

# TRIBUNE

CEYLON NEWS REVIEW



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# Tribune

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# TRIBUNE

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## Letter From The Editor

SATAN is represented in many ways in Sri Lanka, and in ancient times artists often made masks to render impressionistic and pathognomonic delineations of Satanic evil. And Satan is not always pictured glum and gloomy. Betimes mischievous, always subtle, Satan is also regarded as one who has a quaint sense of humour. At least, he is known to have a supreme capacity to laugh at the foibles of mankind. Satan today is not thought of very differently but he has been set in a contemporary setting—and masks have become collectors' pieces and tourists' mementos. Satan is known as one who can change his appearance at will to suit very whim and fancy. And, on the cover, this week, we have one Satan in a mock-heroic mood with apparent signs of senile decrepitude. With just three misshapen and misplaced teeth, our cover Satan leeringly looks upon on petty human antics, especially of men who take (and took) themselves (ego) far too seriously. Even his mephistolean horns curve around handsomely behind his ears. At the moment, Satan has much to laugh about in Sri Lanka, and eminent men have resurrected him into the political firmament. One current version of Satan, born of LSSPian wrath, pique and spleen, seems to be enjoying himself thoroughly twisting the tails of men whose departure from the seats of power has brought a sense of relief to vast multitudes long tired of artificially-induced confrontations and crises under the pretence of waging a justified class struggle. For Dr. N. M. Perera to say that there can be no Budget without him because the SLFP did not have anyone who knew the job, or for him to assert publicly that there could be no socialism in Sri Lanka without the LSSP in the government, betrays a malady on which Satans of every kind and description can pour scorn and contempt. For Dr. N. M. Perera to boast, furthermore, that the 1972 Constitution of Sri Lanka could only have been drawn up by his colleague, Dr. Colvin R. de Silva, invites sarcastic taunts. But Satans have not come, in the current acrimonious phase of Sri Lanka politics, only from the ranks of SLFPan Tuscany (or from UNPian sham). They have also come from within the womb of LSSPian imperiousness and intolerance. Longstanding LSSPier Neale de Alwis—immortal whether he was a hardcore cardholding member or a sympathiser on the periphery—quit the LSSP without making much ado. It is not even known whether he has already switched over to the SLFP, or will ever do so, but he remains a bedrock of the Government Parliamentary Party into which position the LSSP had pitchforked him in 1970 to fill one of the junior ministerships in the LSSP quota. He left the LSSP without a murmur. Not so Mangala Moonesinghe, a trained Marxist, who has held high positions in the political hierarchy of the LSSP. He quit the LSSP in a blaze of publicity. There were photographs (in the papers) of Mangala with Anura on the steps of a staircase inside Temple Trees. He issued a statement which must have made mighty men like Dr. N. M. Perera, Dr. Colvin R. de Silva and Mr. Leslie Goonewardene squirm in their seats and exclaim *et tu Brute*. Mangala used LSSPian jargon to justify his pragmatic and realistic action. After stressing that the voters of Bulathsinhala (his constituency) were of the view that the LSSP had taken a wrong step in quitting the United Front, Mangala Moonesinghe had gone on to say: "The SLFP is the weapon that our people have chosen in their struggle against the UNP and reaction. It is a mass party encompassing both the urban working class and the rural peasantry. And it has an unblemished history in regard to the socialisation in this country.....The SLFP continues to be the mainstream of the anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist movement in Sri Lanka. The Communist Party and other progressive forces support it which precisely is the duty of every progressive....." After 18 years in Trotskyite politics, Mangala said that people were tired of slogans and rhetoric. (This is just what the *Tribune* has been saying for many years now). "They want concrete results," said Mangala Moonesinghe, "and the problems of rising prices and unemployment should be our priority areas.....Our economy which is almost static has to be regenerated if we are to provide employment opportunities to our youth.....What we need is socialism suited to the needs and aspirations of our people. Not an ideology imposed on a people....." Mangala Moonesinghe has publicly applied for membership to the SLFP. Another veteran and respected LSSPier, J. C. T. Kotlawela, who had quit the LSSP sometime ago has also thrown in his lot with the SLFP. He was a founder member of the LSSP who had spent 3½ years in prison and it was now his "considered view that the LSSP has muddled its policies so blatantly that it has become a mass of contradictions....." Neale de Alwis, Mangala Moonesinghe, and Jack Kotlawela (all Satans) have become disillusioned with the Party. Will there be more? Satanic indeed!

## EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

Current  
Developments

The *Daily Mirror* and *Times Sunday Illustrated* have cited passages from the *Tribune* (with evident approval) on September 23, 28 and 29. They were prominently displayed on the front page. The *Daily Mirror*, 23/9/75, had picked on a paragraph from this column in our issue of 20/9/75 about Anura Bandaranaike. The *Sunday Illustrated*, 28/9/75, (and this was repeated in the *Daily Mirror*, 29/9/75), had taken over a largish excerpt from the *Confidentially* column of the *Tribune* of September 27 which had dealt with some of the current developments in the *Times* group.

We are certainly flattered by the unsolicited and gratuitous attention paid to us by the *Times* group which has always been hostile to us only for the reason that we had critically examined the journalistic record of the *Times* (as other newspaper groups also) in the same way weekly journals of comment deal with the writings and politics of contemporary newspapers in their own countries. *Lake House* continues to betray the same animosity to us born in the days when we had pilloried Wijewardene journalism (in many ways better than what has taken its place now under a so-called broad-based not-yet-public company). This change in the *Times*, we think, *vis a vis* the *Tribune* is probably due to the new management in the *Times*. We do not know how long this euphoria will last, not because we have fears that the new management will find it difficult to survive as it has to overcome the built-in pitfalls that have brought the *Times* to the brink of disaster, but because there is no guarantee that what *Tribune* says will always meet with approval.

We have been often told that *Tribune* is unpredictable, that we have no consistent loyalties to parties or political programmes, that we say uncomfortable things at embarrassing moments and that we turn and twist at every zigzag of history. *Tribune* is indeed unpredictable in its attitudes to, and comments on, current events,

but politics and history in this era are unpredictable and un-anticipatable (a word coined for the occasion) and for this reason alone, (if not for other reasons), *Tribune's* comments seem unpredictable to many. Our yardstick is national interest, as we see it, and the attainment of the greatest good for the greatest number.

Over the years, *Tribune* has made opinion, in its own small way, still unacknowledged except by a small coterie of knowledgeable observers. And, though we are conscious of the part we have played in the affairs of this country, we have not chosen to don a messianic halo as many others have been tempted to do. Without beating the big drum, it would be pertinent to refer to the fact that S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, a regular reader of the paper, had publicly cited *Tribune* on more than one occasion (with approval and also disapproval). He had disagreed with many things we said just as we had been critical of some of the things he did. Nevertheless, we recognised his greatness in life and in death and we were the first (and at that time perhaps the only) newspaper to publish large political supplements on the first three or four commemorative death anniversaries. Now he is a universal hero and there are many to sing his praises, and we therefore devote ourselves to discerning new trends that will make the future.

What has fascinated us today is that very nearly two decades after, the late SWRD's son Anura should have something to do with a newspaper which has chosen to do what his father had done *vis a vis* the *Tribune*. that is, to pick on what we have said for publication and comment. The *Sunday Illustrated* (28/9) and the *Daily Mirror* (29/9) carried a small comment on what we had to say about the *Times* group. We had referred, *inter alia* to the fact that "a powerful syndicate of purposeful SLFP mudalalis, led by the all-conquering Dasa (the *bete noir* of the LSSP gem mudalalis) have had taken over the running of the *Times*...". After quoting *Tribune*, the *Times* had added an EDITOR'S NOTE as follows: "We wish to assure the Editor and the readers of *Tribune* that no mudalalis are involved either in the ownership or the management of the *Times of Ceylon Ltd.*"

We stand corrected that there are no SLFP mudalalis in the ownership or the management of the *Times* group. We admit that we had repeated only popular belief. Our inquiries now reveal that no SLFP mudalali, or any other mudalali, has either acquired shares or has taken a hand in management. In fact no shares seemed to have changed hands (probably this cannot be done with the pending litigation). A few new Directors have been added to the old list, and the day to day running of the place, editorially and administratively, has been placed in new hands. There have been editorial changes (for the better), and there is talk of lay-offs and retrenchment consequent on the closure of the evening *Times of Ceylon*. Retrenchment is inevitable as the *Times* is one of the most over-staffed workplaces just as *Lake House* was and is.

But with regard to *mudalalis*, we must say this. We had not used the term in any derogatory sense. We have always had a healthily wholesome attitude to mudalalis—originally meaning the sarong-clad version of the national bourgeoisie in embryo—as long as they did not degenerate into black marketeers and other anti-social elements. Experience has shown that racketeers have stemmed from the trousered capitalists, entrepreneurs and the like much more than from the sarong or cloth clad versions.

We think this kind of honest-to-goodness mudalali has still a major role to play in the development of the country—although the sarong and cloth have become unpopular in the villages even much more than in the towns (the drainpipe trouser and the mini-skirt have invaded our villages). What our mudalalis and their young offshoot will wear in the years to come—unless the classless society the *Janavegaya* dreams about becomes a concrete reality—is anybody's guess. However, as long as Sri Lanka is a mixed economy, to which the UF is still committed, a few mudalalis will do good to any enterprise.

WE HAVE DIGRESSED, in this note, into a reminiscent mood. But we cannot get away for long from the realities of the day. The much-awaited Cabinet reshuffle of September 17, said to be an interim one until more fundamental

changes are effected later, had a few surprises. Two new SLFP Ministers have replaced the three LSSP Ministers. Mr. Felix R. Dias Bandaranaike has become the Minister of Finance at a crucial time. He retains the portfolio of Justice in addition to his new one of Finance. His former junior Minister of Law has become Minister of Plantation Industries—Ratnasiri Wickramanayake, though long regarded as a faithful protege of FRDB may still have a great deal of the old leftwing punch buried deep within him and this may emerge now that he has attained full Cabinet rank. Suriyarachchi, the General Secretary of the SLFP, has also been promoted to Cabinet rank and has taken over Food, Co-operatives and some of the Small Industries. Ilangaratne continues to retain Trade, but has been put in charge of Home Affairs and Local Administration also. Local Government has been handed to former Minister of Health Ariyadasa, whilst Health has been tagged on to Fisheries under George Rajapakse (who had been tipped in some quarters for the Ministry of Justice—some say that this was only wishful thinking by those who wanted a change in the Justice Ministry). The (LSSP) Ministry of Transport has been divided—Aviation has (very correctly) been hitched on to Mr. Kalugalle's Tourism and Shipping, and Road (CTB) and Rail (CGR) transport has been handed over to Mr. K. B. Ratnayake who continues to retain Sports and Parliamentary Affairs.

Such is the general outline of the Cabinet changes effected consequent to the quitting (or ousting) of the LSSP Ministers. These Cabinet changes did not create as much as a murmur in the country just as much as the removal of the LSSP Ministers by a Presidential fiat (when they had refused to resign) had so far caused no significant ripples in the political environment in the country.

On September 18, the Prime Minister had made a statement in the NSA and this statement will be debated on October 8 and 9. The PM's speech was a hard hitting one. She had said many headline making remarks about LSSP and its trousered mudalalis. She tabled the correspondence exchanged between her and Dr. N. M. Perera immediately after

NM's controversial statement about "saving" the redoubtable Galle MP (Dahanayake) from the "gallops". NM has certainly not come out very well in this matter: he had then written to the PM to say in defence that what he had said was only to taunt (intimidate would be better word) Dahanayake with a half truth or an untruth to reduce him into parliamentary silence. NM's letter stated that he had succeeded in what he had set out to do, and that Dahanayake had not dared to open his mouth after that in the way he had done before. On the PL 480 withdrawals in February 1969, too, NM was caught napping. The PM revealed that it was true that the sum of Rs. 15 million had been withdrawn by the US Embassy in February 1969. LSSP propaganda and papers had suggested that there should be an investigation whether this sum had not been utilised to fund the UNP election campaign which had culminated (in defeat) in May 1970. The PM revealed, from documents presented by NM, as the Minister of Finance, and tabled in Parliament in 1970, that this amount had been transferred within a day or two to the Government of Ceylon to finance some of its local "projects."

