

Vol. 21 No. 15 — September 18, 1976. — RUPEE ONE

# TRIBUNE



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**TRIBUNE**

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**Tribune Publications**

43, Dawson Street, Colombo-2—Phone 33172

## Letter From The Editor

THE TWO MAJOR POLITICAL PARTIES in Sri Lanka today, the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) and the United National Party (UNP), celebrated their twenty-fifth and thirtieth anniversaries recently. The Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP) had celebrated its fortieth anniversary last year, and the Communist Party (CP) is now on its thirty second year. Whilst the Tamil Congress (TC) is a wee bit older than the UNP, the Federal Party (FP) is only a year or so older than the SLFP. The FP had started as a splinter from the TC but had grown bigger and more formidable than the TC, but in 1971-73 they have combined once again as the Tamil United Front (TUF) bringing under its wing the Ceylon Workers Congress (CWC). The TUF is now the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) with the CWC having formal reservations about the separate state demand which the TULF has now made the chief article of faith in its political credo. The SLFP has launched a major political campaign on the occasion of its twenty-fifth anniversary to mobilise mass support, no doubt for the General Elections due in 1977. These are being held on the charismatic upsurge of the success which attended the Fifth Nonaligned Summit Conference in Colombo. The Government is also doing its utmost to hold prices of essentials down—however unstable and uncertain the legislative and emergency curbs may be—and has realised, at last, that only increased production can bring about a new economic order inside the country. Employment is being found mainly on a temporary basis, and such employment is not geared to any plan for economic development—today a job is only an excuse to hand out the dole to unemployed youth, viz. in road construction, or as excess staff in government corporations and undertakings, or in education as unqualified teachers (even without schools or buildings in which they can teach). These temporary palliatives may help the SLFP to win an election, but Sri Lanka will sooner or later have to face up to the problems which will stem from an avalanche of printed money without the necessary increased production to back it and give the currency validity. The SLFP, in the 14 years it has enjoyed government power since Independence (1948), has no doubt done a great deal to transform this country and to emancipate it from the bondage of old indigenous feudalism and also alien colonialism. It has done much, in conjunction with the leftwing LSSP and CP, to effectively introduce measures to create a new society in this country. But what the SLFP and its allies have failed to do is to ensure a steady growth of productive output in all sectors and more especially in agriculture. A major socio-political transformation has been achieved by the SLFP, but it as yet to show that it can harness the new forces (released from bondage of various kinds) to embark on massive production to enable higher standards of living and lower prices of essentials. The SLFP has also failed to solve the problem of national minorities, centred chiefly around the Tamil-speaking peoples in the island. As long as this problem remains unsolved, the SLFP will not be able to effect a major breakthrough on the economic front. The UNP claims that it opened a new chapter in December 1975 when it said that it had become "the party of the people; speaking on their behalf and acting for their benefit." The (UNP) *Journal* of September 7, 1976 declared that the UNP had taken as its philosophy, *Democratic Socialism*, and believes that the principles that underlie this philosophy are most suited to the conditions of the country at the current time and conform most closely to the wishes of the people." Apart from this, the UNP continues to beat the old drum about winning Independence for the country, (forgetting that UNP—like the TC—came into existence as a backwash of the British post-war decision to hand over political power to the Brown Sahibs in order to ensure British economic dominance and investments in the plantations and commerce), and then sets out a list of SLFP-LSSP-CP wrongs that have to be undone. The UNP's main theme is that it wishes to restore the democratic freedoms the people have lost, totally oblivious to the fact that a large number of people know that during UNP regimes in the past there was less *de facto* freedom (politically, economically and socially) than today, even though *de jure* there was a facade about the maintenance of the rule of law. One need not quarrel with what the UNP was in the past or what it had done, but for the present although it has nailed the slogan *democratic socialism* on its masthead, it has offered no concrete programmes or plans to undo the harm done by the SLFP and the UF. The UNP has nothing other than a political propaganda barrage to exploit the acts of commission and omission of the SLFP-led governments. And its recent foreign policy postures, in spite of heroic and laboured efforts to appear different, have shown conclusively that it is still the same Brown Sahib party of old world gentry like Sir John Kotelawela.

# TRIBUNE

Founded in 1954

A Journal of Ceylon and  
World Affairs

Editor S. P. Amarasingam

Every Saturday

September 18, 1976

Vol. 21 No. 15

TRIBUNE

43, DAWSON STREET,  
COLOMBO - 2

Telephone: 33172

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## EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

## Chairman Mao

THE DEATH OF MAO-TSE-TUNG a little past midnight on Thursday, September 9, has superseded all other headline news for the time being.

THE ANNOUNCEMENT of the death was made 16 hours after the event. The moment of the termination of life was officially given as 0010 Peking time just past midnight of Thursday, September 9: that is 1610 GMT on the previous day (September 8), or about 9.40 pm in Colombo. It was only late in the evening of September 9 that the news was made available to the world, and the morning papers of September 10 in Colombo carried the news that has evoked profoundly far-reaching reactions in every part of the world.

Chairman Mao's death was expected for sometime. His health was declining for some months, but the end was not expected so soon. This was probably because no mention of his worsening health condition was found in the official bulletins of the New China News Agency. With his death passes away one of the titans of the age. Much has been written about Mao and much more will be written in the coming weeks, months and years. With Edgar Snow's *Red Star Over China* in the late thirties, Mao and the Yennan communists attracted the attention of the world, and with their coming to power in Peking on October 1, 1949, they became legendary heroes.

There is no doubt that Chairman Mao has had profound influence not only in the new China that has emerged after the communists came to power in that vast country but also throughout the entire world. In the world of ideas, whether one agrees with him or not, he has had deep-rooted impact on marxist intellectuals and revolutionaries as well as on politicians of every kind and sort. He has even induced men like Kissinger and Nixon to work out new strategies and policies for what they believe will help them to save the civilisation to which they cling whereas Comrade Mao was evidently convinced that that the chain reaction

he had set in motion would kill two birds—Soviet Revisionism first and then American Imperialism.

The *Far Eastern Economic Review*, datelined September 17, and which was received in Colombo Monday, September 13, (no doubt printed during the weekend in Hongkong a week earlier than the dateline) was the first international news-magazine to have a special with a Mao cover THE RED SUN SETS. The magazine had a complete obituary supplement of Mao-Tse-tung as a centre inset, (evidently ready for this eventuality) together with a piece from David Bonavia from Peking and a long article by the Editor, Derek Davies, entitled THE LAST OF THE GREAT MEN.

Bonavia stated that "Mao's death came as no surprise, though perhaps a little earlier than most observers had forecast. During the first half of this year, there had been clear deterioration of the state of his health, to the point of where even official photographs showed him as barely capable of sitting upright in an armchair any longer. On June 15, it was announced by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party that Mao would no longer receive foreign visitors because he was 'very busy with his work'. This was wisely—and as it turned out correctly—taken as an indication that his health was failing fast.

"Mao was apparently in Peking during July 28 earthquake, an experience described as frightening by most people who lived through it—and perhaps fatally traumatic to a man who, was suffering from deep fatigue of old age, as well as a suspected case of advanced Parkinson's disease combined with partial paralysis of his left side. Peking Radio said that the Chairman died 'because of the worsening of his illness, and despite all treatment, although meticulous care was given him in every way after he fell ill'. It is widely believed that an early result of Mao's death will be the enforced retirement of Chiang Ching, and possibly some of the high radicals around her, from public life. The radical group's greatest strength in recent years has been its ability to bring out fresh pronouncements in its favour from the living Mao. Posthumous quotations will carry much less weight.

"For the people of China, Mao's death at this stage in the political struggle is quite possibly a disastrous event, even if they were to some extent prepared for it. There is good evidence to believe that many people—especially among the peasantry who still makes four-fifths of the population—associated the recent earthquakes with the likelihood of 'dynastic changes'. This would be in accordance with a long-standing Chinese tradition. Nor can it be ruled out that Mao himself, for all his philosophical materialism, may have been consciously or subconsciously affected by the idea that the 'Mandate of Heaven' was passing from him. Such psychosomatic factors will have to remain a subject for speculation, but certainly 82 is by no means a great age for a vigorous and well-nourished Chinese of peasant background.

"Mao's death was poetically timed—as befits a great man, whether or not one agrees with

## On The Cover

ANTLERED DEER have become a rarity in Sri Lanka today. They have become as rare as so many other animals, birds, reptiles and even trees. Thanks to public agitation, the Wild Life Department resumed its work to protect fast-dying specimens of wild life from the end of last year—after nearly five or six years of total inactivity. A start has been made but a great deal more has to be done. Venison is still available at many hotels, resthouses and eating houses in several parts of the country. Deer is still being slaughtered indiscriminately in many places where the Wild Life Department has still not stationed enough men, vehicles (with fuel) and other facilities to cope poachers and others who want to make a quick buck by providing eating places with venison. Whilst it is true that many gourmets are now being cheated with wild and semi-wild buffalo meat as venison, there is no doubt that far too many deer are still being killed—and that if this continues only the deer in the Zoo will be safe.

his policies. He departed this world during the traditional Lantern Festival, when Chinese people in Hong-kong and the Overseas Chinese communities were peaceably carrying lanterns around darkened streets in a mood of exalted sentimentality. The end of the autumn of Mao's life coincided exactly with the celebration of the full-moon Autumnal Festival of the Chinese year."

In regard to superstitious ("superstitious" according to the marxists, rationalists and materialists) beliefs, the AFP sent a despatch from Peking datelined September 10 that makes most interesting reading (it will be especially interesting to people in Sri Lanka who are steeped in such superstition)

"Chairman Mao Tse-tung had died just at a time when the Chinese authorities, following the Tang Shan earthquake disaster, had been trying for several weeks to fight 'pessimistic' rumours based on traditional Chinese beliefs. Those rumours predicted particularly serious disturbances among the top leadership as in past centuries they had predicted the 'end of a dynasty' after various natural phenomena and catastrophes. A shower of meteorites fell on March 8 on the northern province of Kirin (in what was formerly Manchuria). Later in May a violent earthquake shook the west of the southern Yunnan province. An even stronger quake occurred on July 28 completely destroying a Chinese city, Tang Shan, 151 kms. east of Peking.

"Finally, on August 16 another tremor affected the northern region of the central Szechwan province. Following all these phenomena, rumours going the round centred on the end of the current 'dynasty' in power in Peking—in other words, the end of Mao. The Chinese authorities continually fought in the press against these 'pessimistic' and irrational rumours without, however, giving clear details of them.

"Over the past few days, foreign embassies in Peking had received hidden in newspapers and packets, tracts mentioning the end of the ruling 'dynasty'. The tracts predicted the end of Mao Tse-tung on the basis of the phenomena or disasters that occurred last year and this year: drought and floods, meteorites and earthquakes. 'Mao's

fate is already almost sealed', the tracts stated. 'What need we fear? Comrades let us rise up. Let us establish our new dynasty.' The signature of obviously doubtful authenticity, according to diplomatic sources here, read: 'Group of the revolutionary masses of the Wuhan steel works?.....'

Superstition, or no superstition, millions in the world are superstitious. It cannot be any different in China. More of this later.

Whatever show of collective leadership is manifestly displayed in Peking in the next few post-Mao months, there is no doubt that vast dynastic changes will take place in China soon. If one surveys Chinese history from ancient times, the changes in dynasty and rulers have followed certain patterns—not dependent on the stars but on the way the Chinese mind has worked. It will be interesting to see whether, with the current overlay of marxist logic on the Chinese mind, there will be a difference in the way dynastic changes are effected. Observers have already noted that with the death of Chou En-lai the traditional forms of power struggle had started to ensure that a successor dynasty was found. In fact, it had started shortly after Chou had fallen ill in 1972/73, with the barrage against "Confu-

cius" by the so-called radicals. More of these events, centred around the power struggle, will unfold themselves only in the course of the coming months.

