms should we think of the United Nations in the 1960s? I suppose one course would be to think of the 1960s in terms of what the United Nations could do in carrying out its objectives. I wish at this point to read to you the Preamble of the United Nations Charter, not because it has not been read to you before, not because you have not yourselves read it before, not because you are unaware of it, but because it embodies something which we must keep on repeating to ourselves right through our lives if we are to make use of the United Nations in the way it should be made use of.

Let me quote it: "*We the peoples of the United Nations determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and to reaffirm faith in the fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of human persons and in the equal rights of men and women and all nations large and small, and to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom, and for these ends to practice tolerance and to live together in peace with*

one another as good neighbours, and to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and to ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed forces shall not be used saving in the common interest, and employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all people, have resolved to combine our efforts to accomplish these aims". Now that is the purpose for which the United Nations was established and, therefore, it is that purpose that we have to keep in mind when we think of the United Nations in the 1960s.

I see from your programme that during the remainder of today you will be prepared to consider three of the most important purposes of the United Nations. At one meeting you will discuss disarmament, at another you will discuss economic conditions in relation to standards of living and at the other you will consider the political rights of people, namely, the right to freedom, independence of all peoples. You will at these three meetings really be covering the most important work the United Nations will have to do in 1960 and in the following years. And as we begin in 1960, there are very good signs, for we begin in an atmosphere of better relations and better understanding. I told you earlier that there was a gap between the East and the West and we know what it means. We know about the armament race, we know about the destructive weapons being built up feverishly by two of the greatest powers in the world, we know that powerful nations are ranged against each other in the East and West. We know the possibility of irremediable destruction that may be ahead of us. We know the danger that lies ahead and we know also that there is still no common meeting ground.

This is a gloomy picture, but, when one says this, one is grateful and thankful that today we can see the silver lining, today we can see that people are prepared to meet and talk. Only recently we saw how two of

the greatest men in the world, in whose hands lies the destiny of all people, were able to get together, talk together, stay together for days and at the end of it proclaim to the world that international disputes shall not be settled by the use of force but through negotiations. It must have been the hand of God which guided President Eisenhower and Mr. Khrushchev, the Premier of the Soviet Union, to meet together. Nothing else could have brought that about.

Divine Providence

IF we look at the history of the world as it was a few months before that event took place, who could have prophesied it? Who would have thought that events would move so rapidly in the direction of better understanding and greater goodwill? Who would have ventured to make such a prophecy? But it came with amazing speed and quickness and these two great persons, who are the only two persons who really matter—were able to get together. Of course, I don't wish to suggest that we others don't matter, that our Governments don't matter, that people, wherever they may be, do not contribute to these events—but ultimately in the final analysis we know very well that it is only these two power groups led by these two great people which can decide the fate of humanity. And when we see them meet and when we see the result of that meeting, no matter what others may say—there are many who disagree with me but some of us are thoroughly convinced—it must have been Divine Providence which guided these two people together to announce to a waiting anxious world these words of hope, that international disputes shall not be settled by force but through negotiations. That is the object of the United Nations itself.

So, when we think of the United Nations in action in these forthcoming years, we note this good augury, and at the same time we have also begun to recognize the necessity for the emergence of all people to

freedom and independence, and that too is catching on very quickly. In the course of this year, in 1960, we shall probably be admitting at least five new countries from Africa to membership of the United Nations, as a result of their having achieved their independence and their freedom. And we know very well that freedom is in the making for many more countries in Africa and elsewhere and that before the next two or three years, or may be five years, within the 1960s we shall welcome to the family of nations many more as independent and free people, and this is rapidly going on.