A reader of *Tribune* has reminded us that at this time (February 1969), the Treasury had been bare—the UNP had brought the country into virtual bankruptcy. The local cash liquidity position was so bad that Government was short of money even to meet local bills (including salary bills). David Loos, one of the ablest Civil Servants this country has produced and one of the finest negotiators ever, (he now holds a good job in some UN Agency), was handling External Resources and the PL 480 funds. He had negotiated with the US authorities to loan the amount lying to the credit of PL 480 a/c to Ceylon, apparently to finance some projects, but the money was actually spent on current and recurrent administrative and other expenditure. This is the reason why the amount was not reflected in project or development expenditure—it had been swallowed up in current expenditure. This kind of financing to meet shortfalls in the liquidity position has often been resorted to in recent years in Ceylon especially when the welfare expen-

diture had gone beyond actual resources.

IN ITS OWN WAY the PM's statement was a devastating reply to the charges made by the LSSP. Dr. Colvin R. de Silva had begun to speak after the PM and his speech was unfinished when the House was adjourned. It will be continued on a later date. Dr. Colvin R. de Silva's speech was mainly directed at Anura Bandaranaike as someone much worse than the proverbial Satan. But, Dr. de Silva's speech recognised Anura as a serious and important political force in the Establishment and in the country. And the attack was intended to liquidate him politically. The LSSP has always believed that a leftwing coterie in the SLFP, with three Ministers and a number of backbenchers (latterly energised by Kumar Rupasinghe and the Janavegaya), was the most effective lobby within the SLFP. The Cabinet crisis and the ousting of the LSSP Ministers has shown that this evaluation of the forces within the SLFP was completely wrong. To make Anura the bogey man of the SLFP now is to help build his political fortunes. It will be recalled that, in the mid-thirties, D. S. Senanayake and his clique of diehard Sahibs had helped to build up the political stature of the young LSSP leaders by characterising them as satanic figures out to destroy civilised life. This is just what the LSSP leaders are now doing in regard to Anura in different idiom. (Earlier, JR and the UNP had made a great ado about Kumar and his allegedly bloodthirsty politics and had very nearly succeeded in making him a national political figure. But saner counsel seemed to have overtaken the higher echelons of the UNP and the witch-hunting broadsides against Kumar had been dropped—and with that his importance in the public focus had begun to wane. Some UNPers try to console themselves by asserting that it was their campaign against Kumar that had enabled Anura to find his feet politically and to assert himself, but this is only one way of begging the question.

Judging from the latest resolution adopted by the Central Committee of the LSSP it would appear that LSSP still seems to believe that a significant section of the

SLFP Left will sooner or later break away from the "reactionary" Mrs. Bandaranaike and her family caucus and join a United Left Front led by the LSSP. The LSSP also seems to think that the CP too will not be able to continue for long in Mrs. Bandaranaike's Government and UF. There are as yet no indications that LSSP expectations on this matter will ever materialise. On the other hand, two LSSP MPs have defected and gone over to the SLFP. Mr. Neale de Alwis is not yet known to have applied for SLFP membership, but Mr. Mangala Moonesinghe has done so. And the CP has had a summit meeting with the SLFP and the joint communique (published below) is a clear indication that the SLFP and CP hope to continue in the UF in the foreseeable future. (The trouble caused by some CP trade union youth leaguers, sporting paramilitary uniforms at a rally in Matara, will not create serious difficulties in the SLFP-CP coalition. The "working youth" leaguers of the CFTU—as different from the intellectualised "student youth leaguers" of the CP youth movement—had evidently wanted to establish their superiority in revolutionary fervour. But these 125 odd enthusiasts are likely to be disciplined without much trouble by the party leaders).

*This is the full text of a communique issued jointly on September 23 by Mr. S. K. K. Suriyarachchi, General Secretary of the SLFP and Mr. Pieter Keuneman, General Secretary of the CP of Sri Lanka;*

*"Delegations from the Sri Lanka Freedom Party and the Communist Party of Sri Lanka met on September 23, 1975 and discussed the future work of the United Front and the United Front Government in the light of the new situation caused by the LSSP being no longer with the United Front and the United Front Government. Both parties re-affirmed that they would uphold and implement the Common Programme and the 1970 Election Manifesto of the United Front, as well as the other policies that had been evolved and the measures decided upon in the period after the United Front Government took office in 1970. They also affirmed that the United Front and the United Front Government, based on the SLFP and*

*the Communist Party, continues. Arrangements for continued regular meetings between the leadership of the two parties of the United Front were also agreed upon. The delegation of the two parties also exchanged views about the measures which the Government should implement within the period before the General Election due in 1977. It was agreed that the representatives of the two parties would meet early next month to discuss the proposals which each party had submitted. The SLFP was represented at these discussions by the Prime Minister and Messrs. Maithripala Senanayake, T. B. Ilangaratne, Felix R. Dias Bandaranaike, S. K. K. Suriyarachchi (General Secretary) and Herbert Wickremasinghe (Joint Secretary). The Communist Party of Sri Lanka was represented by Dr. S. A. Wickremasinghe (President) and Messrs. Pieter Keuneman (General Secretary), M. G. Mendis, K. P. Silva and V. A. Samarawickrema".*

GENERALLY SPEAKING, the Prime Minister, on behalf of the SLFP, has stressed that she and her Party will lean heavily neither on the Left nor the Right but follow the Middle Path to socialism in the way adumbrated by S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike. How this will be implemented in terms of the Common Programme in the context of the current situation is yet to be seen. There is no doubt that this can be done. There is still enough manoeuvrable leeway in our economy to carry "mixed economic policies" forward in a manner which can be called socialist in electoral terms. But before one can act in ideological terms (even for electoral purposes) there is a great deal to be done by way of relieving distress at different levels and undoing mischief which has inhibited productive effort. Viability is as much needed in socialism as much as in capitalism, but even more so in the kind of mixed public cum private sector economy the Common Programme of 1968 had set out to achieve. The vast majority of the countries in the developing Third World are today seeking to transform the moribund and stagnant economies they had inherited from the past (made worse by colonialist exploitation)—some of them lean on one side or the other (Left or Right) more heavily from

time to time—and their attempts within their chosen frame of reference to reach viability at different levels provide observers with a vast panorama for study. In Sri Lanka, the CP has agreed to support the SLFP effort outlined in the Common Programme to create a mixed economy to ultimately provide a take-off point for socialism. How all this work out is yet to be seen.

The LSSP now seems to have come to the conclusion that only a United Left Front under its own leadership would enable this country to march forward to progress and socialism. The LSSP, judging by the latest resolution of its CC, does not seem inclined to respond to the appeals made by Bala Tampoe's *Marxist Revolutionary Party* and Sanmugathasan's *Ceylon Communist Party* to set up what they term a genuine Revolutionary Front of the Left. The LSSP seems to pin on its faith upon itself as a focal point to attract all socialist and revolutionary forces inside and outside the United Front. The LSSP seems to be believe that backbencher SLFP leftists will polarise under the leadership of one particular SLFP Minister (of the three allegedly pro-LSSP Ministers in the SLFP, one has already fallen heavily by the wayside so far as the LSSP is concerned) and that they will cross over to the new ULF sooner than later. The LSSP also believes that the CP (inside the UF) will also be compelled by the polarisation now taking place in political life of the country to abandon Mrs. Bandaranaike and her family-dominated Party and Government. How far this evaluation of the situation is a realistic one is yet to be seen, but the LSSP's current political campaign is directed towards achieving this polarisation as soon as possible. The LSSP has also shown a willingness to woo the Tamils on a new footing, but the present indications are that this has not met with the response the LSSP had hoped for.

The UNP has proclaimed that it will go-it-alone. If three-cornered contests become the order of the day in the next General Elections, the chief beneficiaries will be the UNP candidates (however inadequately they are led). Unless the SLFP and the SLFP-CP United Front Government are able

to perform miracles in economic rehabilitation (especially in the field of production), the UNP will certainly have an edge in the next General Elections if an LSSP-led ULF enters the hustings as an independent force.

\* \* \*

## BETWEEN THE LINES BY SERENDIB

### • MRP • CCP On The UF Breakup

IN THE EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK column, in a previous issue, **Tribune** had set down and analysed the reasons attributed by leaders of the constituent parties of the United Front. This analysis was interspersed and illuminated with **Tribune's** own understanding of the situation. Apart from what the SLFP, LSSP and CP have already said about the break-up of the UF, two other parties of the Left, which claim to be Marxist, have also made statements: one is the **Revolutionary Marxist Party** (Ceylon Section of the Fourth International) and the other is the **Ceylon Communist Party** (otherwise known as the Maoist CP). The statements were issued by Bala Tampoe as Secretary of the MRP and N. Sanmugathasan as General Secretary of the Party (on behalf of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the CCP) respectively.

The MRP is closely associated with the leadership of the Ceylon Mercantile Union undoubtedly one of the best organised and most influential trade unions in the country primarily of white collar workers. The CMU also boasts of membership among blue collar workers in Colombo as well as outside, but it is best known as the dominant white collar trade union. The MRP itself—as a Section of the Fourth International—cannot be regarded as a major or important political party and its activities have been confined to statements on current events. The MRP also sells literature of the Fourth International and also infrequently publishes political newsheets (in the three languages—the English version being known as **Vanguard**).

The Ceylon Communist Party claims to be the only true Marxist Party

in this island following the principles laid down by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Mao Tse-tung. (It is not known whether the CCP has rehabilitated Stalin as has been done by some Maoist Parties in other countries). The CCP has been greatly weakened by defections to the CPSL (Moscow-oriented Communist Party of Sri Lanka) and also to groups which operate from within the SLFP (in the Janavegaya and other nondescript groups). Recently a group of 81 CPC members crossed back into the CPSL—a party they had left when the great pro-Maoist schism had taken place in 1963 with Shanmugathasan leading the breakaway group.

The statements of these Parties will speak for themselves.

The statement of the MRP is as follows:

"The various letters and statements published in the newspapers relating to the crisis in the United Front Government, that culminated in its break-up on 2nd September 1975 with the expulsion of the three LSSP Ministers from it that day have not adequately revealed the real reasons for the break-up at this particular juncture.

"We do not believe that it became necessary for Mrs. Bandaranaike to insist on Dr. N. M. Perera's removal from the Ministry of Finance, because of anything that he may have stated at the LSSP Hartal commemoration meeting on 12th August 1975, concerning the politics of her late husband or her own political decisions relating to the contemplated take-over of oreign and locally owned company estates. The letters written to the Prime Minister both by Dr. N. M. Perera and Dr. Colvin R. de Silva before their dismissal from the Cabinet, had already made it clear that they were willing to continue to serve in Mrs. Bandaranaike's Cabinet, despite their differences with her on certain matters.....

"Thus there can be no question that it was Mrs. Bandaranaike who broke up the United Front Government that she had formed and headed with the active collaboration of the LSSP, for the last five years. What is important for the working class and the broad masses to appreciate are the political reasons underlying Mrs. Ban-

daranaik's decision to break-up the United Front Government at this juncture.

We have no doubt that the mutual recriminations and conflicts between the SLFP and the LSSP that have already begun as a result of the break-up of the United Front Government will be accompanied by disclosures of matters kept secret hitherto between them. Such disclosures may cloud rather than clarify the real issues underlying the break-up.

"We are of the view that the break-up is the result of the economic crisis in which capitalism finds itself in Sri Lanka, as elsewhere in the capitalist world, in the context of which that section of the capitalist class represented by the SLFP leadership has a pressing need for the consolidation of capitalist rule under a government in which all the key sectors of the administration are held firmly in the hands of that leadership. It is for this reason that the LSSP Ministers could not be permitted to be left in control of Finance or given control of the plantations to be taken over from foreign and local companies on compensation to be negotiated with them. To have permitted this would have resulted in the LSSP acquiring undue influence within the capitalist state, with enhanced political influence in consequence, from the viewpoint of the SLFP leadership. This is because the plantations remain the main base of the capitalist economically in Sri Lanka and are its principal sources of foreign exchange. The importance of the Ministry of Finance would itself be further enhanced by the state take-over of company owned estates for the reason that the state banks would then play a much more important role in the export trade in plantation products than at present with increased control over state as well as private investment in consequence.

"It was when Mrs. Bandaranaike offered alternative portfolios to Dr. Perera, provided he gave up the Ministry of Finance, and at the same time offered an alternative portfolio to Mr. Leslie Gooneratne, that the LSSP leadership finally realised that they were to be reduced from a role of service to one of servitude in the Cabinet. To have submitted to this would

have reduced them to playing no politically recognisable role at all as members of a distinct political party. It was at that stage only that they finally decided to say to Mrs. Bandaranaike, courting their dismissal from the Cabinet which then followed.