But what is of even greater interest to students of history and international affairs is whether there will be any major changes in domestic and foreign policy postures in the foreseeable future, (and more specially in foreign policy). Easwar Sagar writing to the Madras *Hindu* from Washington on September 10 under the heading CHINA AND RUSSIA MAY COMPOSE DIFFERENCES stated:

"The United States has the largest number of China watchers, scholars and specialists, both in and outside the official bureaucracy and if their assorted reactions to Mao Tse-tung's passing could be distilled it would probably prove to be one of hope mixed with apprehension. While these experts seem to share the hope expressed by such persons as President Ford, the Secretary of State, Dr. Henry Kissinger, and the former President Nixon that with the death of the man who opened China to the US, Sino-US relations will not necessarily change, they also seem to betray an undercurrent of uneasiness. There is a feeling that

## PAKISTAN

IN SOME OF OUR COMMENTS in earlier issues of *Tribune*, we had, while commenting on the way Saudi Arabia had sought to get Pakistan into the nonaligned movement, suggested that Saudi Arabia had done this on the prompting of two Pakistani Ambassadors (those accredited to Sri Lanka and Yugoslavia) who were in Colombo at that time. We had done this on the basis of information supplied many knowledgeable circles, including officials within the inner Summit orbit, but high Pakistani sources have now informed us that our information was wrong and that the information was slanted and coloured by anti-Pakistan sentiment. We have been told that Pakistan had not asked Saudi Arabia to do what it did: that Saudi Arabia had done it all on its own, and that was why Saudi Arabia had withdrawn its proposal for Pakistan's membership, the next day, as a result of the Pak authorities here telling the Saudis that their action had placed them in a very embarrassing position. Prime Minister Bhutto, while on his last visit to Colombo had, we are informed, made the position clear to Sri Lanka: that Pakistan was not applying, on its own, for membership in the nonaligned movement under any circumstances: but that Pakistan would be happy to co-operate and participate in the movement if a wide consensus of the membership invited her to join them. The position had not changed since that time and the fact that Pakistan had shown friendship and cordiality to Sri Lanka and other participants *vis a vis* the Nonaligned Summit Conference did not entitle anyone to infer that Pakistan had sought to enter the movement through the backdoor with the aid of Muslim countries like Saudi Arabia. We have set out the circumstances as conveyed to us by Pakistani sources to set the record straight.

the leaders who take over from Mao—nearly every expert is convinced that since Mao was simply not replaceable by anyone person, it will be a collective group under the nominal leadership of Mr. Hua Kuo-feng that will rule China, as was the case in Russia after the death of Stalin, and in North Vietnam after Ho Chi Minh's death—will cease depending on the American connection only to cope with Moscow, and might instead explore the possibility of a detente with the Russians. And if there is one thing that American policy planners dread most it is a loss of global leverage consequent on a coming together of the two communist leviathans.

"As same US experts see it the two factions in China, the moderates and the radicals, are now equally balanced. They do not believe that the Chinese leadership can be neatly divided into pro-American and pro-Russian groups, but they do feel that there are those who for pragmatic reasons

prefer a rapprochement with Moscow, and that their view will eventually prevail. The belief among these experts is that the overture for a reconciliation will come from the Russians and that the Chinese will respond to it favourably. In support of this theory it is pointed out that the Chinese recently not only released the crew of a Soviet helicopter that had strayed over Chinese territory, but even offered an apology for keeping them in custody.

"It is also believed that the Chinese who have been impatient with the US over Taiwan, and lack of any significant progress in their overall relationship with Washington, have been reassessing their American connection even while Mao was fading from the scene. The speculation now is that this reassessment will now be intensified.

"There is, meanwhile, no question about the awe bordering on fearful adulation in which Americans held Mao Tse-tung judging by

the notice his death has received here. Mr. Ford and Dr. Kissinger made special public appearances to convey their condolences. Even Mr. Nixon (who would not appear before cameras) made a rare public statement. Both the print and television media have accorded the Event a great deal of space and time—both the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* devoted six pages to Mao and at least two television networks ran a one-hour special to mark the Chinese leader's death."

Many observers may wishfully believe that Easwar Sagar's speculative writing was only the wishfully thinking of an Indian journalist that there should be a Sino-Soviet detente. With a great deal of bravado, the present Chinese leadership has flamboyantly rejected the "condolences" of the Soviet and East European Communist Parties for the reason that the Chinese Communist Party does not maintain "relations" with such "revisionist parties." The drama of the post-Mao era has begun.

## SRI LANKA CHRONICLE

## Aug. 30 — Sept. 4

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; TOCSI—Times of Ceylon Sunday Illustrated; DM—Dinamina; LD—Lankadipa; JD—Janadina; VK—Virakesari; ATH—Aththa; SM—Silumina; SLD—Sri Lankadipa; JS—Janasathiya.

**MONDAY, AUGUST 30:** According to the *Daily News* the government is considering new legislation to enable any business undertaking taken under the Business Acquisition Act to be managed in a manner different to that permitted under the existing legislation: under the proposed legislation a business taken over can become a single corporation or function under a group of corporations or be handed over to another corporation doing similar business. According to the *Daily Mirror* local book-makers offered ten to one for a SLFP victory at the Mulkirigala by-election and lost badly because several people held bets with them for large sums—CDM. A bus load of people came from Galaha Town and complained to appointed MP, Mr. A. Aziz, that on orders from the government they were to be evicted from their houses if they do not quit by the end of August: Mr. Aziz contacted the Prime Minister and on explaining the position to her she took immediate action to stay the eviction and also ordered the Police and the Government Agent to safeguard the people—CDM. The Marathon Oil Explor-

ation Company of USA shifted its earlier oil exploration site from a point between Mannar and Deft in the sea bed to a site closer to Kayts in the Northern province: though drilling was done to a depth of 7000 feet at the earlier site no trace of oil is reported to have been found—CDM. UNP will celebrate its 30th anniversary on September 8—CDM. Mr. Dias Abeysinghe, Commissioner of Elections, in his annual administration report said that elections to 103 local bodies which were due last year were not held: these local bodies comprised 91 Village Councils, 9 Town Councils and 3 Urban Councils—CDM. Following a second appeal by Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayakam, leader of the Tamil United Liberation Front, Tamil youths in prison gave up yesterday their fast unto death which they were continuing for the last few days: Mr. J. P. Delgoda, Commissioner of Prisoner, confirmed this—VK. Mr. T. B. Ilangaratne, Minister of Trade, Public Administration and Home Affairs, speaking at the Duraiappah statue unvailing ceremony in Jaffna said late Mr. Duraiappah died in a similar way how Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike died: Mr. Ilangaratne further said the great leaders Gandhi and Bandaranaike too fought for national unity and Mr. Duraiappah too fought for the unity of Sinhalese and Tamils in Sri Lanka—VK. According to the *Lankadipa* discussions are being held in various Non-aligned nations regarding the proposal made by Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, about the establishment of a commercial bank to help Third World nations: the paper further said that discussions centred round on the establishment of a head office of the proposed bank in one country and to have branches of the bank in all other Third World countries—LD. Mr. Lakshman Rajapakse, the new MP for Mulkirigala, will take his oaths as MP at

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the NSA on September 7—DM. Government has set aside Rs. 50 million to be paid as compensation to estate owners whose lands were taken over under the Land Reform Act: this sum is allocated for payment for the year 1976 only—DM.

**TUESDAY, AUGUST 31:** Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Finance and Justice, addressing a meeting of Sri Lanka Excise Inspector's Union yesterday said that a change of government under the party system does not serve the best interest of the country because the winning party spends two years celebrating the victory, two years drawing up plans and the last year electioneering: the Minister began the speech telling that he came to speak politics and not trade union matters—CDN. Mr. Vernon Mendis, Secretary General of the 5th Non-Aligned Summit and Sri Lanka's High Commissioner in UK, speaking in Colombo yesterday on the Non-Aligned Summit said there were no events in history parallel to the 5th Summit and the earlier gatherings had been at regional levels and there was no comparison in grandeur and internationality as the 5th Non-aligned Summit—CDM. Mr. R. Premadasa, First MP (UNP) for Colombo Central left for USA on a government invitation to study town and country planning, housing and other development projects in the USA—CDN. Mr. W. P. G. Ariyadasa, Minister of Local Government, appointed a seven-man committee headed by Mr. B. B. Hathotuwa to recommend ways of uniting the local government service with public service—VK. 7,500 graduates will be appointed as teachers in government schools from September 15—VK. Following normal conditions now prevailing in the Northern province the CTB decided to run night bus services in the area: earlier, night bus services in the Jaffna peninsula were suspended owing to clashes in certain places—VK. The Government paddy stores Batticaloa was set on fire and officials estimated the damage at Rs. two lakhs: police suspect sabotage—ATH. Sri Lanka's exports during the first six months of this year was Rs. 340 million—DM. According to the Lanka-dipa crop insurances are not being paid in time to farmers who are entitled for such monies and this has resulted in immense hardships to them: the paper further said several cultivation committees also failed to pay loans required for farmers in their areas. Mr. A. H. M. Fowzi, Mayor of Colombo, decided to continue the water cuts in Colombo until the water levels in the two main reservoirs improved satisfactorily: meanwhile, Colombo began to experience rains during the past few days—LD. The Central Committee of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party's Colombo Central branch will hold talks with Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, Prime Minister and President of the Party, regarding the fielding of a candidate for the Colombo Central seat in the next general elections—VK.

**WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 1:** The *Daily Mirror* in a front-page editorial on the results of the Mulkirigala by-election said the people of Mulkirigala have accepted Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, Prime Minister, as the only national figure of outstanding achievement and courage: the paper further said the voters have proved that they won't be swayed by temporary difficulties but prepared to back the government's socialist democratic policy with a strong independent economy: the editorial also said that this victory should not make the government to fall into victorious slumber and complacency

but follow the footsteps of late Mr. George Rajapakse who always faced the people, discussed their problems and was in constant conversation with them, as regard his electorate: referring to the defeat of the UNP the paper said the voters have made it known that the UNP is neither new nor socialist but it is the same old party: commenting on the absence of LSSP in the field the *Daily Mirror* said that they wisely kept off the fight after their humiliating defeat in the by-election held at Ja-ela recently: it went on to say that "the LSSP has been firmly dumped into the dust bin of history by the people of Sri Lanka." Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Finance and Justice, made order that 71 clerks of the State Mortgage Bank who were dismissed from service for their participation in the 1972 bank strike be reinstated to the Bank of Ceylon and to state corporations from today: the Bank Employees Union welcomed the decision of the Minister—CDN. Mr. Michael Siriwardene, Minister of Labour, said that the government had no intention of nationalising M/S Lever Brothers Ltd; and the Labour Department was doing everything possible to settle the strike at the firm—CDN. Mr. T. B. Ilangaratne, Minister of Trade, Public Administration and Home Affairs, in an interview to the *Virakesari* said he realised on his recent visit to Jaffna that Tamils of the North especially the youth began to realise that separatist policies will not solve the problems of the minorities. According to the *Dinamina* the special feature of this year's budget will be the allocation of more funds to food, agriculture and industrial developments: the paper further said emphasise will be laid on several shorter-term development projects. There will be over 650,000 candidates sitting the GCE O level and the NCGE examination in December this year—DM. The Central Committee of the Communist Party (Moscow wing) will meet this week to find solutions to the problems of the Tamils, to study the results of the Non-aligned Summit and the results of the Mulkirigala by-election—VK.

**THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 2:** At yesterday's meeting of the Cabinet of Ministers a communique was issued in appreciation of the services rendered to the country by the Prime Minister during the Fifth Non-aligned Summit Conference held in Colombo recently: it was stated in the communique that the choice of Colombo as the venue of the first Summit in Asia was a tribute not only to Sri Lanka's steadfast commitment to the policy of Non-alignment, but largely due to the spirit of sincerity and dedication with which the Prime Minister has served the cause of Non-alignment and world peace—CDN. Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, in a message to the nation on the 25th anniversary of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party today said "our immediate task is to make every effort to achieve self-sufficiency without which we can never really be independent"—CDN & CDM. The Ministerial Conference of Tea Exporting Countries will be held in Sri Lanka from October 28 to November 2: nineteen countries are expected to take part in this conference—CDM. Police said that the incidence of large scale thefts in state corporations are on the increase and in many instances this was found to be the work of certain employees in the corporations concerned in connivance with security staff: a spokesman for the Police said the Sri Lanka Tobacco Corporation had reported losses amounting to Rs. 500,000, the State Trading

Corporation had lost stocks to the value of Rs. 200,000 and the State Fertilizer Corporation nearly Rs. 50,000—CDN. Officials of the Asian Development Bank and the Ministry of Irrigation, Power and Highways are currently holding talks in Sri Lanka on the financial aspects of the Lunugahavehera Reservoir Project, said to be one of the biggest irrigation projects in the country—CDN. Five exporting firms in the country, Apparel Exports, Artxport, Haycarb Ltd. Lanka Porcelain Ltd. and Woodplex Ltd will receive national export awards from the President for their performance during the year 1975—CDN. The Chairman of UTA, the French Airline firm, will be arriving in the island today to hold talks with Air Ceylon to finalise the termination agreement of the Air Ceylon-UTA pact—CDM. The Trial-at-Bar appointed by the Government to inquire into Duratappah murder case will commence sittings on the 7th of this month—VK. The Department of Health will recruit 4000 nurses before the end of the year: these nurses will be assigned duties on family planning in the rural areas—VK. The *Aththa* in an editorial praised the government for reinstating employees of the State Mortgage Bank who were dismissed from service for participating in the 1972 bank employees strike. Employees of the Peradeniya Campus of the University held a procession within the campus yesterday to protest against the destruction of trade union posters issued by trade unions of Employees—LD. Appointments to 7,500 graduates as teachers will be made from next month: according to the Ministry of Education the delay for giving these appointments is because the Treasury has still not allocated funds: after these appointments are given, 12,500 G.C.E. qualified youth too would be given teaching appointment—DM.

**FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 3:** Addressing a mammoth rally at the Bogambara Grounds, Kandy, yesterday to commemorate the 25th anniversary of the founding of the SLFP, Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, said that her party had confidence in the people of the country and requested them to compare the services the party has rendered to the country during its 15-year rule to that of the services by the UNP: she further said though the SLFP is the youngest party it had ruled for the longest period and the oldest parties were never in a position to establish governments on their own: several ministers and MPs too spoke: the rally was preceded by four processions which converged to the Bogambara Grounds from the four entrances to the hill capital—CDN. According to the *Daily News* a public commission will be set up soon to inquire into the affairs of the Bank of Ceylon: the probe will cover all aspects of the working of the bank, including its relationship with the public and the trade unions representing bank employees. The President of the Government Medical Officers' Association in a statement said that a World Health Organisation scholarship was awarded secretly and was announced only after the officer to whom the schol was awarded had left the country: Dr. R. R. Cooke, the President, further said that the GMOA was perturbed to note that the Directorate of the Department of Health has given its "covert blessings" to this award—CDN. According to the *Daily Mirror* the Lanka Samasamaja Party is so broke that it has no funds to publish its Sinhala daily *Janadina* and also to fight the next general elections:

the high-command of the party has appealed to members, supporters and sympathisers to contribute towards the party's funds: so far the party has decided to contest 51 seats in the next general elections: the party will hold a public seminar today at the New Town Hall to mark the first anniversary of quitting the UF government: the theme of the seminar is "Shattered UF and the Road Ahead"—CDM. His Eminence Thomas Cardinal Cooray, OMI, the Archbishop of Colombo, resigned yesterday owing to ill-health—CDM. Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwa, Minister of Agriculture and Lands, addressing the SLFP anniversary meeting in Kandy yesterday said Mr. S. Thondaman, President of the Ceylon Workers' Congress, has had secret talks with Mr. J. R. Jayewardene: Mr. Kobbekaduwa warned Mr. Thondaman that he would be sent back to India if he attempts subversion with Mr. Jayewardene—VK. *Aththa* quoted a government move to import urea fertilizer for a period of another three years and said that this gave doubts to the earlier statement that a large urea factory would be established in Sri Lanka in 1977: for the year 1977 the State Fertilizer Corporation will import 96,600 tons of urea: already the award of a tender for the construction of a factory to produce urea has been given to a foreign firm—ATH.

**SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 4:** The Ceylon Petroleum Corporation will buy a tanker of 2452 metric tons and name it Mahaweli: this tanker from Japan was built in 1969 and will be owned by the corporation from next month—CDN. The Ministry of Health in a statement to the press denied allegations by the Government Medical Officers' Association that a scholarship was awarded to an officer secretly: the Ministry said the officer concerned is a senior medical specialist and what was awarded to him was not a scholarship but a fellowship: it further said this officer has applied for this fellowship as far back as April, 1972, and the application came through proper channels—CDN. Dr. N. M. Perera, President of the LSSP, and former Minister of Finance, speaking at a seminar yesterday on "The Shattering of UF and the Road Ahead" said that an attempt has been made to bridge the gap in this year's budget by printing currency notes: he further said during the past eight months Rs. 600 million worth of currency notes had been printed: he also said that none of the budget proposals has been realised—CDM. According to the *Daily Mirror* cholera was on the increase once again and 20 of every 350 cases have been fatal during the recent past. The Clerical and Technical Officer's Union of the Peradeniya Campus of the University has demanded the removal of the Campus President, Professor P. W. Vithanage, from office: members of the union staged a token strike on Thursday and will meet the Vice Chancellor, Dr. P. P. G. L. Siriwardene, today to discuss their demands—CDM. A group of experts who met in Guyana expressed opinion that Sri Lanka's work on the production, purchase and distribution of pharmaceuticals is a model for study and emulation by other developing countries: the opinion of these experts which was submitted earlier to the Fifth Non-aligned Summit was endorsed in the unanimously passed resolution for co-operation among developing countries in pharmaceuticals—CDN. The Inter District Conference of the SLFP youth league will be held at the party headquarters today and tomorrow—LD. Mr. T. B. Tennekoon, Minister of



Cultural Affairs, will soon introduce a bill in the NSA which will make the President of Sri Lanka as the trustee of the sacred tooth now enshrined in Sri Dalada Maligawa—LD. Ministry of Industries and the Department of Small Industries will introduce several new industries in Northern and Eastern provinces with the help of private sector industrialists: it is said though the government was prepared to help small-time industrialists in these provinces the people are not interested in the projects—VK. Mr. Tyrel Goonetilleke, Director of Criminal Investigations, was given the President Award for his investigations incases filed in the Criminal Justice Commission: the award was given to him at celebrations held yesterday in connexion with Police Day—DM.

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## INTERNATIONAL DIARY

### Aug. 29 – Sept. 3

**SUNDAY, AUGUST 29:** According to reports from Abu Dhabi the United Arab Emirates is not likely to implement the call by Non-aligned countries for an oil embargo against France: the reason for this, according to the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Seif Bin Ghobash, the call for the oil embargo was not included in a Draft political statement of the Non-aligned Summit Conference. Kenya announced that Uganda has withdrawn its troops from the Kenyan border: Kenya also announced that it did not station any troops near the Ugandan border. A report from Lusaka said Rhodesian black nationalist leader, Edson Sithole, who disappeared a year ago is in South Africa's high security jail for political detainees on Robben Island. Senators at the US Foreign Relations Committee told Dr. Henry Kissinger, US Secretary of State, that they considered it an unacceptable plan by the administration to sell 1,100 air-to-air sidewinder missiles to Saudi Arabia: however, further meetings between the Senators and the Secretary of State were arranged for next week. France has clinched a multi-million dollar deal to sell sophisticated weapons to Egypt: these weapons will replace certain Soviet weapon now being used in Egypt. President Ford told reporters that he would conduct an aggressive, nation-wide election campaign based on maintaining world peace, creating more meaningful jobs and improving living standards of Americans: he also said American people were fearful of the capabilities of Democratic candidate, Jimmy Carter, because of his inexperience, especially in foreign affairs. A former senior executive of the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation told the BBC in London that Prince Bernhard of Netherlands had an "insatiable appetite" for money and demanded four million dollars from the firm: meanwhile a report from Hague said sympathy seemed to be building up in Holland for Queen Juliana against a possible abdication.

**MONDAY, AUGUST 30:** In an interview published by a leading Japanese daily *Asahi Shimbun* with Karl Kotchian, Chairman of Lockheed Aircraft Corporation, it was said the bribes by the Corporation were given the coded names "peanuts" and "pieces": Mr. Kotchian said £ 900,000 was given to an agency in Japan

to be handed over to former Japanese Prime Minister, Kakuei Tanaka. Since the cultural revolution in 1966 China has set up scientific and technical exchange stations in 142 cities: the stations and experimental activities were created by the Chinese working class. Arab Foreign Ministers will meet next Thursday to discuss the place and date for an Arab Summit conference on Lebanon: the Summit was proposed by Kuwait and was backed by 12 Arab nations. The US Department of Agriculture said that there will be enough food for the world's needs this year despite severe droughts now experienced in Europe and Australia. Soviet government newspaper *Izvestia* held the United States responsible for the recent bloody incidents in the North Korean demilitarized zones. Former Australian Prime Minister, Gough Whitlam, said the present administration of Mr. Malcolm Fraser, is fabricating threat to Australia by emphasizing on the presence of Soviet military in the Indian Ocean. US Under Secretary for Economic Affairs, told in Dar Es Salaam that leaders of Tanzania, Zambia and Zaire have welcomed efforts by the US to help solve the problems of Namibia (South West Africa) and Rhodesia: Mr. Rogers told this to reporters on the end of his 90 minute conversation with President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania. Georges Marrane, a founder member of the French Communist Party who once stood against President De Gaulle for the presidency died in Paris aged 88.

**TUESDAY, AUGUST 31:** Indian government circulated a draft bill among members of Parliament yesterday proposing constitutional changes which included binding the President to accept the advice of a Council of Ministers, extending the life of Parliament from the present five to six years and removing powers of courts to call in question any constitutional amendments: opposition parliamentarians termed the proposals by Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi's government as a "blueprint for dictatorship". Mr. Sean McBride, UN Commissioner for Namibia, said South African troops had uprooted between 40,000 and 50,000 villages in Namibia to create a "free fire" buffer zone along the territory's borders with Angola: he further said South Africa had been taking action during the past three months along Namibia's northern frontier to help prevent incursions by guerillas of South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO): he warned that involvements of the super powers in the region is quite likely creating a situation like that of the civil war in Angola. USSR's *Pravda* in an article analysing the situation in the Middle East said events around Libya are part of a joint plan of the forces of imperialism and reaction which seek to strike a new blow at Arab unity. Opinion polls conducted in New York indicate that President Ford commands 39 per cent public support and Jimmy Carter 49 per cent for the top post in the White House. Two giant US Air Force transport planes which left from the same American air base crashed in Greenland and England: authorities said teams of investigators were rushed to the scenes of the crash to ascertain the cause and said this is an "incredible coincidence": sabotage was ruled out. Israeli Prime Minister, Yitshak Rabin, told the nation in television that he believed Egypt was interested in implementing the interim peace agreement with Israel despite its violations of the accord.

**WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 1:** New China News Agency reported that China successfully launched its 6th earth satellite on Sunday. King Birendra of Nepal and President Anwar Sadat of Egypt agreed to exchange visits at a date to be fixed later. President Maktar Ould Daddah of Mauritania and Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi of India in a joint communiqué issued in New Delhi said the recently concluded Non-aligned Summit Conference in Colombo was an outstanding success. The Indian Army promoted Miss G. A. Ram, 57 years, to the rank of Major General to head the Directorate of Army Nursing Services: she is the first woman in the Indian Army to be promoted a General. In a memorandum submitted to the Secretary General of the United Nations by Bangladesh it was said that India's diversion of the waters of River Ganges had a devastating effect on Bangladesh which would worsen with time and that failure to solve the problem carried the potential threat of conflict. Former Guerilla, Nicos Sampson, was sentenced to 20 years jail for his attempts to overthrow the Cyprus government of Archbishop Makarios in 1974: Sampson ruled for eight days in 1974 as President before the return of Makarios. Dutch Parliament defeated overwhelmingly a proposal by leftwing members calling for criminal prosecution of disgraced Prince Bernhard for his involvement in the Lockheed bribery scandal: all members of the Parliament were of view Queen Juliana was immensely popular in the country. West German papers published a statement by E. Hauser, a former agent of the Lockheed Corporation in the Federal Republic Germany that the leadership of the Bavarian Christian-Social Union, led by Franz Josef Strauss received 12 million dollars from the Aircraft Corporation between 1962 and 1966. Kuwait Prime Minister, Sheik Jaber Al-Ahmed, dissolved the Gulf States National State Assembly and said this is a temporary measure forced by circumstances.

**THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 2:** Dr. Henry Kissinger Secretary of State of the United States, said that an end to the white rule in South Africa and Namibia was near and he would convey this to the South African Prime Minister, Mr. John Vorster, when he meets him in Switzerland this week: commenting on Dr. Kissinger's proposed meeting with Mr. John Vorster in Zurich this week, Ugandan President, Idi Amin, said that no possible good can come from this meeting between the "zionist American Secretary of State", Dr. Kissinger and Mr. Vorster. The official Chinese paper, People's Daily, warned the Third World countries to beware of Soviet's so called co-operation and economic assistance: the Chinese Communist Party organ further said the more the developing nations trust "Soviet Co-operation" and "assistance" the more serious will be the consequences for their economic development. Colonel Gaddafi, Libyan President, told the Paris daily *La Monde* that Egyptian President Anwar Sadat was playing with fire by massing troops along the Libyan border: Libya has accused Egypt of concentrating troops along the border as a result deteriorating relations between the two Arab neighbours. A Court in Andhra Pradesh sentenced 15 members of the Maoist Naxalite movement to life imprisonment on charges of conspiracy to overthrow the Indian government: few top members of the movement too were included in this court verdict. Mr. Y. B. Chavan, Indian Foreign Minister is reported to have told that the Government of India had taken

notice of Bangladesh's decision to raise the issue of sharing of water of the River Ganges at the next sessions of the United Nations General Assembly: Mr. Chavan is also reported to have expressed regret at the "bilaterally negative" attitude of Bangladesh at the Summit meeting of the Non-aligned nations in Colombo recently. Police in Cape Town used teargas to disperse demonstrations of blacks in the coloured township of Silverton: Police claimed that the situation is now normal and no one was injured at yesterday's police actions. The American-led United Nations command and North Korean met behind closed doors yesterday in Seoul in a renewed effort to diffuse tension caused by the killing of two US officers by North Korean border guards last month.

**FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 3:** Dr. Henry Kissinger, US Secretary of State, yesterday had a 30-minute discussion with Mr. Shirley Amarasinghe, President of the Law of the Sea Conference and Sri Lanka's Permanent Representative to the UN, and later told reporters that the US would make a major effort to overcome problems at the conference with a plan to help finance an international project to exploit the mineral rich ocean bed. US Congressman, Wayne Hays, yesterday sent his resignation to House Speaker, Carl Albert: early in May a *Washington Post* story carried a confession by his former secretary, 33 year old Miss Ray, that she was getting 14,000 dollar a year salary from the Congress just to have sex with Mr. Hays: she also said she neither knew typing, to take dictation or to answer telephone calls. An Italian newspaper, *L'Espresso*, published documents apparently showing that the American Lockheed Aircraft Corporation intended to pay bribes to Italian Prime Minister, Giuglio Andreotti: in an interview to a left-wing newspaper the Premier denied having accepted any bribe from the Lockheed Corporation to win contracts in Italy. The UN Security Council yesterday opened a debate on Namibia and postponed it till the arrival in New York of African Foreign Ministers to attend the 31st session of the General Assembly starting on September 21. Following a controversy over the sale of a nuclear processing plant to Pakistan President Valery Giscard D'Estaing will personally head a government council to oversee nuclear export policy. Uganda Radio monitored in London said that African nations should boycott the forthcoming Commonwealth Nations conference in London if New Zealand is allowed to participate. A second demonstration in two days by blacks in Cape Town was dispersed by Police who used teargas: most of the demonstrators were students. Rhodesian authorities said that 131 black nationalist guerrillas were killed in their country in the month of August. Syria announced that it will not withdraw its forces from Lebanon until the conflict there is brought to an end.

FOR THE RECORD

## Elections In 1977?

— Felix : Anura —

### POLLS DATE MATTER: GOVT. OPPOSITION

—Felix

The decision whether elections should be held next year, is as much a matter for the Opposition as for the government; though it is my belief that in the present mood of the nation impatient at the rate of progress we are making it is likely that when the question is raised in Parliament, as it is likely to be, the decision could well be against an election in 1977.

This was stated by Mr. Felix R. Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Finance and Justice, in addressing a public meeting at Mandawela in Dompe on Sunday. The meeting held in connection with the silver jubilee of the SLFP was preceded by a mass demonstration of about 12,000 people.

The Minister said:

"Twenty-five years after the founding of the SLFP, the whole country has come to realize the value of the service rendered to the nation by the late Mr. Bandaranaike. The SLFP and the UNP have each governed the country for roughly 14 years out of the 28 years that have elapsed since independence. Every single piece of socially significant legislation that has been enacted in Parliament which has benefited the poor, or which has limited the economic power of the rich and the privileged classes, is the work of the SLFP Governments. Even Mr. J. R. Jayewardene has had to acknowledge this in Parliament, and the only explanation he has offered for the UNP failure is that he was not to blame, because it was Dudley's Government! All that the UNP has done during its fourteen years in office, is to preserve the status quo, by preventing further progress, and safeguarding the economic interests of the privileged few. They have not even had the courage to repeal any of our progressive measures, for as the late Mr. Bandaranaike said prophetically, "Rivers cannot be made to run upstream."

He added: "To prevent the surging tide of progress, which the late Mr. Bandaranaike initiated many techniques and devices have been resorted to by our political foes, not all of which were democratic. We have faced the cruel experience of assassination, of a military and police coup d'etat, of "Trojan Horse" tactics, when those who professed to support the late Mr. Bandaranaike's cause have been led to subvert our party from within—and to desert when it was believed that our fortunes were at a low ebb. None of these methods has succeeded because of the strength of our leadership in our Prime Minister, Mrs. Bandaranaike, which is now acclaimed throughout the world."

The Minister said that "today, at every meeting, the SLFP is reacting to the latest attempt to destroy the currents of progress, which presents itself in a democratic guise. Mr. Jayewardene demands assurances of elections in 1977. The question that our people ask from us is this: 'Elections—for what purpose?' Are elections held, merely for the purpose of changing the personalities in the National State Assembly? Or is it to present to the people an alternative choice of programs and policies, which the people are being invited to accept or reject? It is clear from their known record, that the only policy and program of the UNP, is to halt the progress that our country has made since 1956, and to preserve what they can for the privileged classes in economic terms, against the inroads that the SLFP has made through the nationalization of trade, housing, and land reforms. If that is the choice which the people are asked to make, elections could have a meaning and purpose—and the people will give an answer as categorically as the voters of MulKirigala. Mr. J. R. Jayewardene will find that 'Trojan Horse' slogans of "socialism" in the mouths of the new UNP organisers, drawn from the professions or the mudalali classes, cannot succeed against the massive achievements of the SLFP, and their own dismal record."

"As a party, we are not afraid of elections. We are confident that the tide has turned. The question of whether and when elections should be held is not

a matter for the Prime Minister or her government to decide. The Constitution of Sri Lanka makes it clear that elections will be held in 1977—unless of course, that section is amended. And, it can only be amended by the decision of two-thirds of the whole number of Members of the National State Assembly—i.e. by the votes of 105 members. The SLFP now has about 101 or 102 members and it is clear that our members cannot amend the Constitution, unless they receive the support of some Opposition members. The decision, therefore, whether elections should be held in 1977, is as much a matter for the Opposition as for the Government; though it is my belief that in the present mood of the nation, impatient at the rate of progress we are making, it is likely that when the question is raised in Parliament, as it is likely to be, the decision could well be against an election in 1977", the Minister declared.

Continuing he said:

"No member of the National State Assembly wants to postpone elections to keep himself in office. But every Member of the National State Assembly, whatever party he may belong to or whatever allegiances he may have, owes an obligation to his voters. They want the problems of their people solved. And that is precisely what the SLFP seeks to do, in pursuance of the direction and purpose that the late Mr. Bandaranaike has given us. Today, in every electorate, there is progress. Under the decentralized budget and the decentralized administration and engineering services, and a fair distribution of financial resources, no distinction has been made between Government and Opposition constituencies. A major employment program is now in force, and the cost of living has been contained. In the absence of any clear or worthwhile alternative, elections may lose for us what we have struggled for, without any corresponding benefits."

The other speakers were Mr. P. B. G. Kalugalle, Minister of Shipping, Aviation and Tourism, Mr. S. K. K. Sooriarachchi, Minister of Food, Co-operatives and Small Industries, Mr. P. R. Ratnayake, Deputy Minister of Trade,

Mr. Lakshman Rajapakse, MP, Mr. Edwin Wickremaratne, MP, and Mr. Bonnie Jayasuriya, MP.

—Ceylon Daily News,  
7/9/76

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## SLFP YOUTH CALL FOR PRECAUTIONARY STEPS TO FIGHT REACTIONARIES

'If people want polls postponed'

In the event of a public opinion being expressed to postpone the holding of general elections in 1977 and if the Government decides to bow to such wishes, the SLFP Youth League Federation urges the Government to consider seriously taking all precautionary steps to defeat any conspiracy that might be launched by the reactionary elements. This was one of the main resolutions adopted by the Sri Lanka Freedom Party's Youth League Federation at the conclusion of their two-day District Delegates' Conference at the SLFP headquarters at Darley Road on Sunday. The conference was presided over by Mr. Anura Bandaranaike, Chief Organiser of the SLFP Youth Leagues.

Another resolution adopted by the Youth Leagues commended and saluted the Prime Minister Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike for "the role she plays and the leadership she gives in the non-aligned movement for the achievement of the ideals of freeing the developing countries from the influence of power blocs and evolving a world economic and social order based on equality and justice."

The conference also resolved to urge the Government to give wider power to such organisations like Workers' Councils, Janatha Committees and Political Authorities in order to eliminate completely the bureaucracy which constituted the chief obstacle in the march towards socialism.

The Youth League Federation which considers the youths involved in the 1971 uprising as an active force in the progressive movement, requests the Government to take steps to commute to life sentence the death sentence imposed on those involved in these events and solve all other problems facing these youths.

"The Youth League wishes to warn the government that the reactionaries would use the economic difficulties faced by the people as a weapon in their efforts to reverse the victories of the people and foist a fascist dictatorship. In order to defeat these aims of the reactionaries and carry forward the socialist principles, the Government should take positive economic measures including the following: (1) Carrying forward the nationalisation policy started in 1956 by nationalising foreign owned banks and all vital productive sectors which have a bearing on the economy; (2) Formulation of a common property system so as to ensure the equitable distribution of the country's resources and other social benefits and; (3) The implementation without delay of a crash programme designed to solve the unemployment problem among the youths.

Another resolution calls for greater representation be given to the youth leagues in such bodies as the party's nomination board, and other decision making bodies and appoint an efficient and energetic youth from the area to assist each MP for the Chief Party Organiser of an electorate. This step is essential as 60 per cent of the population of the country comprised youths.

The Youth League Federation also recognises that if they had to wage a successful war against the common enemy of the masses—capitalism and imperialism—all patriotic citizens and honest leftists should form a United Front under the leadership of Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike. In order to make these aims successful the Federation would call upon all youths in the Lanka Sama Samaja Party to reject their opportunistic leaders and join the SLFP.

Before the final draft of the resolutions were adopted (which were drawn up on the consensus of the views expressed by the youth leaguers). Mr. Anura Bandaranaike spoke for one and a half hours explaining the resolutions and giving his own views on the various subjects embodied in the draft resolution.

Mr. Bandaranaike also told the youth leaguers that the Youth Federation proposed to hold a Congress of the Youth League

Organisations of every electorate in March next year. This meeting would be probably held at the BMICH. Five delegates from each electorate will attend the Congress.

He also said that between now and February he proposed to tour every district to hold conferences with the youth leaguers a prelude to the farmers in March.

—Ceylon Daily Mirror  
7/9/76

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## WHAT'S NEXT

### Will There Be A General Election Next Year?

By R. Kahawita

WE HAVE SHOWN the splendour, grandeur and hospitality of Sri Lanka to some 86 nations that attended the Summit Conference of the Non-Aligned Nations. The delegates have departed, with nothing but praise for our grand show; the banners and bunting have been hauled down. The good old Sri Lanka has slipped back into her true self, socially, and economically.