A few days ago at a meeting of the United Nations Committee on Non-Self-Governing Territories, we elected as the new Chairman, an African Representative, Ambassador Quaison-Sackey of Ghana, and it was only just under two years ago that we held an emergency meeting of the Security Council to recommend to the Assembly the admission of Ghana to the membership of the United Nations. Just two years ago—and today this country is chairing the meeting to consider the problems of non-self-governing countries. That is an illustration of the speed with which this problem is being dealt with and it is illustrative, definitely, of the fund of friendly feeling and the goodwill which exists among all nations in the United Nations. And that brings me to another point, namely, the representative character of the United Nations which is the strength of the United Nations.

We all know that we have many weaknesses, and I may refer, before I finish, to one or two of them. We also know that we have great strength in the United Nations and I may mention one or two points in regard to that which are well worth remembering. One of the greatest strengths of the United Nations is its representative capacity. We have today 82 nations, before the end of this year we shall have 87 and as I stated before, before long we shall have many more, and they are representatives of the whole world except, unfortunately, a very large segment of people in this world.

We are aware this is one of our weaknesses. We are very representative. We have men of all races, all colours, all religions, all ways of thinking and yet our representative character has certainly diminished and we stand in a vulnerable position because of our failure to have the people of China adequately represented. This is a political question on which there are two sides and I am not going to enter into that. But I am registering the fact, nevertheless, that we are a representative, a very representative organization.

We must also remember that we are, as I stated before, more than that—we are a very human organization and that is very important. When all is said and done, in the final analysis, the decisions of the United Nations are human decisions. We are not just a group of nations looking at things in an arbitrary way which is divorced from the needs and requirements of human beings. In fact, in the General Assembly, there is one little thing that is lost sight of. It is not reported in the newspapers. It does not provide headlines but I think it is a most significant thing which characterizes the General Assembly and in turn the United Nations organization itself. I refer to the one minute that representatives of 82 countries spend in standing together for meditation or for prayer, according to one's religious persuasion. We begin our General Assembly by standing together for one minute's silent meditation or silent supplication and thus elevate the General Assembly and its work from the sphere of the purely materialistic atmosphere to the higher spiritual plane. And, although, we may still quarrel and, although, we may still disagree and, although those ideological differences may still exist, there are to the discerning eye indications that, as a result of the moment of prayer, we raise the discussion to a higher level, a spiritual plane and bring the human factor of the whole world together in reaching our decisions.

So it is a human organization and, of course, we deal with human needs. Our specialized agencies—and that is a part of the work of the United Nations which does not get the recognition it deserves—do a tremendous amount of work for the benefit of humanity either in the health organization or in the labour organization. And there are many other organizations too numerous to mention. A great number of human beings are assisted in all areas of the world. Take, for example, the children's fund, UNICEF. Think of the tremendous amount of work that is done to help young children in all sorts of difficult conditions and in various other ways. So that itself is another indication of its human aspect.

Human Limitation

NOW, another point I would like to refer to you is to indicate that we have our limitations. Although I say we try to elevate our discussions into a higher plane, we still are dogged by our own human limitations. After all, when you think of the United Nations, you are not thinking of something rare, something fine, something divine or something above the sphere of human contact. It consists of human beings and Governments, so we have our human frailties and limitations. There are some people who try to use the United Nations for their own purposes. Narrow nationalistic politics enter into its discussion. There is at times a tendency to use the United Nations for the creation or perpetuation of certain political and military blocs. There may be a temptation for certain countries to use the small countries by various means to support their own point of view, which smaller countries sometimes find it difficult to resist. These are some of the limitations which we have noticed, but as against that we have much power though not based on armed strength. We have no army of our own, we have no executive. In fact, the whole United Nations has no executive authority at all and some people may consider it is thus utterly, hopelessly weak.

But we have the strength which comes from the concerted joint expressions of many in regard to the problems which the United Nations General Assembly has to decide. These problems are considered carefully in various committees and brought back to the General Assembly, and when the General Assembly decides there is the force of a united world opinion behind that decision. Any member State can ignore it, and we know that some resolutions have been ignored, but we also know that many resolutions have been complied with. Anyhow, there is the power and strength of united public world opinion behind these resolutions.