"The various attempts said to have been made by the Communist Party and certain groups within the SLFP itself to 'preserve the unity of the United Front' were doomed to end in failure. The leadership of the SLFP, the dominant party within the United Front, was no longer prepared to maintain the United Front with its main Left component, the LSSP on any basis that the LSSP leadership could make out to be even of some political benefit to itself. There is good reason to believe that the capitalist backers of the SLFP, and particularly the bigger ones said to be wielding a strong influence with Mrs. Bandaranaike and her son played a significant role in bringing about the ouster of the LSSP from the position it held in the Government.

"The allegations of Dr. N. M. Perera and the LSSP to that effect only serve to establish that he and his other LSSP colleagues in the United Front Government were permitted to function within it only for so long as they served not only the interests of the capitalist state, but also those sections of the capitalist class represented by the SLFP leadership. The policies pursued by the former LSSP Ministers were thus in conformity with the "Bandaranaike policies", in pursuance of which the Common Programme of the United Front was expressly declared to have been drawn up and signed in 1968, by the SLFP, the LSSP and the CP. **At no time did the LSSP leadership, right up to the moment of its expulsion from the Government, declare its unwillingness to continue to pursue those policies. They have sought to make out to their own following, however that in so doing they were really pursuing a "tactic", within a capitalist government. They will now have to explain to their following whether they have succeeded in that tactic.**

"The LSSP leaders now cannot make out that they have been betrayed by Mrs. Bandaranaike. The SLFP leadership has not chan-

ged its class character; nor can there be any doubt that Mrs. Bandaranaike took the LSSP leaders into the Government to serve the capitalist class in such manner as the SLFP desired, and for so long as their services were needed. The LSSP leaders as well as all those who may be interested in what has happened to them would do well now to note what the United Secretariat of the Fourth International had to say to the Central Committee of the LSSP in a communication dated 23rd April 1964, on the question of coalition with the SLFP, that the majority of the Central Committee then contemplated.

*'It is necessary to declare at this stage, quite categorically, that we oppose our party entering any coalition government wherein decisive control is held by a party that has proved time and again its reluctance to move against the capitalist order, and furthermore has demonstrated in action its essentially anti-working class character. We do not believe that the character of the SLFP is determined by the declarations of one or another of its individual leaders. Its character has been revealed by its whole history during its years in power. In this sense we see no reason for changing our characterization of it as a party essentially functioning within the framework of capitalism and utilized by certain layers of the bourgeoisie as a possible bulwark against the growing forces of the working class. Any form of coalition with such a party, as long as it remains the dominant majority within such a coalition, can only lead to the immobilization of the Left in advance and ITS BECOMING ITSELF A TARGET FOR THE GROWING RESENTMENT OF THE MASSES.'*

"Today, not only the UNP but even some of the erstwhile colleagues of the LSSP leaders in the SLFP are making it appear that it was Dr. N. M. Perera, as Minister of Finance, who was primarily responsible for attacks on mass living standards carried out by the United Front Government during his tenure of office. This is undoubtedly a distortion of the true position. There can be no question as to the responsibility of the entire SLFP leadership, as well as that of the CP, for the

policies, financial and otherwise, that have been pursued by the United Front Government."

Ever since the formation of the United Front government and more especially after the insurgency of 1971, the MRP has criticised the Government for its anti-working class actions. The MRP was opposed to the "class collaboration" which it is said that the LSSP and the CP was guilty of being part of a coalition led by the capitalist bourgeois party, the SLFP. The statement re-iterated what it had often stated about the anti-working class character of the UF coalition and went on to report what it has always maintained that there should be a genuine united front of all leftist forces. (Significantly, LSSP leaders have now fallen (back on this slogan after they quit the Government).

"What we have to point out is that the LSSP together with the SLFP and the CP, has also been responsible for direct attacks on the human and democratic rights of the people under the Emergency, that still prevails. The suppression and virtual liquidation of the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna in 1971 is especially noteworthy in this connection. It was neither on the issue of the Defence of mass living standards, nor on the issue of the Defence of the Democratic rights of the people, nor for the restoration of the fundamental right of workers to strike, that the break-up of the United Front has taken place. "It is no more than an outcome of sectional differences within the United Front Government on the distribution of power within the capitalist state, and of the political influence and privileges derived by those who wield such power.

"What will be the consequences? For a time, there is bound to be dismay and confusion in the ranks of the LSSP and amongst its political following. This will affect the trade unions and the student and other organisations controlled by the LSSP, with demoralisation in and defections from them. There will also be considerable dismay and disheartening amongst those supporters of the CP and the SLFP itself who believed that the United Front Government was anti-imperialist and 'progressive' by reason of the participation of the LSSP, together with the CP



in it. The shattering of the United Front by Mrs. Bandaranaike, with the subsequent endorsement of her action by the Executive Committee of the SLFP, will serve to dispel the illusions of such people."

"The Communist Party, in any case, will find it difficult without the assistance of the LSSP to continue to maintain the myth of the progressive character of the so-called national bourgeoisie, said to be represented by the SLFP. They will now have to decide whether to promote 'the unity of all progressive forces', from inside the Government or from outside it.

"Our positions has always been that the SLFP is a capitalist party, though it has a mass middle class and some working class following and even though there are certain differences between it and the UNP, which is a more conservative capitalist party, in relation to Imperialism and in regard to state control in the capitalist economy. When the LSSP first entered into a coalition government with the SLFP, under Mrs. Bandaranaike's leadership, in June 1964, those of us who then belonged to the LSSP broke away from it and condemned that action as a betrayal of the working class and the Left movement, for that reason.

"We pointed out then that Mrs. Bandaranaike had turned to the LSSP leadership for its assistance in the maintenance of capitalist rule in this country, as the SLFP leadership had found it difficult to do so by itself, in the face of rising working class militancy and mass discontent at that time. Today, the fact that the SLFP leadership has dispensed with the services of the LSSP leadership in the government, therefore, causes us no dismay and poses no dilemma.

"For all those sections of the masses that had realised the counter-revolutionary and essentially reactionary character of the United Front Government, in relation to the working class and the broad masses, before it was broken up, the task continues to be to come together in a united front for the building of a new mass movement of the Left. This is an essential task not only for them but also for all sections of the mass following of the three parties that constituted the United Front. There

is no other way for them to defend their interests than by the building of such a movement of the Left, anew. This can be done only on an anti-capitalist basis, and only under a leadership that bases itself firmly upon the working class and the development of the class struggle for the overthrow of capitalist rule and the establishment of a Worker's and Peasant's Government.

"In today's context such a movement must necessarily struggle for the ending of the Emergency, the repeal of all repressive legislation, including the Public Security Act, under which the Emergency is maintained, and the Criminal Justice Commissions Act, as well as the release of all political prisoners held in custody under either of those two reactionary laws, the restoration of the right to strike and the restoration of the human rights and democratic freedoms of the masses to act in defence of their interests against capitalist exploitation and oppression in any form."

ANYONE FAMILIAR with the dialectics and polemics of Mr. Shanmugathasan's politics would not have been surprised by the statement issued by him on behalf of the Politbureau of the CC of the CCP. It was a devastating attack on the LSSP, the CPSL, the SLFP and the UF. What he has stated is consistent to what he has said ever since he split from the CP in 1963. But what many find difficult to understand is what is being said and done by other Maoists of eminence who have been working closely integrated with the SLFP, the UF and the Government. Some of them had tried very hard to prevent the break up of the UF, but others had tried to capitalise on the situation by describing the LSSP as *polongas* (only to deny press report when the strategy had not paid dividends).

There was also, it will be remembered, a Ceylon Communist Party, led by the late Watson Fernando, which had broken away from the Shanmugathasan-led CCP (not to be mistaken with the CPC which is the Communist Party of China). This Watson Fernando-led CPC (in collaboration with the Janavegaya group) had laboured hard to bring the Maoist movement in Sri Lanka within the orbit of the SLFP and the UF. At one time it was thought that Shanmugathasan had faded

away and that the Watson Fernando-Janavegaya group had assumed the total leadership of the Maoist movement in this island. This has not happened. Shanmugathasan continues to remain the front and source of Maoist Marxism in Ceylon although his latest statement does not pay the usual homage to Mao.

"The Ceylon Communist Party calls upon the working class and the revolutionary movement of Sri Lanka to learn the correct lessons from the dismissal of the LSSP from the coalition government. The fate that has overtaken it is nothing but a just retribution for its betrayal of and the treachery to the working class. Along with the other reformists and the modern revisionists the leadership of the LSSP drugged the masses with the opium of bourgeois parliamentary democracy and preached the false theory of the peaceful transition to socialism through parliament. Having subjugated the interests of the working class to that of the bourgeoisie, they actively helped in administering the system of neo-colonial exploitation.

"They condoned the worst blood bath in Sri Lanka's history in 1971 and endorsed the worst repression that Sri Lanka has ever had, through a continuing state of emergency. They participated in the destruction of all democratic and civil rights of the people, including the right to strike of the working class. Worse, they crushed the strike of the Ceylon Bank Employees Union in a manner that not even the UNP government had ever done. They endorsed the rejection of the demand for equal pay for equal work, irrespective of distinctions of sex. They have agreed to the exclusion of all employees of State Corporations (which will include the plantations when they are nationalised) from the ambit of the Industrial Disputes Act, like the co-operative employees—thereby depriving the bulk of the working class of fundamental trade union rights which they had won during the last forty years through much struggle and sacrifice.

"They also embraced communalism and the *masalai vadai* line and betrayed the interests of the national minorities. They initiated economic policies which have landed us in the worst economic

crisis in the history of our country and have sent the cost of living sky rocketing and increased unemployment to unmanageable proportions. They have also agreed to the payment of compensation to British imperialist owners of the plantations when the latter are to be nationalised.

"In other words they have been guilty of every conceivable anti-working classes in. They have acted as a lightning conductor to divert the wrath of the people from the real enemies. They were used by the ruling classes to fool and deceive the working class. Now that the period of usefulness is over, they have been kicked out unceremoniously.

"We shed no idle tears for the leadership of the LSSP. But we do appeal to the rank and file and the following of the

LSSP to think and re-think as to whether the ideological stand point of the LSSP was correct or whether our Marxist-Leninist stand point was correct. We do hope that they will come to the correct conclusion that the working class should never subject itself to the leadership of the bourgeoisie and that to talk about building socialism without the working class first capturing state power is sheer deception; and that there is no peaceful parliamentary path to socialism.

"Let us now go forward to unite under the working class, all the forces that can be united including all progressive forces that are today rallied behind this government, against our common enemies, foreign imperialism, feudalism and the big capitalist class."

The question which intrigues many political quarters is whether a new Left Front will emerge under the auspices of the LSSP, the MRP and the CCP. And, will the CPSL, which has now elected to work with the SLFP and the UF (on the footing that there cannot be a left front in Ceylon without the SLFP), be able to withstand the overtures and pressure of the vocal and vociferous Left, and continue to remain with the SLFP and Government.

These are matters which puzzle political observers today.

What will happen in the coming months is anybody's guess. The reports about the latest decision of the Central Committee of the LSSP indicate that the LSSP believes that the left-inclined sections of the SLFP and the Left still in the UF should be won over to form the nucleus of the new ULF.

## CHRONICLE

# Sept. 17 — Sept. 25

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

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

**WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 17:** According to the Daily News a Cabinet reshuffle will take place today and in the new Cabinet there will be portfolios of Small Industries and Co-operatives, Home Affairs, Local Government and Fisheries and Social Services and Cultural Affairs—CDN. The LSSP MP for Bulathsinhala Mr. Mangala Moonesinghe, yesterday resigned from the LSSP and has applied for membership in the SLFP—CDM. The new Minister of Transport, Mr. P. B. G. Kalugalle, has ordered the stoppage of all new constructions in the multi-million rupees Central Bus Stand Project but according to the *Janadina* he has ordered new constructions at the Kegalle bus stand which is in his electorate. Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, Minister of Finance, has ordered the entire board of directors of the State Distilleries Corporation to submit their resignations: it is understood there had been several instances of corruption and wastage in the Distilleries Corporation under the management of the former board of directors and the former Minister of Finance was not aware of these instances—ATH. The Acting Secretary of the Ministry of Justice has instructed heads of departments and State corporations that employees who are eligible and who fail to send their declarations of assets under the Assets and Liabilities Law will be subject to severe disciplinary action—CDN. Under

the Assets and Liabilities Law nearly 35,000 government servants will have to declare their assets—CDM. All LSSP sponsored candidates were defeated at the elections held last week to the Committee of Management of the Credit Council of the Ministry of Finance, General Treasury and the Loan Board—CDM. Farmers in the drought stricken areas who failed to repay their loans will be entitled to a loan of Rs. 300 for this maha season—DM. The Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, will preside this evening at the SLFP Executive Committee meeting—DM. The C.G.R.'s loss for this year is estimated at Rs. 40 million—CO. A special plane carrying four Palestinian gunmen and three Egyptian hostages they seized in Madrid arrived at Algiers airport yesterday and the hostages were immediately released. The Soviet Union has recognised the newly independent state of Papua New Guinea.

**THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 18:** Mr. S. K. K. Suriarachchi, the former Deputy Minister of Industries and Scientific Affairs has been assigned the portfolio of Food, Co-operatives and Small Industries in the reshuffled Cabinet announced by the Prime Minister yesterday: Mr. Ratnasiri Wickremanayake former Deputy Minister of Justice has been appointed as Minister of Plantation Industry: seven others Ministers have been allocated new or additional portfolios: Mr. T. B. Ilangaratne, Trade, Public Administration and Home Affairs, Mr. P. B. G. Kalugalle (Shipping Tourism, and Aviation) Mr. W. P. G. Ariyadasa (Local Government) Mr. T. B. Tennekoon (Cultural Affairs), Mr. George Rajapakse (Health and Fisheries), Mr. K. B. Ratnayake (Parliamentary Affairs, Sports and Transport), Mr. S. S. Kulatileke (Social Services)—CDN. Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwa, Minister of Agriculture and Lands, will present the bill in the NSA today to nationalise all foreign and local public companies owning plantations—CDN. In a statement to the NSA today the Prime Minister is expected to place the events that led to the expulsion of three LSSP Ministers from the Cabinet—CDN. Police raided a Left Wing trade union office in Slave Island yesterday and took into custody hundreds

of "red army" uniforms: Police also arrested four trade union officials, all employees of a state corporation; earlier Police received information that this particular trade union holds classes of a para-military nature—*CDM*. Mr. Anura Bandaranaike, Chief Organiser of the SLFP Youth Leagues and Youth Adviser to the Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs, addressing a party Youth League meeting posed the question whether Dr. N. M. Perera, former Minister of Finance, will end up in the UNP like Mr. Philip Goonewardene who was described as the father of Marxism in this country who ended up in the UNP—*CDM*. Owing to the failure of crops in the last season the Government is compelled to depend on American flour under PL 480 to supply to the masses of this country—*JD*. Mr. Mangala Moonesinghe, MP for Bulathsinhala, returned from a trip in America just before he joined the SLFP—*JD*. The Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, yesterday sought the co-operation of all SLFP Ministers and MPs to take the country forward in keeping with the policy statement she would make today in the Parliament—*ATH*. The Cabinet met for the first time yesterday after nearly 6 weeks—*ATH*. US President Ford told a press conference that America will consider supplying Israel with long-range missiles capable of reaching Egyptian cities. The American Central Intelligence Agency developed a silent rifle armed with poison darts that left no trace to determine the cause of death: this was revealed by C.I.A., chief William Colby.

**FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 19:** The Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, in a point-by-point counter to the LSSP President Dr. N. M. Perera's speech when the LSSP crossed over to the Opposition said that in spite of the call by Samasamajists to the Communist Party to join the former to form a United Left Front not a single has so far gone and instead two LSSP MPs have joined the Government: she further said that her Government would neither go Left nor Right but would follow the Middle Path policy of late Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike: she said that the unity is still preserved and hoped that the Communist Party will remain in the Government—*CDN*. The Prime Minister in the 3 1/2 hour speech said that the two LSSP Ministers Dr. N. M. Perera and Leslie Goonewardene constantly quarrelled with her in regard to certain measures she had taken as Prime Minister and as such she could not have a Government within a Government—*CDM*. The leader of the LSSP, Dr. N. M. Perera, rose to a point of order before the Prime Minister commenced her speech and urged a debate if she was making a statement: the leader of the House and Minister of Irrigation, Power and Highways, and the Minister of Finance and Minister of Justice, Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike agreed to grant a date for the debate—*CDM*. Four trade unionists were detained by the Matara Police yesterday in connexion with their allegedly marching in a recent political procession at Matara in what Police described as simulated army uniforms in violation of the emergency regulations now in force: according to the Matara Police the raid on a leftist trade union office and the seizure of a number of "red army" uniforms were a sequel to two para-military squads marching at a recent leftist rally at Matara—*CDM*. The Government has begun to implement actively the law which prohibits various organisations using uniforms similar to that of the armed forces and also

any para-military type of training by these organisations—*DM*. Six squadrons of Soviet Mig-21 aircraft was officially taken over by Uganda in a ceremony attended by President Idi Amin. Gold was fixed at its lowest level for 14 months of the London bullion market on Wednesday at 142.9 dollars an ounce. Israeli Prime Minister, Yitshak Rabin, said that he was extremely doubtful about Israel's chances of reaching an interim peace agreement with Syria.

**SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 20:** Dr. N. M. Perera, Leader of the LSSP, in a speech yesterday at Homagama said that whatever the Prime Minister told about the assassination of the late Prime Minister, Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, he would soon reveal the truth about this assassination—*LD*. Mr. M. G. Mendis, M.P. for Ratgama and the President of the Communist Party controlled Ceylon Trade Union Federation, told the *Virakesari* that he has had discussions with the security chiefs on the question of releasing leaders of his union arrested when Police recently found "red army" uniforms in the trade union office. Government had decided to import cars worth Rs. 30 million for use during the Non-aligned conference to be held in Colombo in August next year—*ATH*. Political observers feel that the LSSP's attention and attack is now diverted not towards the Prime Minister but on her son Mr. Anura Bandaranaike, who is an up and coming politician in the country—*LD*. Mr. Anura Bandaranaike told the *Lankadipa* that he would soon reply to the attacks made on him by the former Minister of Plantation Industry, Dr. Colvin R. de Silva—*LD*. The Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs decided to expand the working of the District Development Councils and provide employment for more than 3,500 unemployed graduates—*DM*. India and Sri Lanka with the help of Interpol will soon set up a 'hot line' to combat smuggling jointly—*DM*. The Asian Development Bank in Manila decided to make a grant of Rs. 300 million to a proposed fertiliser factory to be set up in Sri Lanka—*DM*. 100,000 acres of jungle land will be cleared by the Government as soon as possible for the cultivation of paddy and subsidiary food crops in an effort to accelerate the crash food program—*CDN*. Mr. S. K. K. Suriyarachchi, new Minister of Food, Co-operatives and Small Industries, told a press conference that a new Co-operative Insurance Scheme will be set up shortly and co-operatives throughout the island will have shares in this scheme—*CDN*. Government approved the Samanalawewa project at an estimated cost of Rs. 600 million to meet the power shortage anticipated in the year 1980/1981: construction work on the project will commence in mid 1977—*CDM*. A seven member Parliamentary delegation from Sweden arrived in Sri Lanka last night headed by Mrs. Cecilia Nettergrant and will participate in discussions relating to aid for Sri Lanka—*CDN*. Chinese Vice Prime Minister Teng Hsiao-Ping yesterday denied that China was considering softening its policy towards the Soviet Union, according to West German sources. The widow of the late Chilean President Salvador Allende called for total boycott of this country including its sport.

**SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 21:** Mr. Mangala Moonesinghe, MP for Bulathsinhala, who quit the LSSP to join the SLFP said in an interview to the *Sunday Observer* that the working class did not approve the LSSP and it was the SLFP and its policies that would

suit the suffering masses of this country. Mr. A. Amirthalingam General Secretary of the TUF in a statement to the *Virakesari* said that the Tamils should make use of the present political situation in the country in achieving a separate state for Tamils. The University has decided to admit 5,000 students out of the 18,000 qualified for admission on the results of the GCE A Level examination: out of the qualified 13,200 are arts students and it is expected that this will make the selection difficult for the Minister of Education—ST. Mr. P. B. G. Kalugalle, Minister of Tourism, Shipping and Aviation, has appointed a one man committee to probe the activities of the Air Ceylon—ST. Religious activities will be the keynote of this year's Bandaranaike Commemoration Day, Friday September 26—ST. Leader of the LSSP, Dr. N. M. Perera, told a meeting at Homagama that the LSSP would put up a bitter struggle if this Government devalues the rupee: he said in the event of devaluation it will be the poor masses who will suffer and not the rich mudalalis: Dr. Perera further said that the people must be prepared to join the LSSP and oppose the devaluation in the event of a devaluation by this Government—JS. The *Janasathiya* editorially posed the question as to why the Prime Minister in her reply to Dr. N. M. Perera's speech in the NSA on September 3 avoided the question of nationalisation of Textile Mills: the editorial referred to the statement made by Dr. N. M. Perera in the NSA in which he said that the Prime Minister will never come forward to nationalise the textile mills because Dasa Mudalali is one of the leading textile mill owners. The CID has commenced investigations and are on the look out for private organisations training youngsters in the use of pistol, hand bombs and exercises in self defence—SLD. A new Portuguese Government of national unity headed by Admiral Jose Pinheirode Azevedo was sworn into office in Lisbon yesterday. U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger said that the United States was exploring the possibility of buying oil from the Soviet Union on a long term basis.

**MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 22:** According to the *Daily Mirror* the unity of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party trade union movement is at stake: there are two trade unions functioning under the SLFP, one headed by Mr. Herbert Wickremasinghe known as the Sri Lanka Independent Trade Union Federation and the other one headed by Mr. Kumar Rupasinghe known as the Sri Lanka Joint Labour Trade Union: the SLFP has appointed a committee headed by Mr. C. Kumarasuriar, Minister of Post and Telecommunications, to bring a settlement between the two warring factions. Dr. N. M. Perera, former Minister of Finance, speaking at a public rally at Galle said the Prime Minister has become a prisoner in the hands of the capitalists: he further said though the Minister of Heavy Industries and Scientific Affairs, Mr. T. B. Subasinghe, made a genuine attempt to nationalise textile manufacturing industries the Prime Minister opposed it: he also said that under the present government the country could never achieve socialism—JD. The Ministry of Finance with the help of the Central Bank will shortly set up guide lines to make all public corporations commercially viable ventures—CDN. Dr. Badiuddin Mahmud, Minister of Education, has drawn up a plan by which students qualified in science subjects will get first preference in admission to the various campuses of the

University on the results of the Advanced Level examination—DM. According to the *Aththa* UNP has organised several meetings and processions without the permission of Police and at these meetings the UNP speakers have made it a point to criticise the leaders of the SLFP and other Left parties in a low manner: the paper further said that the UNP held such a procession on the 19th of this month at Weligama without the permission of the Police and the slogans shouted by those who participated in the procession was directly against the Prime Minister and the leader of the LSSP, Dr. N. M. Perera. A report written by a journalist for the London-based Minority Rights Group said that if the people of Ceylon wished to avoid communal disturbances of the nature of North Ireland and Cyprus the Tamils and Sinhalese have to compromise more—VK. A largest-ever non-orthodox art exhibition held in Moscow was closed within minutes after it was opened when painters removed their works in protest against official censorship—CDN. A large Greek vessel carrying cargo for Israel was diverted through the Suez Canal. U.S. Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger said that the United States was still discussing whether to supply Israel with the F-16 jet fighters: the F-16 was co-pable of striking at Arab population centres from Israel. South African currency, Rand, was devalued by 17.9 per cent.

**TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 23:** In a package deal of fiscal reforms suggested for Sri Lanka by the International Monetary Fund, the demand for the devaluation of the rupee has receded in importance: but the IMF has called for the uniformity in the FECCS structure: the Ministry of Finance and the Central Bank are presently engaged in studying the package deal of the IMF—CDN. Mr. T. B. Illangaratne, Minister of Trade, Home Affairs and Public Administration, said at a meeting that there was no necessity for People's Army and Defence Squads in this country as urged by some political parties: he further said that those organisations were necessary only under a rule of dictatorship—CDN. Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, leader of the UNP, addressing a meeting at Ratgama said that the UNP will not join the SLFP or the LSSP to form a government but it will go alone—CDM. Leaders of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka (Moscow wing) will meet the Prime Minister today and the discussions are intended to clarify the Communist Party's position in the Government: this is the first meeting of these two parties since the LSSP left the Government—CDM. The *Daily Mirror* in a front page story reproduced a portion of an article in *Tribune's* September 20th issue where it was said that the LSSP's attacks on Mr. Anura Bandaranaike will boomerang. The discussions of the peace committee appointed to inquire into the dispute between the two SLFP trade unions ended without a settlement and further discussions have been postponed—LD. A group of responsible officials in the Times of Ceylon and the Lake House have joined a cold war in which attempts are being made to bring down the sales of Lake House newspapers and boost the sales of Times Group of newspapers: recent issues of *Dinamina* and *Silumina* reduced all special articles and had concentrated more on articles and advertisements of SLFP henchmen—JD. Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwa, Minister of Agriculture and Lands, told the *Dinamina* that with the nationalisation of Sterling company estates he intends to change the "little England" look

of the upcountry plantation areas and bring unity between the villages and the plantation areas. Several leading smugglers imprisoned in India have directed their aides and accordingly gold from Middle East countries are now being smuggled into India through Colombo instead of Bombay—VK. An armed gang held up a CTB bus bound to Galle from Colombo yesterday night at Hikkaduwa and robbed passengers of Rs. 18,000—CDN. A Vienna newspaper said that European airports are on the look out for four Palestinian commandos heading for Geneva to prevent the final signing of the Egyptian-Israeli Sinal agreement. Indonesia sent naval reinforcements including a destroyer to reinforce patrols off the troubled Portuguese colony of East Timor.

**WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 24:** A communique on the CP-SLFP meeting held yesterday at Temple Trees is expected to be released today—CDN. The *Aththa* editorially said that recent raid by the Police on Communist Party trade union offices, the arrest of leaders and taking into custody of party uniforms are certainly done not on the sole descretion of the Police but on instructions received from higher places: the editorial comment compared this incident with the UNP procession held at Weligama last week without the permission of the Police but where the Police turned their eyes away from the procession and said this action too was on instructions from higher places: the comment further hinted that these two incidents may be an indication of a newly forming unity: the paper posed the question when these uniforms were used only during trade union march pasts and if all these years if the Police did not see these uniforms as military uniforms why this hurry now to arrest men in places where these uniform are kept: the editorial added that these actions are not so good for the future of the progressive movement of the country. Police arrested one of the suspects of the Jaffna Mayor's assassination incident and it was said that with the arrest of this man the Police had got their breakthrough—ATH. Inventorising of all assets and liabilities of estates will be launched simultaneously with the take-over of foreign and locally owned company estates scheduled to take place on October 15: the entire operation is expected to last one week and a special committee will be appointed to decide on the question of compensation payable to owners of estates—CDN. The Communist Party Politbureau in a statement said that the working class and the revolutionary movement in the country must take a lesson from the dismissal of the LSSP from the Government: the statement said that the fate overtaken the LSSP was nothing but a just retribution for its betrayal of, and treachery to, the working class—CDM. The *Janadina* editorially said that reactionary forces of the SLFP are out to destroy the LSSP and this will not apply only to the LSSP but to the entire progressive sections in the country: the editorial warned the people to be more careful in the future. A section of the Ratwatte family met the Prime Minister and wants her to handover the Second stage of the Land Reform to the new Minister of Plantation Industry instead of the Minister of Agriculture and Lands, Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwa—JD. The *Janadina* posed the question as to which side the Prime Minister will take in this regard. The Department of Examinations has so far not received any specific instructions as on what basis the selections to the University should be made out of the 18,000 odd students who passed in three

and four subjects at the G.C.E. Advanced Level examination—CDM. President Ford had his third escape from a possible killer when he escaped an assassin's bullet on Monday night while leaving a hotel in San Francisco: eye witnesses said that the President was about six feet from his bullet-proof limousine when the shot rang out: in this regard Police arrested a man. Egypt and Israel concluded negotiations on how to put their Sinai peace agreement into effect after reaching a last minute compromise on whether or not to sign the implementation protocol immediately.

**THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 25:** In a joint communique issued by the Secretary of the SLFP, Mr. S. K. K. Suriyarachchi, and Dr. S. A. Wickremasinghe, General Secretary of the Communist Party, both parties reaffirmed that they would uphold and implement the Common Program and the 1970 election manifesto of the UF: they also affirmed to continue as a UF based on the SLFP and the CP: they agreed to hold regular meetings of the leadership of the UF and to decide on what measures should be implemented by the UF before the general election due in 1977: another meeting of the two parties is scheduled for early next month—CDN. The Prime Minister has written to the President of Egypt, Mr. Anwar Sadat, welcoming the Sinai agreement with Israel—CDN. The 16th commemoration of the Bandaranaike death anniversary will be celebrated tomorrow throughout the island: a large procession and a public rally will be held in Colombo in which the Prime Minister and several Ministers and MPs will participate—LD. Mr. Jack Kotelawela has been appointed Chairman of the CTB—JD. According to the *Daily Mirror* the LSSP will launch a massive onslaught of political offensive after the Government's budget: till then the party will confine its activities to public rallies throughout the country to explain to the people the circumstances that led to the breaking up of the United Front—CDM. The 21st anniversary celebrations of the SLFP will be held at the Sugathadasa Stadium in Colombo on October 21—DM. Police investigating the Jaffna Mayor's killing has got evidence which makes them to believe that the killers had worked for an organisation which had paid them for the job—ATH. President of the Mercantile Chamber of Ceylon, Mr. Askar Moosajee, in his presidential address at the annual general meeting said that the existence of the FECCS system is in fact a selective devaluation: he further said the tying of the Ceylon rupee to sterling which is floating and has weakened considerably against other currencies in the past year has been a further silent devaluation—CDM. Israel will carry out tis Sinai pull-back between November 15 and February 21 under the military protocol concluded in Geneva. Major oil exporting nations began a crucial price-fixing conference yesterday in Vienna with higher costs for world consumers virtually certain from October 1.

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## TOWARDS A NEW ECONOMIC ORDER—4

### Poorest Nations —US Suggestions—

By Dr. Henry Kissinger

ANY STRATEGY FOR DEVELOPMENT must devote special attention to the needs of the poorest countries. The fate of one billion people—half the developing world and a quarter of mankind—will be affected by what we do or fail to do. For the last four years, per capita income in the poorest countries—already below minimal standards for development—has declined. Their exports are most concentrated in the least dynamic sectors of world demand. It is they who have been most cruelly affected by the rise in the costs of oil, food and other essential imports.

Whatever adversity the rest of mankind endures, it is these people who endure the most. Whatever problems we have, their are monumental. Whatever economic consequences flow from the decisions that we all make, the consequences are greatest for them. If global progress in economic development falters, they will be submerged.

This challenge transcends ideology and bloc politics. No international order can be considered just unless one of its fundamental principles is co-operation to raise the poorest of the world to a decent standard of life. This challenge has two dimensions. We must look to elemental economic security and the immediate relief of suffering. And we must preference to these countries' needs for future economic growth.

First, security means balance of payments support for the poorest countries during periods of adversity. For them global recessions and wide swings in prices of key commodities have a particularly disastrous impact. Yet these countries have very little access to short and medium-term capital to help them weather bad times. The little finance to which they have access often involves interest rates that are too high considering their chronic debt repayment problems.

To provide greater balance of payments support at more acceptable rates of interest for the poor nations, the United States last November proposed a trust in the International Monetary Fund of up to 2 billion dollars for emergency relief. Although this proposal met with wide support, it has been stalled by a dispute over an unrelated issue—the role of gold in the International Monetary System. We cannot let this delay continue. The United States is making a determined effort to move forward the monetary negotiations at the IMF meetings now underway. If others meet us in this same spirit, we could reach a consensus on the trust fund by the next meeting in January.

Secondly, security requires stable export earnings. The new approach that we are proposing today for earnings stabilization can provide major new economic insurance in the form of loans and grants for the poorest countries. Thirdly, security means have enough to eat. There must be determined international co-operation on food. (a) The World Food Conference set a target of 10 million tons of food aid annually. This fiscal year the United States food aid budget provides for almost 6 million tons of food-grains—sixty percent of the world target, and a twenty percent increase over last year. Other producers must also provide their share. (b) Another priority in the poorest countries must be to reduce the tragic waste of losses after harvest from inadequate storage, transport, and pest control. There are often simple and inexpensive techniques to resolve these problems. Investment in such areas as better storage and pesticides could have a rapid demand substantial impact on the world's food supply—indeed the saving could match the total of all the food aid being given around the world. Therefore, we urge that the food and agricultural organization, in conjunction with the U.N. Development Program and the World Bank, set a goal of cutting in half these post-harvest losses by 1985, and develop a comprehensive program to this end.

Finally, security means good health and easing the strains of population growth. Disease ravages the poorest countries most

of all and exacts a devastating economic as well as human cost. At the same time we face the stark reality that there will be twice as many people to feed by the end of this century as there are today. One of the most promising approaches to these problems is the integrated delivery of basic health services at the community level, combining medical treatment, family planning, and nutritional information and using locally trained paramedical personnel. The United States will support a major expansion of the efforts already underway, including those in co-operation with the World Health Organization, to develop and apply these methods. We strongly urge the help of all concerned nations.

Programs to achieve minimum economic security, however essential, solve only part of the problem. We must help the poorest nations break out of their present stagnation and move toward economic growth. This means first of all that they should have preferential access to official, concessionary financial aid. They have the least dynamic exports, but they lack the capital to develop new ones. They have the direct need for financing, but they have no access to capital markets and little ability to carry greater debt. If these countries themselves can summon the effort required, outside assistance can be productive. All nations with the financial capacity must share the responsibility. We will do our part. More than seventy percent of our development assistance goes to low-income countries. More than sixty percent of this year's proposed programs is devoted to food and nutrition, which are of particular importance to the poorest.

The special financial needs of the poorest countries can be met, particularly by expanded, low-interest loans of the international financial institutions. The International Development Association of the World Bank group is a principal instrument whose great potential has not been fully realized. After Congressional consultations, the United States will join others in a substantial fifth replenishment of the resources of the international development association; provided that the oil exporting countries also make a significant contribution.

## Review and Reform

An effective strategy for sustained growth in the poorest countries must expand their agricultural production. For external food aid cannot possibly fill their needs. The current gap between what the developing countries need and what they can produce themselves is 15 million tons; within the next decade. Failure to meet this challenge will doom much of the world to hunger and malnutrition and all of the world to periodic shortages and higher prices. Traditional bilateral aid programs to boost agricultural production remain indispensable. President Ford is asking Congress for authorization to double our bilateral agricultural assistance this year to 582 million dollars. We urge the other affluent nations to increase their contributions as well.

Clearly a massive program of international co-operation is also required. More research is needed to improve agricultural yields, make more efficient use of fertilizer, and find better farm management techniques. Technical assistance and information exchange are needed for training and for technological advance. Better systems of water control transportation and land management are needed to tap the developing countries' vast reserves of land, water and manpower. To mobilize massive new concessional resources for these purposes, the United States proposes the early establishment of the new International Fund for Agricultural Development. President Ford has asked me to announce that he will seek authorization of a direct contribution of 200 million dollars to the Fund—provided that others will add their support for a combined goal of at least one billion dollars. The International Fund for Agricultural Development can be the major source of new capital to attack the most critical problems of the poorest developing countries. The United States urges the world community to give it prompt and major support. IN EVERY AREA of endeavor that I have described—economic security, growth, trade, commodities and the needs of the poorest—the developing countries themselves want greater influence over the decisions that will affect their future. They are pressing for a greater role in the institutions

and negotiations by which the world economic system is evolving.

The United States believes that participation in international decisions must be widely shared, in the name of both justice and effectiveness. We believe the following principles should apply: The process of decision should be fair. No country or group of countries should have exclusive power in the areas basic to the welfare of others. This principle is valid for oil. It also applies to trade and finance.

The methods of participation must be realistic. We must encourage the emergence of real communities of interest between nations, whether they are developed or developing, producer or consumer, rich or poor. The genuine diversity of interests that exists among states must not be submerged by bloc discipline or in artificial, unrepresentative majorities. For only genuine consensus can generate effective action. The process of decision should be responsive to change. On many issues developing countries have not had a voice that reflects their role. This is now changing. It is already the guiding principle of two of the most successful international bodies, the IMF and the World Bank, where the quotas of oil producing states will soon be at least doubled—on the basis of objective criteria. Basic economic realities, such as the size of economics, participation in world trade and financial contributions, must carry great weight.