The next question now foremost in everybody's lips is: "Will there be a general election next year?" Some say, it may take place before the end of this year, others in keeping with some of our members of the National Assembly say there may not be a general election. They go around asserting that they will continue for a further spell till the good work started by the present Assembly is successfully completed. A Minister has gone to the extent of saying the other day that a change of Government is not in the best interest of the country.

In other words, a single party system seems to be the aim of some of the Politicians so that they can continue to enjoy the power and good things in life perpetually. All this may be at the expense of our freedoms and the democratic right to change a government if the record of their conduct is not acceptable to the people. If the ruling party is confident

that their record of work has been accepted by the people they should not be afraid of having a general election. If it is not the people will decide that at the Polls.

As long as the present constitution is in force we should not allow our right to condemn or endorse a government at the end of the period we gave them the mandate to govern to be eroded and make way for a dictatorship. There are other Ministers too who asserted in a like manner the desire to carry on without putting their stewardship to the test of a poll—the only way the people can choose their representatives under the present Constitution.

These assertions made by the ruling party have disturbed the balance of our Opposition leaders. Even their leader—the leader of the Opposition in the State Assembly—does not seem to be sure whether there will be an election next year or not, judging from the exchange of letters between the Prime Minister and himself. The people themselves are perturbed at these assertions and doubt whether they will be given an opportunity to exercise their democratic right to elect a New National State Assembly as provided for in the Constitution they adopted on 22nd day of May 1972.

THE ADOPTION of the Constitution by the people of Sri Lanka has established our authority and guidance to answer this all important question: Will there be a General Election in 1977? The Constitution of Sri Lanka says: "We the people of Sri Lanka being resolved in the exercise of Freedom and Independence as a nation to give ourselves a constitution..will become the fundamental law of Sri Lanka deriving its power and authority solely from the people do on this day..the 22nd May, 1972.. hereby adopt, enact and give to ourselves this Constitution.

And in the Republic of Sri Lanka "Sovereignty is in the people and is inalienable". The supremacy of the people is exercised the elected representatives of the people. True the people in 1970 elected the present representatives to the then Parliament for a period of five years. But they the representatives forming the Constituent Assembly in 1972 adopted the present Constitution and gave themselves

another period of five years from the date the Constitution was adopted. There were disagreement and opposition to the present constitution and even though the ruling group commanded a numerically less number of popular votes than the opposition groups yet the Constitution was adopted. That is how democracy works.

We have now to look up to the Constitution to find an answer to the question everybody is asking. The constitution has ensured the people of Sri Lanka their fundamental rights..and freedoms, and one of them is their democratic right to change their representatives in the National State Assembly and when this could be done. This right is enshrined in section 42 subsection 5 of the Constitution. It states: "Unless sooner dissolved the first National State Assembly shall continue for a period of FIVE YEARS, commencing on the date of the adoption of the Constitution by the Constituent Assembly". That is the legal period of the present National Assembly agreed and given by the people of Sri Lanka through their elected representatives. Thus whatever happens the present State National Assembly stands dissolved on the mid night of 21st day of May, 1977. When the 22nd day of May, 1977 dawns our representatives elected in 1970 and assigned to the New State Assembly cease to be our representatives.

The Constitution provides for a dissolution sooner than five years, but we the people, whose supremacy cannot be questioned, have not provided for an extension of the life of the State Assembly beyond midnight 21st May, 1977.

Our Constitution does not bestow to the National State Assembly Power (i) to suspend the operation of the Constitution or any part thereof and (ii) to repeal the Constitution as a whole without enacting a new Constitution to replace it.

THE LIFE of the subsequent National Assembly which we the people of Sri Lanka shall elect within four months from 22.5.77, shall have a life of six years from the date the New State Assembly meets—Section 40 subsection 1 of the Constitution states: "Unless the National State Assembly is sooner dissolved, every National State Assembly elected under the Constitution shall continue for a period of six years from

the date of its first meeting AND NO LONGER. And the expiry of the period of six years shall operate as a dissolution of the National State Assembly."

According to this section of the Constitution the present National State Assembly also stands dissolved automatically at mid-night of 21.5.77 and from 22.5.77 the present representatives of the people in the Assembly cease to members, ipso facto our representatives. There is no provision in the Constitution for the Prime Minister to recommend to the President to dissolve the Assembly at the end of its period of life. However, the Prime Minister may and can recommend to the President the dissolution of the Assembly sooner than the constituted date, the date set by us the people of Sri Lanka when we adopted the Constitution on 22nd May, 1972. If the contrary happens the people of Sri Lanka have the inalienable right to demand a dissolution and the holding of a general election as provided for in the Constitution which is the fundamental law of Sri Lanka which the people must protect.

THERE IS NOTHING said or implied in the Constitution that the life of the present Assembly can be extended beyond 22nd May, 77. Not even under a grave threat to the security of the State. In such an event the constitution has laid down the procedure to be followed. if on the advice of the Prime Minister, the President declares an emergency in terms of Section 134. The declaration of an emergency amounts to a summoning of the National Assembly and the dissolved Assembly shall meet at an appointed date but not later than ten days after the proclamation of Emergency. That is to say that the members of the State Assembly who ceased to be members on 22nd May, 1977 are required to assume responsibility as the representatives of the people until, the Emergency is over or till a general election is held whichever occurs earlier and the so summoned assembly shall stand dissolved thereafter.

The Constitution does not say that the General Election due within four months after 22nd May, 1977 shall be postponed due to an Emergency. Such action amounts to a sus-

pension of the Constitution which is illegal. We are aware that the country has been under emergency rule since April 1971. The validity of a permanent emergency rule is being argued elsewhere today. Whether it is upheld or not, it does not affect the life of the present State Assembly. It stands dissolved on mid night of 21st May, 1977 and a general election must be concluded by 21st day of Sept. 1977.

This is the sacred right and freedom of the people enshrined in the Constitution. The present members cannot vote for an extended term for their representation in the Assembly. This amounts to a suspension of a part of the Constitution which is illegal. That decision is with the people. And the people, irrespective of political parties, have the right to demand that a general election be held within four months after 22nd of May 1977. This demand is the inalienable supremacy of the people over the National State Assembly.

It is the people, in the exercise of their sovereignty, that can establish the State National Assembly after its legal life expires. Only thereafter that the National State Assembly get its legislative power. It is then that party politics come into play. The demand for the holding of a general election within four months of 22nd of May 1977 is the inalienable right of every citizen of Sri Lanka and to this end all must agitate and act unitedly to preserve that right. If by any chance we allow our rights written into the Constitution to be eroded we would have surrendered our supremacy to political subterfuge. It is we the people of Sri Lanka who can protect and ensure our freedoms and liberties, and not the members of the Assembly.

THE WAY the constitution is drafted there is no need for any particular political party, whatever their political colour or symbol be to demand a dissolution of the Assembly. They can do so during the life period of the Assembly constitutionally, if they as our representatives decide to vote out a government. If the Assembly attempts to continue beyond the constituted period, all political parties as citizens of Sri Lanka must act against such a move. At

the end of the legitimate period of the Assembly, as provided for in the constitution the State National Assembly that came into being on 22nd May 1972, stands dissolved on mid-night of 21st May 1977. The Constitution says that this automatic "dissolution" shall operate as a statutory direction from the people to hold a general election before a period of four months from 22nd May 1977. Notwithstanding the declaration or existence of an emergency under Section 134.

It is up to us, we as citizens of Sri Lanka who have to organise ourselves for a general election after May 21st 1977—(It may be even earlier if the Prime Minister recommends to the President a sooner dissolution of the Assembly than provided for in the constitution. It is a provision in the constitution). But the Assembly cannot continue longer than the period specified in the constitution. It is this section of the constitution we are interested in to answer the question, "Will there be a general election next year?"

**Having acted unitedly to exercise our rights under the Constitution, then the citizens**

of Sri Lanka have to decide which political party should be given a mandate for a further period of six years, based on conviction of the citizens as to which party can keep to the promises in their manifestos and deliver the goods for the universal benefit of Sri Lanka. This is the basic right entrusted to the people under the Constitution.

As I understand as a citizen there is no need for any Political party or leader to spearhead a movement to have the Assembly dissolved after the Statutory date of expiry the mandate given to our representatives. Thus there is no need to ask the question whether there will be a general election after May 1977.

If the present Assembly wishes to continue after May 1977 for reasons of their own they cannot do so. They must allow the citizens of Sri Lanka to decide it at the polls of a general election. If this is denied to us then all must act en masse and unitedly to restore our rights under the Constitution which says: "In the Republic of Sri Lanka, Sovereignty is in the people and is inalienable."

### THE UNITED STATES—3

## HOW A PRESIDENT IS CHOSEN

— A Special Report —

Reprinted from U. S. News & World Report, March 1, 1976 Published at Washington, D. C.

From the first political rally to Inauguration Day, the choosing of a President is a complicated and often bewildering business in which the ordinary voter has little voice until Election Day. And it is doubtful if he can find a textbook anywhere that will tell him all about it.

Four years ago, U.S. News & World Report presented, in question-and-answer form, an exhaustive study of the intricate machinery that reaches from grass-roots precinct to White House. Though the basic process remains the same, many details—on finances, primaries, convention, for example—have changed since then.

On these pages is an up-to-date guide that can be saved to provide a ready reference at every step of the way—a log of the what, when, where, how and why in this election year of 1976.

### HOW ELECTIONS ARE FINANCED

HOW DOES THE 1974 CAMPAIGN-SPENDING LAW AFFECT THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS? It has radically changed campaign financing, even though the Supreme Court

on January 20 declared portions of it unconstitutional. The law, as modified by the Court's ruling, sets limits on spending and contributions and provides for federal financing of part of the cost of primaries and all of the cost of the general elections.

## US Presidential Election

**WHAT ARE THE LIMITS ON SPENDING?** The ceilings, which apply only if a candidate agrees to accept federal subsidies, are:

\* In the pre-convention stage, just under 11 million dollars—10 million in the original 1974 law plus an allowance for inflation.

\* Political parties are limited to spending no more than 2 million dollars on their nominating Conventions.

\* After the nominating Convention, the winning candidates can spend up to nearly 22 million dollars each on the general-election campaign—20 million in the 1974 law, plus an inflation allowance.

\* Each party can spend on behalf of its candidate an amount equal to 2 cents for every person of voting age—or roughly 2.9 million dollars—in the general election.

\* Each candidate can spend an amount equal to 20 per cent of his total spending as part of his fund-raising operations—without its counting as part of the over-all limit on spending.

**THESE LIMITS SOUND HIGH. HOW DO THEY COMPARE WITH THE PAST?** In 1972, Richard Nixon spent about 50 million dollars and Senator McGovern about 30 million in their fall campaigns, according to estimates by Common Cause, the public-interest lobby.

**ARE CANDIDATES REQUIRED TO USE PUBLIC FINANCING?** No, it's discretionary. Those who opt against federal aid can spend without limit. But all of the avowed candidates so far are making use of federal subsidies in their pre-convention campaigns, and it is expected that the party nominees will also choose federal financing this year—if only because of the scope of Government help available.

**WHERE DO THE GOVERNMENT SUBSIDIES COME FROM?** Besides the matching funds for pre-convention activities, the U.S. Treasury—that is, you the taxpayer—will pay the full 2 million dollars to finance each major party's Convention and will finance all of the general-election campaign up to the limit of just under 22 million per candidate.

There has been set up by law the Presidential Election Campaign Fund. This is where the dollars go that taxpayers have been check-

ing off on their federal income-tax returns for the past four years. The fund is administered by the Secretary of the Treasury.

By January 1, there was 62 million dollars in the fund. After taxpayers check off additional dollars on their 1975 returns, the Internal Revenue Service estimates there will be more than 100 million dollars available.

**WHAT ABOUT MINOR PARTIES? ARE THEY ELIGIBLE FOR FEDERAL MONEY?** Yes, if they poll at least 5 per cent of the total vote. But unless they got 5 per cent in the previous presidential election—none did in 1972—they must wait until after the general election to collect their funds.