Furthermore, the United Nations provides the only forum which is available to the whole world to ventilate grievances, to draw attention to injustices and to seek conformity of the whole world in regard to certain matters in which they can agree. So we have our limitations and weaknesses, and we have our strength both of which the United Nations has as a result of united action. In this there comes into being a world public opinion, and these things indicate our strength and weakness. We shall in the 1960s therefore, confine our attention, amongst the large number of matters, particularly to those three matters which you are to discuss and I assure you the United Nations has no greater work to do than to repeat what you are doing today, when it meets at the Fifteenth Assembly towards the end of this year. For after all, we still have the disarmament question. It is given number one priority. Last year we passed a unanimous resolution and that is something worth noting. On that occasion the United States representative and the Soviet Union representative signed one resolution calling for complete and general disarmament and this was signed subsequently by 80 other representatives and was adopted unanimously in the Assembly. This is a great achievement. Undoubtedly, it will not bring us disarmament, it will not bring

us peace at once. But can you imagine anything more potent than what took place at the Assembly on that occasion?

Speaking in the General Assembly I said that the two things which are of the greatest importance before the General Assembly at the present time, are disarmament and economic development. I did not forget the political side of the fight for freedom and independence, but those are the two things on which everything else is based, even political freedom and independence in the final analysis. I can assure you that the United Nations will be considering those problems which you are going to discuss today and what you discuss certainly will help, if you are behind the move for total disarmament. We know that disarmament is an important subject at the meeting at the Summit of the Heads of States due to take place within a very short time, and we know that partial disarmament matters and the nuclear tests are also being discussed at this very moment in Geneva.

If all of you here join these efforts of the United Nations, you will be serving the cause, not only of the United Nations, but of all humanity to create an atmosphere of peace, to create better understanding, to get the plan for total and complete disarmament and then to utilize the money that is now being wasted on armaments for the redemption of mankind in the economic sphere, so that where there is poverty and hunger and want, there will be abundance. So that once again there will be happiness throughout the world amongst all people who today feel the pangs and fear of want. Then we shall also have freedom given to people who are now under political domination so that they may stand on their feet, raise their hands and assert their rights, the fundamental human rights that they are entitled to as part of the human race. This is a great challenge in your lives and, I am very glad that you have been offered this challenge today. That you have felt the urge of this challenge yourselves, and that you are discussing these is most welcome.



His Excellency the Governor-General, Sir Oliver Goonetilleke, is greeted by Begum Hamid Hussein at the Pakistan National Day Party held in Colombo recently. The Pakistan High Commissioner in Ceylon, H. E. Mr. Hamid Hussein, is also in the picture

Foreign Affairs

THE Prime Minister, Mr. Dudley Senanayake, in a statement issued to the press on March 30 regarding the recent incidents in South Africa, said that in the United Nations and in the Security Council they were sponsoring and giving support to such measures as would bring those shootings before the bar of world opinion. The following is the text of his statement :—

“We cannot help but express our deep concern at the present incidents in South

Africa. Consequent upon demonstrations by African crowds against the obnoxious Pass Laws which are part and parcel of the policy of apartheid and racial discrimination, the South African Police opened fire on demonstrators at Sharpville and Langa. Reports indicate that over 70 people have been killed and over 200 injured. The circumstances of the shootings indicate a denial of human rights and of elementary justice. Many nations have therefore raised their voice in



Sir Claude Corea, Permanent Representative to the UN, presented to the United Nations International School a collection of books on Ceylon and a Ceylon flag for the school library. In this picture he is seen explaining a point in one of the books to the Director of the School, Dr. Ulf Ostergaard.

sorrow as well as in anger. We for our part extend our sympathy to the African people and express our dismay at these unbridled shootings. We have rejected and continue to reject and condemn the policies of racial supremacy and racial segregation.