Finally, participation should be tailored to the issues at hand. We can usefully employ many different institutions and procedures; sometimes we should seek abroad consensus in universal bodies, as

we are doing this week in this assembly; sometimes negotiations can more usefully be focused in more limited forums, such as the forthcoming consumer-producer dialogue; sometimes decisions are best handled in large, specialized bodies such as the IMF and World Bank, where voting power is related to responsibility; and sometimes most effective action can be taken in regional bodies.

Most relevant to our discussion here is the improvement of the United Nations system, so that it can fulfill its charter mandate "to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples." We welcome the thoughtful report by the Secretary General's group of 25 experts on structural reform in the UN system. We will seriously consider its recommendations. In our view, an improved UN organization must include: (a) Rationalization of the UN's fragmented assistance programs; (b) Strengthened leadership within the central secretariat and the entire UN system for development and economic co-operation; (c) Streamlining of the economic and social council; (d) Better consultative procedures to ensure effective agreement among members with a particular interest in a subject under consideration; and (e) A mechanism for independent evaluation of the implementation of programs.

The United States proposes that 1976 be dedicated as a year of review and reform of the entire UN development system. An intergovernmental committee should be formed at this session, to begin work immediately on recommendations that can be implemented

### EXHIBITION

WEEK OF JUSTICE AND DEVELOPMENT  
October 11th - 16th 1975

The 'Samagiya' Hall of the Sevaka Sevana Ministries' School and UPEK (Uva Pastoral - Ecumenical Kendra) Bandarawela will be the venue of a Poster display with texts, pictures, slogans *provocateurs*, from 11th to 16th October 1975 under the aegis of some Sisters of Uva, Sevakas and people interested in 'conscienticisation' (sharing social awareness). Before the Week of Justice, there will be a Seminar from 8-11th on Labour and Industrial Relations by Mr. George Gnanamuttu, B.A., former Asst. Commissioner of Labour.

The Theme will be "Total, Integral Development is necessary, but always with Justice".

by the General Assembly in its 1976 session. We consider this a priority in any strategy for development.

*Mr. President, Mr. Secretary General, colleagues, ladies and gentlemen:*

I began today with the statement that we have, this week, an opportunity to improve the condition of mankind. This fact alone represents an extraordinary change in the human condition. Throughout history, man's imagination has been limited by his circumstances—which have now fundamentally changed. We are no longer confined to what Marx called "the realm of necessity". And it has always been the case that the wisest realists were those who understood man's power to shape his own reality.

The steps we take now are not limited by our technical possibilities, but only by our political will. If the advanced nations fail to respond to the winds of change, and if the developing countries choose rhetoric over reality, the great goal of economic development will be submerged in our common failure. The speeches made here this week will be placed alongside many other lofty pronouncements made over decades past in this organization on this subject, buried in the archives of Oblivion.

But we would not all be here if we did not believe that progress is possible and that it is imperative. The United States has proposed a program of action. We are prepared to contribute, if we are met in a spirit of common endeavour: (a) We have proposed steps to improve basic economic security—to safeguard the world economy, and to particularly the developing countries, against the cruel cycles that undermine their export earnings; (b) We have proposed measures to improve developing countries' access to capital, new technology, and management skills to lift themselves from stagnation onto the path of accelerating growth; (c) We have proposed structural improvements in the world trading system, to be addressed in the ongoing multilateral trade negotiations, to enhance developing countries' opportunities to earn their own way through trade; (d) We have proposed a new approach to improving market conditions in food

and other basic commodities, on which the economies and indeed the lives of hundreds of millions of people depend; (e) We have proposed specific ways of giving special help to the development needs of the poorest countries.

My government does not offer these proposals as an act of charity, nor should they be received as if due. We know that the world economy nourishes us all, we know that we live on a shrinking planet. Materially as well as morally, our destinies are intertwined.

There remain enormous things for us to do. We can say one more to the new nations: we have heard your voices. We embrace your hopes. We will join your efforts. We commit ourselves to our common success.

\* \* \* \* \*

## NEW DIMENSION TO SOCIALIST CO-OPERATION

# CMEA—Iraq Agreements

By *Werner Pobbig*

At present, the Republic of Iraq is preparing for the implementation of its five-year plan (1976-1980). In implementing this plan the young nation state can rely on friendship and co-operation from the countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA). The Agreement on Co-operation concluded in Moscow on 4 July 1975 by delegations of the CMEA and the Republic of Iraq is of special importance.

In accordance with this agreement a joint commission was founded consisting of representatives of the Republic of Iraq and all member states of the CMEA. The joint commission will explore and co-ordinate possibilities of multilateral co-operation in various fields of the economy, science, and technology. In addition the commission will give recommendations on co-operation to Iraq and the CMEA members, which have to be confirmed by the government of these countries and laid down in corresponding arrangements between the part-

**ners. It will be a matter of course, that all future partners will enjoy equal rights.**

FOR A LONG TIME, the CMEA countries and the Republic of Iraq have had good economic, scientific and technological relations that are steadily expanding. Among other fields, the CMEA countries supported Iraq in developing its petroleum producing and processing industries and in creating branches of industry so vital for the young republic, e.g. building an electrical industry, chemical industry, some branches of engineering, pharmaceutical industry and developing the mining industry. With the help of the CMEA countries 200 industrial enterprises and other projects have been or are being built which constitute an important part of the national sector of the economy.

Only a few examples will be mentioned here. The People's Republic of Bulgaria built a ceramics works, foodstuff factories and helped build an airport in Baghdad. Hungary helped in sinking oil wells, the GDR built silos, construction enterprises and other projects and carried out electrification work. The Polish People's Republic participated in building sulphur pits, a sugar factory and a cement works. The Socialist Republic of Rumania helped build motorways, Czechoslovakia participated in building a motorway from Mosul to Baghdad and in building a tractor works, a textile works and a big petroleum processing works.

For a number of years, the USSR has granted extensive and versatile aid and support to the Republic of Iraq. The Soviet Union helped in building an electrical works, a works for agricultural machines, a broadcasting station, a sweets factory, a works for antibiotics and pharmaceutical products, a cotton mill and some power stations. The USSR also assisted the Republic of Iraq in establishing study centres and in implementing irrigation measures over an area of more than 300,000 hectares. The first national oil area of Iraq, Nordrumella, which now already is producing more than 18 million tons of petroleum a year, was equipped with the help of the USSR.

The agreement signed on 4 July 1975 was the first of its



kind between the CMEA and a developing country. However, it will not be the last one, on the contrary. Because of the fact that the CMEA maintains relations with young nation states on the basis of the principles of mutual advantage, respect of sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference into internal affairs and equality, it does not just grant aid and support to these countries, but also offers possibilities of a form of economic, scientific and technological cooperation which are in stark contrast to that offered by capitalist countries.

ACCORDING TO AGREEMENTS already concluded, the CMEA will assist developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America in constructing more than 3,000 projects, 860 of which with the help of the USSR. More than 60 per cent of these enterprises have already been finished and now form the core of industrial development in these young nation states. An important part of this industrialization is the construction by socialist states of some 500 power stations in these countries. In addition to building enterprises and other projects to support the training of personnel, specialists and scientists, the generous loan policy of the CMEA countries is of importance for the developing countries. A great part of these loans was used to build industry in general and develop a power industry in these countries.

Considering the good relations of CMEA countries with Finland, India, Egypt, Mexico and many other countries, one has to draw the conclusion that new, extensive relations of mutual advantage are developing in the field of economic, scientific and technological cooperation.

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**NEXT WEEK**

- \* CHANGING WORLD  
—The Big Powers
- \* ANCIENT CHINESE  
ASTROLOGY  
—The Moon Calendar
- \* UNITED FRONTS IN  
SRI LANKA

**BUILDING A  
VILLAGE HOUSE (51)**

**Lower Than The  
Angels**

By Herbert Keuneman

MY ARTICLE published in *Tribune* three weeks ago (the one concerning itself with Mr. Rodney Jonklaas' reasonable-seeming and undeniably prevalent—though actually over-facile and arrogant—assumption that the race *Homo* possesses a supreme moral right to survival over lesser animal races and that the laws of evolution will go into abeyance even should our species turn its back indefinitely upon the differentia sapiens which characterizes the human(e) mutation has brought about—from many—precisely the pragmatic reaction that might have been foreseen: 'What', ask the pragmatists, 'is your answer to the immediate problem of Wildlife Conservation?' And of course the answer to that is once again that I have no answer (no pragmatic one).

Neither, be it remembered! have the pragmatists an answer. Pragmatism has never had answers: it has offered nothing, at any time, in any situation of conflict, but strictly temporary expediencies. And I am convinced that it is desperately time for mankind to return again from its growing pre-occupation with temporary expediencies to its now pretty well abandoned earlier concern with ultimate values. We re-need our Kants, today, even more than we need our Keyneses; so, let us not confine ourselves to narrower issues from a hypocritical bashfulness about sounding too lofty!

If we need pragmatists there is now more, not less, need, too, for idealists, and that is why it will never do to confuse a pragmatic solution (eg. Mr. Jonklaas' 'Since the human being should receive priority...the animals must give way') with a permanent one, a desirable one, a moral one, a scientific one, or with any other kind of 'solution' at all but an ad hoc and panic-stricken reaction to a situation of the moment. *Homo sapiens*—*sapiens*—should be capable of a more long-term and generous view. Indeed, a more realistic view.

When cooling sun  
And stone-cold world,  
Together hurled,  
Flame up as one—  
When all is fire  
And flaming air—  
What of your rare  
And high desire  
To turn the clod  
To a thing divine;  
The Earth a shrine,  
And Man the god!

Well, what of that 'high' desire? I do not know how correct the poet's vision may prove in the light of the New Astronomy; maybe we shall not flame, but freeze. But his metaphysics is unexceptionable: to make Man the god—to grant that unlimitedly he alone 'should receive the priority' is surely to have our priorities mixed! To be sure, however, he may not live to either burn or freeze; as I remarked in my earlier article, he may have long previously fought himself into extinction.

(Misunderstand me not: in using this argument I am in no way postulating or arguing the existence of God; I am using the argument metaphorically, only in order to suggest the ill-logic of replacing God by Man.)

THE FACT IS, modern man has grown too big for his boots! I wish the Man-Has-The-Priority tribe would read again (if they ever have read it) the biblical story of the Tower of Babel—Gen. 4 (11)—and consider the parable it contains. "It came to pass, as they (the human race) journeyed east...they said to one another...Go to, let us build a city and a tower (ie. a citadel, a place of impregnable refuge) whose top may reach unto heaven...lest we be scattered abroad on the face of the whole earth.' 'And they had brick for stone! and slime had they for mortar!' If the original translators had inserted the marks of exclamation I have put in—but it was a punctuation sign they, dignifiedly, never used—they might have better conveyed a sense of the hubris (the self-deluding conceit) with which the cock-a-hoop builders were swollen! 'And the Lord said, Behold...this is what they begin to do: and now nothing will be withholden from them...So the Lord scattered them abroad upon the face of all the earth!' End of the story.

Call the Lord what you like: God, or The Dialectic, or Evolutionary Re.

tribution. And categorize the story itself as you like: myth, or unconscious parable, or whatever. The simple fact is, the truth of the implied parable is irrefutable: When a species overreaches itself it proves as unfit for survival as the too recidivous dodo..or the too terrible dinosaur. Sin is the failure to evolve—for whatever reason: examination or arrogance alike—and evolution is the development of a mutant strain until the qualitative mutation takes place. Man's qualitative differentiation from the (other) animals sprang from his development of human(e)ity, and to turn his back upon that, as he now deliberately rationalizes himself into doing is to invoke disaster upon the total race.

MAYBE THE HUMAN RACE as we know it is already foredoomed and (as, I believe, Hindu thought foretells) the end of the *kali yuga*, the present Age of unreason and extravagance and holistic self-interest, of prepotency and internecinity and violence as the court of last resort, will see the emergence of a species of superman.

At all events I cannot see superman developing on the lines present-day society seems suicidally to have laid down as sufficiently human; and, while I last, it seems to me only logical to practice (as far as the vestiges of my mere animality can be lived down) those principles that distinguish me—I hope—from the ape and the tiger.

Speaking idealistically, are YOU satisfied with less as a *modus vivendi*? And why should you not speak idealistically? Belief in an ultimate good that is always beyond present reach is neither insincere nor yet 'unnatural': it is—simply—human (vs. animal). In any case it is a difficult proposition to argue that the virtue of sincerity has any great social relevance, it is a strictly private—even a selfish—virtue like, say, Hitler's.