**DO THEY GET THE FULL AMOUNT THAT DEMOCRATS AND REPUBLICANS COLLECT?** No, they will get the same proportion of funds as they got votes, compared with the average of the two major parties. Say Governor George Wallace of Alabama runs on a third-party ticket and gets 20 per cent of the total vote, while the two major parties poll 45 and 35 per cent. The average would be 40, or twice Mr. Wallace's. After the election, the third party could receive up to 1 million dollars to pay for its Convention and as much as 11 million to pay for its general-election expenses—half of the amount received by each major party.

**WHAT ARE THE LIMITS ON CONTRIBUTIONS TO POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS?** A person can give up to \$ 1,000 directly to a candidate in each primary, runoff and general election, but he can't give more than a total of \$ 25,000 a year in all federal campaigns. Organizations are limited to \$ 5,000 a candidate per year.

**ARE THERE ANY LIMITS ON HOW MUCH A CANDIDATE CAN SPEND ON HIS OWN BEHALF?** No. The 1974 law had set a ceiling of \$ 50,000 on how much a candidate and his family could spend of their own money. But the Supreme Court ruled such a limit unconstitutional. Political analysts say this offers wealthy candidates a big advantage.

**ARE THERE ANY OTHER POSSIBLE LOOPHOLES IN LIMITS ON CONTRIBUTIONS?** The Supreme Court decision holds that even though an individual is limited in contri-

butions to a candidate's campaign fund, he is free to spend as much as he desires on his own to help that candidate. Such help is supposed to be given without any co-operation with the candidate, but it offers considerable leeway for the candidate to have money spent or his campaign over and above the limits he accepts with federal subsidies.

**HOW MUCH EFFECT ARE THE LIMITS ON CONTRIBUTIONS AND SPENDING LIKELY TO HAVE?** Fund raising has been made much more difficult and expensive. In the past, candidates often would get their campaigns started by going to a few wealthy persons and borrowing or obtaining contributions of sizable sums. Now, fund raising must have a broader base, and most candidates have been soliciting money by mail, sending out hundreds of thousands of appeals.

Moreover, the new law has put a premium on campaign budgeting. Political campaigns have been known for haphazard bookkeeping and budgeting. Now, particularly with the complex disclosure provisions of the law, each campaign needs full-time bookkeepers and accountants as well as lawyers to make sure the law is being observed.

**WHERE DOES THE CAMPAIGN MONEY GO?** It is spent on staff salaries, office rent, television programs, air fares, radio and newspaper advertising, telephone service, handbills, bill-boards, polling, hotel rooms, direct mail, and many other things.

## SHOWDOWN ON ELECTION DAY

**HOW MANY PEOPLE USUALLY VOTE IN A PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION?** In 1972, the total popular vote was 77,727,590, some 4.5 million more than in 1968. The increase reflected the fact that the voting age had been lowered to 18. However, the 1972 total, although a record turnout, was not as large as many experts had predicted—mostly, it is thought, because some voters assumed Mr. Nixon had the election sewed up. The turnout was only 56 per cent of the voting-age population of just under 140 million. The turnout four years before had been 68 per cent.

This year, there will be 149.7 million of voting age, according

to the Census Bureau. There is some question about how high a percentage turnout there will be in November. On one hand, there is a contest in both parties for the nomination, which may increase interest, particularly if it appears the fall campaign is close. On the other hand, the trend toward voter cynicism that has marked the last few years may not have died down.

**IF A PARTY'S NOMINEE DIES BETWEEN CONVENTION TIME AND ELECTION DAY, HOW IS HE REPLACED?** The National Committee of his party has the authority to select a new presidential nominee. **HOW IS ELECTION DAY ESTABLISHED?** Federal law places it on the Tuesday immediately after the first Monday in November, in the fourth year after the previous election of a President. This year Election Day comes on November, 2.

**AND IS THE PRESIDENT ACTUALLY ELECTED ON THAT DAY?** No, not strictly speaking. The presidential electors, popularly known as the Electoral College, are elected that day. However, except in rare cases, it is easy to translate the nation-wide popular vote into electoral votes.

Thus, almost always, the next President is known on election night. The presidential electors themselves are ignored in the news.

### ROLE OF ELECTORAL COLLEGE

**WHAT ROLE DO THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORS PLAY?** When the voters go to the polls on Election Day, they are actually voting for the electors, who later meet to elect the President and Vice President. For instance, the person who votes for the Democratic nominee really votes for the electors in his State who are selected to vote later for the Democratic nominee.

If a person wants to vote for the Republican candidate, he votes for a different set of electors.

Some States list only the names of the electors on their ballots under party headings. In others, the names of the presidential and vice-presidential nominees together with the names of the electors are listed. But most States print merely the names of the presiden-

tial and vice-presidential nominees on their ballots.

**DO THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORS VOTE BY STATES?** Generally speaking, all the victorious electors in a State vote for the presidential nominee who captures the most popular votes in that State. The electors are not divided proportionately among the presidential contenders within the State. It's a winner-take-all proposition. However, there is one exception—Maine's four electoral votes must be divided this way: Two electoral votes go to the Statewide winner, the other two to whoever wins in each of the State's two congressional districts.

In the past, there have been instances where States' electoral votes have been split, but they have been rare.

**COULD A CANDIDATE WIN MORE POPULAR VOTES ON NOVEMBER 2 THAN HIS OPPONENTS AND STILL LOSE THE ELECTION?** Yes, he could win more popular votes and yet lose. That is because the electors vote by States. Assume this situation: The Democratic candidate carries some of the heavily populated States by overwhelming margins, but loses other populous States by narrow margins. It then would be possible for him to win more popular votes on November 2 than his Republican opponent and yet not get enough electoral votes to win.

**HAS A NOMINEE EVER WON MORE POPULAR VOTES THAN AN OPPONENT AND YET LOST THE PRESIDENCY?** Yes. In 1824 Andrew Jackson achieved a margin of more than 37,000 popular votes over John Quincy Adams, but not enough electoral votes to gain the Presidency.

In 1876 Samuel J. Tilden, a Democrat, won approximately 250,000 more popular votes than Rutherford B. Hayes, a Republican. A commission of eight Republicans and seven Democrats awarded 22 contested electoral votes to Mr. Hayes for a total of 185 electoral votes to Mr. Tilden's 184. Mr. Hayes became President by a margin of one electoral vote.

In 1888 Grover Cleveland, a Democrat, drew better than 90,000 more popular votes than Benjamin Harrison, a Republican. Yet Mr. Harrison became President be-

cause he won a majority of electoral votes.

It is interesting, too, that several Presidents have been elected who did not get a majority of the total popular vote although they won more votes than their competitors. In these cases, there were more than two nominees. These "minority" Presidents include Abraham Lincoln in 1860, James A. Garfield in 1880, Gorver Cleveland in 1884 and 1892, Woodrow Wilson in 1912 and 1916, Harry Truman in 1948, John F. Kennedy in 1960, and Richard M. Nixon in 1968. But all won a majority of the electoral votes, and thus the Presidency.

**HOW MANY ELECTORAL VOTES WILL IT TAKE TO WIN IN 1976?** It will take 270, a bare majority of the total 538 electoral votes in the States and the District of Columbia. The same applies to electing a Vice President.

**WHEN AND WHERE DO THE ELECTORS MEET?** This year the electors meet on December 20 in their State capitals. The District of Columbia electors meet in Washington, D.C. Each elector casts one vote for a presidential nominee and one vote for a vice-presidential nominee. The results are sent by registered mail to the president of the US Senate, the incumbent Vice President.

**MUST AN ELECTOR ALWAYS VOTE FOR THE PRESIDENTIAL NOMINEE OF HIS PARTY?** No, but in almost every case he does. For instance, a Republican elector elected on November 2 is personally committed to vote on December 20 for the Republican presidential nominee. Some State laws even require that an elector vote for the nominee of his party. However, if he does not, and votes for the nominee of another party his ballot must be counted as he actually voted. There have been rare cases where electors switched their votes.

**HOW ARE ELECTORS ALLOTTED AMONG THE STATES?** Each State gets a number of electors equal to its full delegation in Congress—the number of its members in the House of Representatives plus two Senators.

**HOW MANY ELECTORS DOES EACH STATE AND THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA GET?** In 1976 the



## U.S. Presidential Election

States get the following number of electors or electoral votes:

Alabama 9; Alaska 3; Arizona 6; Arkansas 6; California 45; Colorado 7; Connecticut 8; Delaware 3; Florida 17; Georgia 12; Hawaii 4; Idaho 4; Illinois 26; Indiana 13; Iowa 8; Kansas 7; Kentucky 9; Louisiana 10; Maine 4; Maryland 10; Massachusetts 14; Michigan 21; Minnesota 10; Mississippi 7; Missouri 12; Montana 4; Nebraska 5; Nevada 3; New Hampshire 4; New Jersey 17; New Mexico 4; New York 41; North Carolina 13; North Dakota 3; Ohio 25; Oklahoma 8; Oregon 6; Pennsylvania 27; Rhode Island 4; South Carolina 8; South Dakota 4; Tennessee 10; Texas 26; Utah 4; Vermont 3; Virginia 12; Washington 9; West Virginia 6; Wisconsin 11; Wyoming 3.

A special case is made of the District of Columbia which has no voting delegation in Congress. It receives 3.

**CAN A PRESIDENT AND A VICE PRESIDENT COME FROM THE SAME STATE?** Yes, although it is extremely unlikely that a Convention would nominate two men from the same State. The Constitution says that the presidential electors of a State can vote for only one man when both presidential and vice-presidential nominees come from their State. They cannot vote for one for President and the other for Vice President.

To pose a hypothetical example, assume both presidential and vice-presidential nominees are from Kentucky. The electors of all other States and the District of Columbia could vote for both candidates. However, the presidential electors of Kentucky could vote for only one of the two men because both are residents of Kentucky. Presumably, they would vote for the head of the ticket, rather than his running mate.

However, if the presidential nominee from Kentucky won by a decisive margin in the Electoral College, he probably would carry his vice-presidential nominee into office without Kentucky's electoral votes.

**WHAT HAPPENS IF THE WINNER OF THE POPULAR VOTE ON NOVEMBER 2 DIES BEFORE THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE MEETS ON DECEMBER 20?** Remember, a President is not actually elected until the electors meet. Also, the electors are tech-

nically free to vote for whomever they wish. There are no good precedents to follow in case a nominee dies during this period.

Many experts say that apparently the National Committee of the deceased nominee's party would attempt to provide another nominee.

**WHERE ARE THE ELECTORAL VOTES COUNTED?** At 1 p.m. on Jan. 6, 1977, members of the Senate and House meet in the House chamber. The president of the Senate, who is the incumbent Vice President, presides. Certificates showing how the electors voted are opened and counted.

**HOW IS A PRESIDENT SELECTED IF NO NOMINEE GETS A MAJORITY OF THE ELECTORAL VOTES?** The Constitution requires a majority of the full Electoral College for election. If no presidential nominee gets a majority, then the decision is turned over to the House of Representatives. It chooses a President from among the three men with the most electoral votes.

The House votes by State delegation, with each delegation casting one vote. A majority of the members of each delegation determines how the State's single vote will be cast. If members of a delegation are evenly divided, then that State's one vote is not counted. A majority of all the States is needed for election.

The District of Columbia's non-voting delegate is not entitled to vote.

**HAS THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES EVER DECIDED AN ELECTION?** Yes. The election of 1800 resulted in 73 electoral votes each for Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr. Jefferson won on the 36th ballot in the House. The election of 1824 gave Andrew Jackson 99 electoral votes, John Quincy Adams 84, William H. Crawford 41, and Henry Clay 37. Since no one received a majority, the election went to the House. Adams won on the first ballot.

**HOW IS A VICE PRESIDENT CHOSEN IF NO NOMINEE WINS A MAJORITY OF THE ELECTORAL VOTES?** In that case the Senate selects a Vice President from the two men with the most electoral votes. Each Senator casts one vote, and election requires a majority of the full membership.

**COULD A THIRD-PARTY NOMINEE THIS YEAR THROW THE PRESIDENTIAL CONTEST INTO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES?** It's possible, but not likely. More likely is a strategy of swinging the balance in the Electoral College.