“In the United Nations and in the Security Council we are sponsoring and giving our support to such measures as will bring these shootings before the bar of world opinion. We trust that such action as the United Nations proposes will induce the Government of South Africa to moderate and finally abandon the policy of racial discrimination and segregation”.

UNESCO Awards

FOUR Ceylonese authors received prizes this month for their works under the UNESCO Reading Materials Project. They were—

- Mr. D. Kumarasinghe for his work “The Electricity that Helps Us”,
- Mr. B. Wimalabuddhi Thero for his work “Travel of Fa Hien”,
- Mr. Denzil Peiris for his work “National Awakening in the Middle East”, and
- Mr. M. D. H. Seneviratne for his work “European Heritage”.

Each of these authors received a cheque for 480 dollars for their writings.

Ex-King Leopold in Ceylon

EX-KING Leopold III of Belgium arrived in Ceylon on March 4 accompanied by his wife and two others, one of whom is his niece, Princess de Saare, daughter of ex-King Umberto of Italy.

At the airport they were met by the Belgian Charge d'Affaires and his wife, and the acting Chief of Protocol.

Speaking to pressmen shortly afterwards ex-King Leopold said that this was his fourth

visit to Ceylon and that he had come here again because he had always recalled its beauty with pleasure. He had been in India before coming to Ceylon and there he had visited the Belgian Leprosy Institution in Madras, of which he is honorary president. He had also visited Ajanta. From Ceylon he would be returning to India and would be meeting the Indian Prime Minister.

Hungarian Ambassador

CONSEQUENT on the decision of the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic and the Government of Ceylon to establish diplomatic relations at Embassy

Picture taken at the farewell party given on March 4, 1960, at their residence by Ambassador R. S. S. Gunewardene and Mrs. Gunewardene for H. E. Mr. Annesley de Silva, Ceylon's Ambassador-designate to Brazil, and Mrs. de Silva. Mr. and Mrs. de Silva are between Ambassador Gunewardene and Mrs. Gunewardene. To Ambassador Gunewardene's right is elder daughter, Irangani, while to Mrs. Gunewardene's left is younger daughter, Swarna. Also in the picture are members of the staff of Ceylon's Embassy in Washington and their wives



level, the Hungarian Government has, with the concurrence of the Government of Ceylon, decided to appoint Dr. Laszlo Reczei, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary designate for Hungary in New Delhi concurrently as their First Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ceylon.

Cuba's Representative

HIS Excellency Mr. Eugenio Soler Alonso, Special Ambassador of the Government of Cuba, who arrived here on 28th February, told a press conference recently that his Government was desirous of establishing cordial relations with several Asian countries.

Mr. Alonso came here to discuss with officials of the Ceylon Government the details connected with the opening of a Cuban Diplomatic Mission in Ceylon consequent on

the decision of the two Governments to exchange diplomatic Envoys.

Ceylon at UN

SIR Claude Corea, Permanent Representative of Ceylon to the United Nations, recently made a formal presentation of books and a Ceylon flag to the United Nations International School.

Sir Claude visited the school in Manhattan accompanied by the Press Attache, Mr. Chitra Fernando. He was received by the Director of the school, Dr. Ulf Ostergaard, and addressed the primary grades, on Ceylon.

The books, which were placed in the school's library, included "History of Buddhism in Ceylon" by Walpola Rahula, a collection of speeches by the late Mr. Bandaranaike, Martin Wickramasinghe's "Aspects of Sinhalese Culture" and "The Buddhist Jataka Stories and the Russian Novel".

CEYLON TODAY

		<i>Local</i>	<i>Foreign</i>
		<i>Rs. c.</i>	
Annual Subscription inclusive of Postage		.. 7 50	.. 15s.
Price per copy 0 50	.. —
Postage 0 10	.. —

Apply to—

**The Superintendent, Government Publications Bureau,
Galle Face Secretariat, Colombo I**

Printed at the
Government Press, Ceylon