On the other hand, an apparently unattainable ideal is the most socially relevant force of all; if by any effort or chance it becomes attained it must forthwith be replaced by another ideal beyond foreseeable grasp; else, striving—the whole evolutionary (revolution is no more than the usually unsuccessful attempt to hurry evolution) process—ceases. Nature offers extinction as the single alternative.

All these are truisms. But—to express yet another truism—every

truism enshrines a truth which, once its truthness has grown so commonplace as to pass without being duly recognized as true, requires to be re-assayed and re-asserted. Let us reassert, then, in our worldly-wise epoch, that humanity specifically requires a transcendental ideal; else it lapses as a species.

In the circumstances, to write off as inconsequential, irrelevant, 'unrealistic' or impractical the insistence upon re-establishing an indispensable and characteristic metaphysical tenor, only because it does not offer direct solutions to specific problems, is—accept the colloquialism—to buck the ultimate issue: Is man to become a better human being or merely a more powerful animal? Is he to cooperate consciously (since he alone of all beings has acquired the necessary scope of consciousness) in evolution's apparently chosen plan for him, or is he to persist in the ability dialectically bestowed upon him to contradict nature?

SOMEHOW, SOMEWHERE, in his recent evolutionary course he has got these opposite tendencies confused. For some reason, he has come to believe that to revert to animal nature—to fight for his bone as bitterly as wolf ever fought wolf; to fight for his territory; to fight physically for his mate; to strive to be top dog—is to do the natural and therefore the clear-sightedly inevitable and therefore the genuinely admirable thing. And so it would be, if nature had not obviously laboured long to differentiate him from the animal; surely it is too much for even the most materialistic to believe that all of evolution's patient selectivity over ages tended toward no nobler result than to plant an animal on the moon, to promise an animal the suns and their planets?

To be sure aggression is a part of man's psychological heritage: it did not need an Anthony Storr or a Konrad Lorenz to tell us that. But it is the animal part. We dare not ignore the complementary part, not the less psychological and 'scientific' for being—surely the word applies—also mystical that inspired the Buddha or the Christ or, in lesser men but more modern times, Dr. Jenner (offering up his son as faithfully as any Abraham) or Fr Damien (on Molokai, devoting himself to his leper flock at

the then ineluctable price of his own living death from their disease) or Captain Oates (disappearing into the antarctic blizzard with his murmured reassurance to the companions whose lives his physical weakness had been endangering: 'I may be gone some time').

Do you scoff that most of these men were men of religion? Your scoffing is prejudiced. We used to scoff that.

'after 2,000 years of Mass

'We've got as far as poison gas!' but do you ever scoff that after about 700,000 years of politics—a good deal of it: revolutionary we've got as far as the pogrom, the Class War and the trigger-happy state of the 'nuclear deterrent'!

What matters is not whether human(e)ity is 'religious' or not but whether it remains humane or not.

And yet, to sum up what I intend by humaneness—and I maintain that nothing else marks man from beast but nothing else is needed—I have to turn to a religious term to convey as accurately and briefly as possible the metaphysical attitude I seek to characterize; the term KENOSIS.

KENOSIS is by use a Christian theological term; but the concept is by no means exclusively Christian. Wherever man has looked further than his immediate personal advantage and has—of his own accord—subjugated these to a nobler and broader result the concept has been put into execution. The word signifies literally an emptying forth; and its theological 'type' is contained in the biblical reference Phil. 2(5-8). Paraphrasing the Authorized Version of the passage slightly, to illuminate nuances of meaning an context: 'Share in the spirit which inspired Jesus Christ who, though by nature divine, did not count even equality with God a privilege to be jealously clung to, but emptied himself; taking the nature of a servant born in human status, in which obediently he humbled himself to the point of dying pilloried upon a cross.' Human(e)ity could not ask for more. But it dare not be satisfied with asking for less.

Indeed personally and speaking as a priest I would go so far as it say that for every man that believes he is in fact differentiated

from animals it is essential—however frequent his failures or forced upon him by an inability (without Preventive Grace) to live down his animal tendencies—to deliberately divest himself, each time he finds the spiritual resources to do so of acquired privilege: be it status or wealth or power. This would not be hypocrisy it would be a humble act of Man-worthy discipline to 'empty himself of narrow arrogance and make himself serviceable, 'taking the nature of a servant' in a continuously expanding sphere. This would not lead to spiritual conceit; he would fail often enough to keep him humble!

Make no mistake that such 'emptying is an exercise for mystics only. The matter comes up again and again in highly practical and topical contexts. See *Harper's Magazine* for March '75. In 1973 embryologist Dr. James Watson of Harvard said a *propos* the future of his own science: 'If you can do it, you're going to do it!.. And if you do the in vitro thing (perfect the technique of raising 'test-tube babies') you can mess around with the next step, which is cloning (producing by laboratory manipulation offspring that duplicate the genetic material of only a single parent: a direct interference in the normal process of evolution itself.) And I just don't see any advantage in it. I can see an enormous amount of antiscientific feeling developing. I think it would be (my italics) a great step for the scientific community just to admit that there are some types of biology that maybe shouldn't be done. This is KENOSIS.

Perhaps there will be no true solution to Mr. Jonklaas' specific problem (of the competition between Man and Nature) until Man empties himself at least of his insolent challenge to Nature in uncontrolled artificially protected breeding! And no doubt, to find his human(e)ity fully his nobly, exclusively human endowment of humility must reach deeper and wider still: why shall we continue to pride ourselves foolishly on having turned back to primitive talents we share not only with every beast that ever walked but also with every blob of mindless protoplasm?

Be that as it may, one terrifying fact is not open to question: in taking on wild nature as his

adversary Man dooms himself. The matter is not arguable. But it is illustrable .....

Up to the mid-19th Century the island of Eiao, in the Marquesas, was a classical South Seas paradise: well wooded and prosperously populous by the standards of place and time. In 1870, an American almost needless to say! an American —attempted to raise on it a livestock farm: chickens, sheep, goats, pigs, cattle and donkeys. When the American died all the human inhabitants, having learned to depend on the kind of economy he had introduced, abandoned the place.

The starving animals stripped the island of bush; the denuded bush allowed complete erosion of the top-soil; the infertile ground rejected the sapling trees; the vanishing trees trapped less and less of any kind of moisture, even condensed mist and dew, and grass ceased grow; the standing trees themselves as they fell lay like driftwood on the dust and sand and rock the island had become. In the 1940s—a bare half-century after the beginning of the tragedy—the traveller Wilmon Menard scanned the barren heights through glasses (see *Blackwood's Magazine*, Jan. '70) for heavy seas precluded landing and saw only a few sheep and donkeys and 'wild' boar.

'Then I caught a sudden movement in a short ravine. There, a pack of wild boars had trapped some stray sheep. As I watched, I saw the savage beasts attack, breaking their legs with powerful jaws and then devouring them while they still jerked in death throes.'



K A Z I —23

## In The Amparai Area

By Anatory Bukoba  
July 10

INGINIYAGALA is a dead-end, except for one exit starting on the Senanayake Samudra tank-bund, probably the largest man-made tank in Ceylon, and going past that giant rock and mountain, Westminster Abbey, and on in the Monaragala direction. It is a rupee's journey by bus from Amparai.

The exit, I just mentioned, was closed to traffic for a while, during the April 1971 events, probably because it goes through jungle. The bund is short for so large a tank, but it looks massive as befits its size, that quantity of water that it has to hold in. The Motor Map of Ceylon, as revised in 1971, and reprinted in 1972, did not keep up with changes in these parts, already many years old. Maybe it is I, who have failed in my duty, for I have just read in a note written on it, that, the Surveyor General, Colombo, will be grateful if any errors or omissions are brought to his notice.

Two miles from Inginiyagala, on the Amparai road, is Namal Oya junction, which leads to Namal Oya, and a bus goes along it. The road continues, along an area that has been opened up, all the way to Bible on the Badull-Batticaloa road. The middle section of this road is rough, and there is a river to be forded at one place, a river which is sometimes is spate, but carts go through the ford, and carters know to an hour when the water will go down. Then all the goods are carried through the river and deposited on the other side first, while the carts are driven in empty. This has sometimes to be done at night, and not far from this river I have heard the trumpeting of elephants.

SOME OF THE NAMES, along this road, appear in Dr. R. L. Spittel's books, for it is old Veddah country. Half-way along, you can turn off to Maha Oya, a town on the Bible-Batticaloa road. The villages, abandoned or occupied, along this road, appear in Dr. Spittel's stories about the famous outlaw, Tissahamy, a story so famous, that any man bearing the name, Tissahamy, becomes a Veddah chief to journalists. The original Tissahamy was a Veddah, but no chief. In his only extant photograph, taken with Dr. Spittel, he looks Sinhalese, but his only surviving son, and his grandsons, definitely look Veddah. This road, at the end of it furthest from Maha Oya, is not much bigger than a clearly-defined foot path, and when I was deep in the jungle along this road once, I got quite a surprise when I passed a Buddhist priest and an even bigger surprise when, two minutes after passing him, I came to a swollen river, which he would have had

to ford. To cross I had to have my sarong around my neck, and, as I was alone, there was no one to see my nakedness I remembered that the monks' clothes were dry, too, and so were those of his companions. It was along this road that I probably saw my only wild buffalo. I am no climber of trees, but, when I took my eyes off him to see if there was a tree to climb, for just there, it was open country, he scampered off.

To get back to Ininiyagala and Namal Oya, and Amparai, for that matter, the country is really very hot. After all these years, since these places have been opened up, shade trees have not yet been planted along the roads. Hingurana, where the sugar factory is, is a fifty cents bus-ride from Amparai. There is another sugar factory in Kantalai, a factory not so big, and there is supposed to be yet another in Uda Walawe.

PEOPLE seem to come from all over Ceylon to work in the Amparai area. There was an Englishman who was much affected by the Tamil-Sinhalese riots as they affected Amparai at the time of the communal troubles which was I think in 1958; he threw in his hand and went home. Many years ago, it was I remember being given a lift by a Sinhalese, or even a Tamil, perhaps, along the Batticaloa coast road, and we passed an estate where the trouble started, like the murder of the Crown Prince of Austria, at Sarajevo, if I am right. This man laid the blame squarely on S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike who sparked off the bloodshed, he said by making an inflammatory speech on racial lines, I think it was on the wireless, when murder had been purely a moral or amoral affair, and had nothing to do with race. I was not in the country, and so I would not know if this was correct.

The remoteness of places around this area, and yet not remote enough to be unapproachable, isolated the people from the various currents that blew through the country, and created in them a deep fear that has been gradually lifting since 1971, the year it started. When I wrote this sentence at midnight last night I was almost asleep, and, after writing it, I wondered what it was supposed to mean, I stopped writing promptly, and I went to bed. On re-reading

it this morning, I am letting it stand, except to say this, that whatever cloud formed then, real or imaginery, has blown away at last, I hope.

Ininiyagala has probably the finest and largest tableaux of statues and pictures that there are in the country. They were made by a man of real genius, and the whole of it is out-of-down in a large circular arena, dominated by a rock and some trees, at one point of its circumference.

\* \*

## Inania of this, that and the other

### Of Box Board and Butter

By Inna

"Where will our *Mudalalis* go, Daddy, when they die?"—was an innocent question a child of seven asked its Father after a forthright conversation on this particular breed of inhuman humans, for whom petrol charges or diesel charges for lorry transport is "one per trip". That means, if one sheet of Box Board (hard type) is 1.05 cts in Colombo at the controlled price, they charge 2.50 per sheet here, and the second sheet is also 2.50. It is 3/- a sheet at l'Press, "the biggest going profiteers in the area", said a knowledgeable person in this hill-country town of which I speak. Imagine 3/- a sheet of Box Board. It looks as if the lorry that brings

this profiteer's goods up-country makes a one-board per trip. He charges so much for goods. And gets away with it, too.

When will the poor man who needs these—they are not luxury items in a country that speaks of non-formal education—get his due? When will the course of die-hards called traders come to their senses and stop making a fast buck, striking while the iron is hot, and going it while the going is good?