If neither the Republican nor Democratic nominee commands the needed 270 electoral votes this year to win the Presidency, a third-party nominee with a block of electoral votes might bargain with both the major-party nominees and then turn his electoral votes over to the nominee who more nearly conforms to his own views, giving that nominee enough votes for the Presidency.

**WHAT HAPPENS IF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT DIES AFTER THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE ELECTS HIM, BUT BEFORE HE TAKES OFFICE?** The Vice President-elect becomes President when the new term starts.

**WHAT HAPPENS IF THE ELECTION HAS BEEN THROWN INTO THE HOUSE AND THAT BODY IS DEADLOCKED OVER ITS CHOICE WHEN THE NEW TERM STARTS?** The Vice-President elect acts as President until a President qualifies for office. **WHEN DOES THE NEW PRESIDENT TAKE OFFICE?** The present presidential term ends at noon on Jan. 20, 1977. The President-elect functioning as President the second he is sworn in.

(Concluded)

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## HERE AND THERE

BY DOPEY

### The Road To The International Airport

THE OTHER DAY we covered the twenty one miles from Colombo to Katunayake Air Port in thirty minutes. It was good going compared to the two hours of nerve-racking driving before. It was not a feat in driving nor a claim to be a fast driver. It is a feat in engineering construction and all the credit must go to our workers, operators, technicians, engineers and the administrative hierarchy who were responsible for push-

ing on with the job with indigenous intelligence and experience. We were closely watching the progress of the construction as we also had alternative conceptions. We can now say bravo—well done! It is a fantastic achievement. All the credit must go to our workers—to us a worker means everybody involved in a project in some way or other ending with the Head of State; all of them must contribute their mite to achieve success and they have done it in this case.

We never doubted the ability and conscientiousness of responsibility of our workers when trusted and called upon to serve the country. On many an occasion they have shown their willingness to make Sri Lanka a better place to live in. Yet, in spite of these experiences, even for a simple problem, we have the habit of running to International Organisations for experts. This is what is disheartening our workers and experts who can find not only a solution but also deliver the goods, if trusted and given the responsibility of serving their country. It is time that our powers—that be begin to recognise the ability of our technocrats and trust them to do the work. Otherwise we will never be self reliant and unless we do it ourselves we will never gain experience. Why allow outsiders learn at our expense.

**THE ACHIEVEMENT** of constructing the road is all the more creditable because the construction was carried out without interruption to the normal use of the road. There were, sometimes, inconveniences and "driver frustrations"; these are inevitable when construction is undertaken side by side with the normal use of the road. We have come to the end of such little inconveniences and we have a super highway. As we are frequent users of this road, we say a prayer as we take this road, not for our safety at 50 m.p.h. but to those workers who made this speed possible and safe.

**At the apex of the Pyramid of responsibility is the Prime Minister who was the driving force to get the road completed before the target date. Without her determination and the leadership to push on with the work we may not have been able to complete the work in the time we have done. What-**

**ever our views are on the September function, we have to accept and appreciate that this was done to maintain National prestige for an occasion that may never come our way again. We were never happy about the construction and widening of the road but now our grateful thanks are due for pushing on with the work in the national interest, brooking no obstruction of any kind. Neither religions nor sentiment has prevented the project being pushed ahead as planned.**

**THERE WAS A BO-TREE** at a critical junction of roads at Peliyagoda which was the rest for crows and as usual had attracted the attention of some misguided devotee who had erected several little shrines around the tree. Flowers, prayers and lamp lighting were being offered in the shrines around the tree much to the inconvenience of the road users and hazards to traffic. It was not the place for the public demonstration of one's faith but it continued to develop over several years.

The road users also put up with the inconvenience. Today, the whole object of veneration has been dozed off, together with the shanties etc. that normally come up at these spots. Its removal has made the approaches to the Victoria bridge, the New Kelani bridge and the highway to Kandy, of a standard in keeping with the importance of this junction.

What is being done here takes our memory back to an "inglorious incident" in 1956. A very grateful group of Ceylonese acquired a small site at the junction of Darley Road and Mac Callum Road in Maradana to erect a memorial to a religious educationist who had contributed a life time to education in a manner no one else before him had done. The site was taken over and paid for in keeping with the requirements of Municipal and Central Government regulations. A pedestal was constructed at this site to erect a bust of the educationist as his name was synonymous with the street where he laboured and ministered in the cause of education and built a famous College open to all communities—Rev. Fr. Le Gog and St. Joseph's College—two landmarks in the history of education in Sri Lanka.

One night previous to the ceremony of dedication, some Buddhists and Buddhist monks stealthily placed a statue of Lord Buddha on the pedestal meant for Rev. Fr. Le Gog and also planted a Bo sapling. In the morning the people who passed the spot were shocked and grieved at what was done in the name of Buddhism and of the ingratitude of the people of Sri Lanka to a person who worked selflessly in the cause of education and the people. Fearing the worst of religious disturbances a Police posse was posted to guard the illegal taking over of the site handed over by the Government and the Municipal Council for the purpose.

Everybody expected the Municipal Council and the Government to bring the miscreants to book and hand over the site to the original sponsors of the Memorial to Fr. Le Gog. *Nothing was done; lawlessness by a few thugs was accepted as "the popular wish of the people" by a weak Government and even given police protection to see that the wrong done by the thugs in the name of Buddhism was continued. Today it stands as a monument to indiscipline, lawlessness and ingratitude of the Ceylonese as a whole. In the city there are two other monuments to memorialise indiscipline and violence as if the country's political philosophy after Independence is violence and lawlessness. However, we are sure that this kind of indiscipline nor misplaced religious sentiment will not be tolerated under the present regime if we are allowed to deduce our inferences from what was done at Peliyagoda junction.*

**IN CONTRAST** to monumentalising violence we have our National leaders and freedom fighters who have devoted a life time in the cause of their people. These we have forgotten and ignored and very soon the newer generations may not know who they are? This may be a sample of Ceylonese gratitude to those who paved the way for a better living. The fountain head of such misguided thinking is the so called "leftist" and it is to the credit of our present Prime Minister to have driven them into the wilderness; an achievement no other head of State was able to do.

The road construction about which we are concerned has been completed but there are a few rough corners to be tidied up and we take the liberty to make some suggestions. The 'verdures'—that is the strips on either sides of the paved traffic lane should be levelled and consolidated to give a finish to the pavement. Road beacons should be constructed along the full length of the road as a guide to traffic in the night and to prevent using the traffic lanes as open area storage space as is the habit now with the road side dwellers and business houses.

The slow moving traffic lanes on either side of the pavement should be marked so that pedestrians, cyclists and bullock carts can hug to these lanes without causing hazards to themselves and fast moving traffic. At bus stops proper stopping bays should be provided to reduce the present habit of C.T.B. bus drivers pulling up in the middle of the road to pick up a fare or disgorge the travellers. The fast moving traffic lanes should be marked so that when a vehicle picks up a lane it can keep to that lane without zig-zagging hither and thither over the length and breadth of the pavement.

Proper road signs and indicators should be created to warn the road users of junctions, blind corners and market places. These will reduce the road accidents and hazards to the road users. Finally the full length of the road should be landscaped with flowering trees and shrubs. Due to overhead power lines and telecommunication wires normal type of flowering trees may not be possible to be planted. However the country is rich in a variety of flowering shrubs, which will not interfere with the overhead cables and can be planted in avenues along the road. This should be the responsibility of the various local authorities that about on to the Boulevard. And the country will have one of the best Roads to an International Air Port. Thanks to our workers.



## UNDER CAPITALISM'S UMBRELLA

### Singapore—Wonder City

—some disturbing aspects—

By Harvey Stockwin

In the issue of *Tribune* of 4/9/76, we published an article by a US commentator painting a glowing picture of the wonders achieved by US private investment in Singapore. It was hailed as a model for all developing countries. Forgetting, for the moment, that Singapore has a repressive and undemocratic government (even as Amnesty International understands it), the information available from other pro-capitalist and western media reveals that the economic and the socio-political situation in the "wonder island" will sooner or later (in the foreseeable future) produce a revolutionary upsurge which can find fulfilment only in violence to overthrow a government more intent on earning profits for the investor rather than nurture the well-being of the human being (high wages and high incomes do not ensure stability, contentment, or happiness.) We publish below an article from the *Far Eastern Economic Review* of Hongkong—as good a capitalist paper as any from New York, London, Bonn or Paris—on a disturbing aspect of the situation in Singapore. It appeared in the issue of May 14, 1976, on the eve of Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew's departure to Peking, after locking up all those suspected of being reds, pinks or radicals still outside gaol.

AS SINGAPORE Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew was about to leave for China, he was preparing his own mini "cultural revolution" in this island republic for his return. Lee announced that in June, "ministers and members of Parliament, together with principal teachers and school students, will use their hands to improve school

playing fields and gardens and clean up buildings." The new campaign follows on previous Government efforts to keep Singapore clean and green, to make it pollution-free, and the current tough drive to wipe out drug-taking and trafficking. The next campaign aims to inculcate, in Lee's words, "the tried and trusted virtue of hard work. Dirtying one's hands, sweating and soiling one's clothes are good for the body and soul, and for our economy." All Singapore campaigns have an economic base. The looming "dirty hands" campaign is no mere compensation for the fact that Singaporean youth, unlike their counterparts in China, cannot be sent out to the commune for two years. Fundamentally, it stems from a paradox.

There are about 40,000 Singaporeans, just over 4% of the workforce, on the unemployment register. Yet Singapore has to more than 40,000 work permits to "guest workers", mainly from neighbouring countries. And on present projections, the problem could intensify. Lee anticipates a shortfall in job-creation in the next two years, which will mean 44,000 jobless Singaporeans by the end of 1977. If they avoid tougher jobs, both unemployment and the need for work permits will increase.

Why has the paradox arisen? As Minister for Labour Ong Pang Boon sees it, "the reason is simply that Singaporeans, especially those who are young, prefer white collar jobs in the more congenial environment of the commercial and service sectors, shying away from blue collar jobs and leaving the toughest occupation to foreigners. As in other industrial nations we are paying a price for our past decade of relative prosperity." In March 1976 alone, two key Singapore industries required the issue of over 2,000 work permits. The majority were for building and construction while over 300 permits were for ship-building and repair workers. "These are well-paid jobs," says Lee, "but they demand hard work, often in the sun and rain.

Almost wishfully, the Prime Minister sees a relevant Japanese example. Unlike many of the European countries, "Japan has no guest workers. They do their own heavy and dirty jobs. And they are a better society for it." Thus the "dirty hands" campaign raises numerous interesting questions.

Had Singapore stayed in Malaysia, the West Malaysian hinterland could conceivably have supplied migrant workers much in the manner of the exodus from China supplying Hongkong.

The nature of Malaysia-Singapore separation and the mutual imposition of controls on both sides of the causeway has inhibited such a process. Most Singaporeans today maintain that their rapid growth would not have eventuated within Malaysia. Many of today's work permits go to Indonesians and Filipinos. The point is that the underlying thrust of Singapore's immigration and family planning policies has been to provide the benefits of economic growth for a modestly, not a rapidly, increasing population.

At least the thrust of the "dirty hands" campaign will put the onus partly where it belongs—on the education system. About half the 40,000 Singaporeans currently unemployed are school-leavers looking for their first job, in Lee's words, "in air-conditioned hotel's shopping complexes and factories." But the ruling People's Action Party (PAP) leaders have yet to discuss openly whether the educational system is in any way responsible for white-collar preference. Critics wonder whether the campaign itself will change, or merely enhance, prevailing attitudes.

CHANGES in cultural outlook are not easy bring about when, as Ong Pang Boon says, "the option of directing labour is not open to us in our open society." Recently, a survey of 1,840 ex-national servicemen by the Ministry of Labour indicated that young Singaporeans looking for jobs "are not concerned with social status so long as the wages are attractive and the job interesting."

"Snobbishness is not so much the issue as 'fringe benefits, security of tenure and physical working conditions.'" As the Labour Minister points out, white collar jobs are paid by the month, blue collar jobs by the day. White collar workers enjoy builtin annual increments which are unrelated to productivity or quality of work. Blue collar workers are paid the rate for the job, do not enjoy job security and their, fringe benefits, such as sick leave, are inferior. Ong looks for "a closing of the gap in wages and conditions of em-

ployment" and a rationalisation of the wage structure "on the basis of rate for the job for both blue and white collar workers."

"No amount of social exhortation," he says, "can be effective without at the same time making blue collar work more attractive." But even this solution provides the PAP leaders with a dilemma. They cannot direct employers any more than they can direct workers. Making blue collar work more attractive would seem to be at odds with the Government's stress on holding down wages in order to maintain Singapore's competitiveness and repel inflation.

Another problem is that guest workers being Southeast Asians with close family ties are not always a satisfactory answer to the problem. Many learn their skills in Singapore then take them home to where demand for skills is greater and relatives are nearer. Lee recently sympathised with complaints of poor quality workmanship in Singapore's ever growing numbers of Housing and Development Board (HDB) flats. "How can we expect the HDB to improve the quality of work," he asked "when over 50% of its labour force are unskilled apprentices on work work permits?"

Meanwhile, the need for Singapore to look closely at the question of incentives was underlined recently by the Government's decision to remove the incentive of acting pay scales in the bureaucracy. A large number of Singapore civil servants, mostly in responsible positions, have evidently considered such acting rates part of their standard of living. Their obvious—"like throwing away a dusty carpet instead of beating out the dust" was how one of the estimated 2,00 affected persons reportedly described it—has been only partly mollified by the introduction of lower responsibility allowances in place of the acting emoluments.

Obviously, the Government is aiming at the rationalisation of civil servant pay scales and also introducing an element of "rate for the job." But the move comes at a time when the private sector increasingly attracts potential or actual bureaucrats away from thoughts of, or employment in, the

Government service. For a Government that prides itself on its own drive an efficiency, this is no small matter. As Lee goes away to discover what makes China tick, he will no doubt also be looking for ways to make Singapore tick better.

## Inania of this, that and the other

### Puppets Makes Dolls

By INNA

This happened about 200 miles from where we are.

The story is true. Its narrator sat and swore that every word is true. I accepted.

He visited a home of a friend and found a lovely Sri-Lanka-made cloth doll. It was elegant, exquisite, the type that makes the young hopefuls of Convent schools have watering mouths and say: "Myee what a lovely doll." But the three sisters in that home spoke in whispers: "Shah. Sh. Don't shout aloud, we are not allowed to make these dolls. I did it for my sister's home. It's a wedding present, but if—sees it will be in for it." Just then a robed religious or holy woman from a nearby christian denomination institute came in and chattily went on with th three girls asking for their "sapaduk".

Suddenly, she saw the doll on the bracket. She stiffened, frowned, walked out in a great big huff, brushed aside one of the three whom she had come to see, and who now in great distress went to apologize and console her. No. She wouldn't hear of it. She angrily walked off.

Here's the story. That robed lady had started a doll-making concern, one of the many that mushroom here and there in the name of Development of peoples (and greater development of institutes and societies!) Each sector of girls had to make a limb of that doll: one made the head, another group made the torso with its appropriate shape and protuberances, a third group—all in silence mind you—made the legs and a fourth put on the coiffure. When the whole thing was put together, it made a thing of rare beauty.

The discipline was medieval. No one from group one—"arm-group," was to talk to, or go to meet, or have social understanding with anyone from the "torso group". A fortiori, any meetings, clandestine or open, in the houses, to meet girls from every group—"limb", "torso", "hair" etc., was absolutely forbidden, taboo, defendu. It was an empire built on "divide and rule." The stuff was packed and sold abroad and woe unto you, my small girl, if you learnt the art and made dolls on your own! Why some didn't even know who made the hair and the face, etc.

This near-coastline area of a far-away place had not heard of the "right to assembly" written by one of their own Popes: "From the fact that human beings are by nature social, there arises the right of assembly and association. They have also the right to give the societies of which they are members the form they consider most suitable for the aim they have in view, and to act within such societies on their own initiative and on their own responsibility in order to achieve their desired objectives" (Pacem in Terris, p. 5 Pope John XXIII (Catholic press, Colombo, 1963-64, no paragraph numbers).

A similarly robed religious woman, called 'sister'—probably because she wishes to be a sister to these young girls—works near here: she gets all the girls to make all the dolls: teaches them the science and art of doll-making; gives an intensive training and launches them out with material and know-how telling them: "Go now make a living. Don't die to make profits; make a reasonable amount for yourself and family, but teach this art to anyone in need. You can even help in a puppet show, a cultural show for the area."

**LETTERS**

The Tribune welcomes letters from readers. Short letters have a better chance of being published. All letters are subject to condensation for space reasons. Anonymous letters will not be considered for publication. Writers may request that their letters be signed only with initials or a pseudonym but preference will be given to those fully signed and bearing the writer's complete address.

What a difference in the approach! Justice, charity, discipline, is highly compartmentalized in the former approach; there is free interflow between them in the latter. "The love of money—said some great holy man—is the root of all evil: money for oneself or for one's religious society which may have suddenly received a windfall "please send 10,000 dolls to Germany."



**LETTER**

**\* Temple Entry In Jaffna**

Sir,

I have been following with interest the articles written by Mr. Arumainayagam and published in your esteemed Journal on this subject "Caste in Jaffna." In the issue of August 21st, Mr. Arumainayagam mentions the matter of temple entry. Yet he only says "This is the mid-twentieth century. There had been a vast improvement in the attitude hitherto held. On close scrutiny of the attitudes of temple managers and priests, the consensus of opinion had been in favour of Temple entry."

We are now in 1976. It would be appropriate to mention that 20 years ago to be exact on the 9th of July 1956 the idea of temple entry for the Harijanas of Jaffna became a reality. The man who succeeded in persuading the Trustees of the more important temples was the late Mr. Justice P. Sri Skanda Rajah who was then functioning as District Judge of Jaffna. The late Mr. Sri Skanda Rajah with Mr. W. Pathmanathan A.G.A., Jaffna, persuaded the residents of the area to accede to allowing Harijanas into the famous Nallur Kandasamy Temple. They first met Mr. Mapana Mudaliyar Chanmugadas, the Manager of the Temple, and Mr. Chanmugadas was agreeable. On the morning of 9th July 1956 a number of Harijanas were led into the Nallur Kandasamy Temple. On the same day Mr. Sri Skanda Rajah, the late Mr. C. Coomaraswamy and Mr. W. Pathmanathan and a few others led Harijanas into Permul Temple and Vanarponnai Vaitheshwaran Temple.

Soon after the Trustee of Kailasanatha Pillaiar and Vilundi Pilliar, Sattanatha, Sivananda, and Suthumalaiamman Temples all agreed to the request and opened their Temples. In fact altogether more than a dozen temples were opened at that time.

The All Ceylon Hindu Congress which was headed by the Late Mr. Justice Sri Skanda Rajah as President and of which I (A. Sinnathamby) was then General Secretary issued several leaflets and held meetings in all parts of the Jaffna district in March 1967. At these meetings the temple trustees, Managers, Priests and the citizens agreed to allow the Harijanas inside the temples. Year after year the campaign was continued and practically all temples were thrown open to the Harijanas. I shall be grateful if the above is published in your valuable Journal.

A. Sinnathamby  
President

All Ceylon Hindu Congress.

Saraswathie Hall,  
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29.8.76



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# Confidentially

## The Press In Sri Lanka

IS IT NOT A FACT that the reading public expect a major face-lift for the Times group's English papers with Mr. Mervyn de Silva's assuming duties as Editor-in-Chief? That, at the moment, the Times group publish the *Daily Mirror* as their only English daily? That the evening *Times of Ceylon* had suspended publication some time ago and that the *Times of Ceylon* is now published only as a *Sunday Illustrated*? That the knowledgeable are aware that the rotary and other machinery in the *Times* need immediate replacement? That new machinery is needed to print more papers of better technical quality? That this entails the infusion of an extra-large doze of new capital into the business? That the *Times* is also burdened with heritage of debt and other financial problems which can also be solved only by fresh large-scale capitalisation? That many realise that Mr. Mervyn de Silva's journalistic abilities can be utilised to the fullest only if the *Times* is able to streamline its finances and obtain new machinery to be in a position to compete effectively with *Lake House* and the *Gunasena* group (once it resumes publication)? That the process of putting the *Times* on a rationalised and progressive financial footing will take time even if the financiers are forthcoming? That it is being argued that the *Times* would not have secured the services of a journalist like Mr. Mervyn de Silva unless its sponsors had plans for machine-wise re-structuring the *Times* into a modern newspaper printing establishment? That in the meantime, Mr. Mervyn de Silva has to make do with the available facilities and resources of the *Times* group to make its English language papers brighter and more interesting to make more people buy them? That Mr. Mervyn de Silva is no doubt one of our best journalists—reporter, feature writer, columnist, leader writer and commentator all rolled into one? That he has now taken

on the challenging task of upgrading the English language papers of the *Times* group? That this is a kind of work which he has not been called upon to do before? That in *Lake House* he always had the backing of the best and latest printing establishment in Sri Lanka? That *Lake House* was also an efficiently run (until in recent times) organisation without any financial problems? That in the *Times*—until it is refurbished—Mr. Mervyn de Silva will have to work under totally different circumstances? That he will have the enormous task of helping to re-build the *Times* as a major newspaper organisation? That journalistic and other circles are watching developments with interest to see how he will face up to the new challenge? That in the meantime, readers expect to see some bright sparks to fly out of the columns of the *Daily Mirror*? That *Times of Ceylon Sunday Illustrated*, many people expect will also begin to sparkle? That many also expect columns like the *People and Politics* by Narada (said to be presently on holiday) to develop a new punch and a new dimension?

IS IT NOT ALSO A FACT that the *Gunasenas* have come into the newspaper world again with a new weekend paper called *Honey*? That it is not a publication of the Independent Newspapers Ltd.—the name and style of the publishing house which had produced the *Sun*, *Dawasa*, and the *Weekend Review*, among others? That *Honey* is the 1976 replica of now defunct the *Weekend Review*? That *Honey* is published by *Gunasena Printers Ltd*? That *Honey* caters to the same old reading public the *Weekend Review* had reached? That *Honey* has a sparkle all its own? That in between the sex and cheese-cake are sandwiched news items of political interest and significance? That sensation is mixed with spot news to excite readership interest? That there is also a conscious attempt to meet the sensibilities, susceptibilities, sympathies and inhibitions of every kind of reader in Sri Lanka? That there is an emphasis (really an over-emphasis) on the goings-on in the pop world of youth in Sri Lanka? That this may be a good circulation gambit to catch them young? That *Honey* is a thirty page (mini-newspaper sized) illustrated paper (26 page in text and a 4-page cover with

the front and back in colour) that is priced at Rs. 2.25 each? That on the basis of current prices, this price is not too high but each copy will be read by many more than if the price were less (in which event many more copies will be sold)? That of the 26 pages about a third is taken up with illustrations and pictures (and picture stories)? That fair amount of space (varying from issue to issue) is devoted to politically significant news in Sri Lanka and elsewhere? That a great deal of news not published in other papers now appear in the *Honey*? That in the pre-Summit, Summit and post-Summit period, *Honey* had many news items and comments which neither the *Lake House* nor *Times* had thought fit to publish? That it may well be that the *Lake House* and *Times* newshounds and commentators had missed them completely? That *Honey* has added new spice to the newspaper world in Sri Lanka? That there is much speculation as to whether *Honey* is a precursor for the resumption of the publishing activities of the *Dawasa-Sun* group? That in the moribund state into which the Fourth Estate has fallen in Sri Lanka, with the takeover of *Lake House* and the stagnancy which has overtaken the *Times*, the resumption of the publishing activities of the *Dawasa-Sun* group will bring new zest and life to the newspaper world here? That a newspaper group outside the Government's Establishment will be welcomed by all readers? That, at present, the *Lake House* is controlled directly by the Establishment? That the *Times* group has, for sometime now, been under the indirect control of the Establishment? That with the two biggest newspaper organisations, publishing papers in more than one language, under the Government's umbrella, a vast credibility gap has grown between the Government and the newspaper reading public? That whispering campaigns and gossip have begun to fill the vacuum increasingly? That it is time that the Government should review this entire matter once again? That the last Mass Media Committee of the Cabinet does not seem to have achieved very much? That unless something is done soon, the credibility gap will keep growing to explosion point—much to the disadvantage of the Government?



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