Then take the question of butter and Ceylon or Sri Lanka Standards. We have a right to know what goes into our butter, the real butter or the imaginary "butter". Why can't the label carry the ingredients? Isn't there an international law demanding that the ingredients be inserted in the packing? I have before me here a tissue of the right size and colour with a legend:

**Baby Brand Butter (red face of baby)**

**Substitute, artificially coloured and flavoured.**

**RG. n. 94904, approved by SISIR, MRIUC (Kotte), Distributors, Siale's Industries, Nawala Road, Rajagiriya. Hygienically prepared and guaranteed, free from animal fats, contains Vitamins A and D".**

Now that's a fast one. I have taken real butter, both local and foreign. I have taken the near-miss or hit-and-miss "butter" of the multi-national called Lever's (with its grandiose programme for its workers) a butter called Astra margarine. At least they had the candour to say "it looks like butter", but from where did this upstart

### RONNIE De MEL

IT HAS HAPPENED at last. The SLFP has sacked him. R de M, knowing the end was nigh, had his resignation ready, but propaganda-wise the SLFP has beaten him to it. R de M cannot complain. What he said in some of his recent speeches, from Dondra Head to Palmyrah Point, was too much for his Party to stomach. His enemies from the South claim that he has been making similar speeches for a long time (and some had been tape-recorded by local enthusiasts), R de M has nursed a chip on his shoulder since 1970. His friends say that this was because his talents went unrecognised in Cabinet-making. He had thereafter done everything to make his presence felt. He had hunted for illicit immigrants in the North, he had tilted to the Left and had even flirted with the Right. But his golden brains went unrecognised. The last Cabinet reshuffle was the last straw. *Adieu.*

substitute BUTTER (Butter in big letters, and substitute in small!) come?

Who authorised it? CISIR? It tastes like an amalgam of sunlight soap and rancid cream with coconut oil to good measure. Butter, I know, but substitute butter, I simply don't know. Who made it? What is it made of, if it isn't butter? Who is substituting what for what? What is this artificial colour? Is there natural colour? Is the artificial colour, Maharagama-bound, that is, is it cancerigenous? What's the flavour used? Or will the secret be out? Why is this "better butter" not advertised?

Our consumer society offers no resistance. Pummelled day in and day out with over two-hundred 'persuasions' and 'manipulations of will in the radio commercial service' we are a dead lot, accepting whatever comes, whatever is offered. And the fattener's purses fatten as they ride rough shod over the hearts of consumers. We deserve the advertising we get. We deserve the pummelling we get, or so it would seem. We are so unconcerned. When will we awake?



RANDOM THOUGHTS ON

The Way To a Socialist State

By Helen Suriyapperuma

NOTHING could be more heartening to the common man in Sri Lanka, I am sure, than the straightforward speeches of the SLFP Ministers at their rallies at Kandy and Bandarawela. At last we now know what they mean by the word "Socialism" and their concept of a "Socialist State."

The last few years the word "Marxism" must surely have bewildered many a simple man, who for the first time, with Marxist Ministers in our government, had the first taste of Marxist methods as interpreted by our own Marxists but surely not as Karl Marx preached the doctrine.

In places like public corporations, trade unions, and co-operative societies, how the Marxists tackled their jobs must surely have

bewildered the innocent non-Marxists in these work places.

Did Karl Marx preach corruption, nepotism, tuggery and intimidation to bring about a socialist state? Were these the methods used in socialist countries which have succeeded in eradicating these evils, which one was taught to believe were "pernicious capitalist failing All these years these brave men marched with their red flags and red shirts shouting their slogans and were even locked up in jail for the cause. But what happened when they were given the chance to be the ones to help bring about the much talked of socialist way of life? They certainly outdid the horrid capitalists in their own game in trying to achieve their ends. As Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike had said "For the last 15 years he had been looking around in Parliament to find one person who lived according to the tenets of Marx."

Surely they had no one but themselves to blame if people looked with amazement at their "red" Marxism. They forgot that the culture and way of life of a people is something very precious to the individual and cannot be trampled on just for the sake of the hasty ambitions of a few. The people of our country, whether a city worker or country peasant with his solid common sense cannot be misled so easily with mere slogan shouting.

EVERY PUBLIC FIGURE is the target of curiosity and his every movement, however, secret is public news sooner or later. How did our "Marxists" fare under this scrutiny?

In an interesting booklet "Bonrgeois Democracy in Theory and Practice by A. Mishin, the writer says "Today's Left-wing opportunists are doing a great deal of harm to the general democratic struggle of the proletariat. Their desire to hasten the revolution, disregarding reality, all the objective and subjective factors, only plays into the hands of the reactionaries."

The French Marxist, Comrade Jean Suret-Canale, described the left extremists in the following

words: "One of the manifestations of left wing infantilism, which tries to justify its impatience by theoretical argument, is that it does not recognise the need for a transition stage—the struggle for democracy, which is an unavoidable element in the struggle for socialism."

"The Left-wing opportunists are slandering socialist democracy, using the same arguments as the propogandamongers of capitalism. The content of the general democratic struggle depends on the specific conditions of each individual country. But in each case it includes the struggle for expanding and developing political, economic and personal rights and freedoms, for democratizing the electoral process, for broader democracy and the right to representation in parliament etc. The mass character of this general democratic struggle its organizational unity and its ideological maturity are essential to it". And these are Lenin's own words who used Marxist theories for their practical democratic struggle with such success—"All nations will arrive at socialism—this is inevitable, but all will do so in not exactly the same way, each will contribute something of its own to some form of democracy, to some variety of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the varying rate of socialist transformations in the different aspects of social life." It is not the colour of the flag or shirt or slogans shouted that matter but the honesty and sincerity of the men who will ultimately implement these words into deeds,



CROSSOVER ON OCT. 8?

IS IT NOT TRUE that R de M's break with the SLFP on October 1 has created new speculations? That the SLFP's parliamentary troubles will climax on October 8? That more SLFP MPs will get sacked or quit by that date? That one important SLFP Minister will cross over on that day? That the Janavegaya six (or seven) will join him? That others will follow suit? That R de M will cease to be an independent? That all this may be nothing more than a puff of smoke? That there cannot be smoke without a fire?

# Confidentially

## Lake House

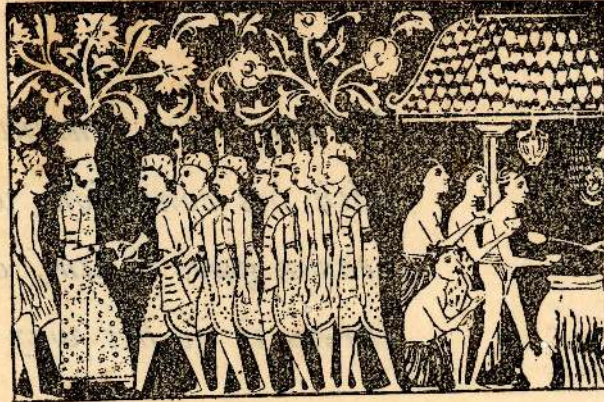
IS IT NOT TRUE that the *Daily News* has recently been out of step with realities? That during the crisis in the United Front which led to the LSSP quitting the Government this sad default had showed itself up badly? That in regard to this matter *Tribune* has on many occasions referred to the manner in which the *Daily News* (and the *Dinawina*) had sought to "manage the news" and "slant" it in a way as to give the impression that the quarrel within the UF would be patched up and that everything would be hunky-dory after that? That right to the very "last day", the *Daily News* had maintained the fiction (proclaimed very vigorously by the weekly *Janavegaya*) that all talk of the break in the UF was the work of "reactionaries" anxious to undermine and subvert the UF? That this ostrich-like hiding of the head in the sand was not able to change the course of events in the way some persons in *Lake House* had wishfully wanted? That even after the quitting of the LSSP on September 2/3, the *Daily News* continued to plug a line which was contrary to realities? That readers in the North and elsewhere, who get the early provincial edition of the *Daily News*, were told in the edition (dated September 17) that "the portfolio of Justice which is now held by Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike will be re-allotted to another member of the Cabinet"? That September 17 was the very day of the Cabinet reshuffle? That if the *Daily News*, which is part of the government's propaganda machine, could not get the real news, then something was wrong with the news-gathering of present day *Lake House*? That it will interesting to know who had fed *Daily News* with this news and why the bosses of *Lake House* had to pull out this story in the other editions? That everybody-in-the-know was aware for a few days before the reshuffle (on 17/9/75) that FRDB would definitely retain the Ministry of Justice? That there is a great deal of speculation as to how the *Daily News* came to use this story in

its provincial edition? That many think that there was wishful thinking on the part of some people who have a "pull" in *Lake House* to have the Ministry of Justice to be allocated to "another member of the Cabinet"? That some have even raised the question whether there were some who had wanted FRDB out of the Ministry of Justice? That this matter has become so intriguing because the Public Trustee, who now holds the bulk of the shares of the Associated Newspapers of Ceylon Ltd. (*Lake House*), comes within the purview and jurisdiction of the Ministry of Justice? That the Public Trustee is an official, a public servant, under this Ministry?

IS IT ALSO NOT TRUE that many knowledgeable observers believed that the continuing cold war within *Lake House* had hotted up during the UF Cabinet crisis and that the *Daily News* "faux pas" about the Ministry of Justice was just one more sign and symptom of this cold war? That even the LSSP daily *Janadina* has made reference to this cold war within *Lake House*? That inquiries reveal that this cold war is between the *Janavegaya* faction and the rest, some of whom are "pure" SLFPers (and who have succeeded in keeping some of the publications of *Lake House* out of cold war)? That, from all accounts, these pure SLFPers have found it tough going to keep afloat without contamination by the cold war? That even if they succeeded in keeping out of the cold war, the actions and diktats of cold-war-infected bosses cramped the style and manner of the SLFPers and other journalists who were keen about printing all the news fit to be printed in the best traditions of the Fourth Estate? That reports about this cold war inside *Lake House* had also reached the columns of foreign papers of international standing? That the liberal British paper *Guardian* has written about "LSSP" infiltration (meaning *Janavegaya* which loyally stuck to the LSSP to the very last) in to *Lake House*? That whispers in journalistic circles all indicate that there is total demoralisation among all categories of employees in *Lake House*? That among other matters the fact that *Lake House* missed the bus on the Cabinet crisis (whilst the tottering *Times* group was able to score many notable scoops)? That *Tribune* had over a month

ago had pointed out that *Lake House* (especially the prestigious *Daily News* was backsliding on its news reporting, by endeavouring to "slant" and "manage" the news in a partisan effort to prevent a UF breakup? That it was clear that *Observer* was finding it difficult to present the news the way a hard-boiled newspapermen would do? That in the atmosphere prevailing in the higher echelons of *Lake House* only cold war fanatics were able to have their way? That it is now hinted that even Directors are not able to stand up to this cold war? That *Tribune* had also pointed out that whilst the *Times* (under its new management) tilted heavily on to the SLFP, there was no doubt that the *Daily News* reflected LSSP and *Janavegaya* logic in the manner news was presented and managed? That what has distressed many is that the Chairman now spends only the evening hours at *Lake House* after a busy day in the Courts? That many wonder whether he has gone back to the Bar because he was sick of the way things were going on in *Lake House*? That at the start (of his three-year term which will end soon) he had been a full time Chairman and had stopped going to the Courts to practice his profession? That in more recent times he has drifted back to the Courts? That it is only after the work in the Courts was over that he switched to *Lake House*? That an institution like *Lake House* needed a full-time chairman? That another working Director has gone on sick leave? That many wonder whether he is really sick or whether he got sick of things? That a third working Director spends most of his time in his private firm and like the Chairman spends only a few hours at *Lake House*? That the other two Directors are non-working Directors? That the upshot of all this is that the affairs of *Lake House* are in the hands of part time Directors (although they are expected to work full time)? That the one working Director, who really worked full time, has reported sick? That *Lake House* is now a public institution and it is essential that something must be done to save this mighty newspaper organisation before it is too late? That it can no longer be left to the tender mercies of cold war fanatics?

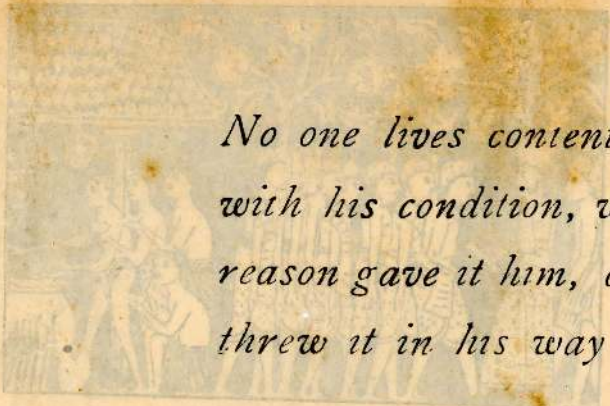




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