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CEYLON NEWS REVIEW

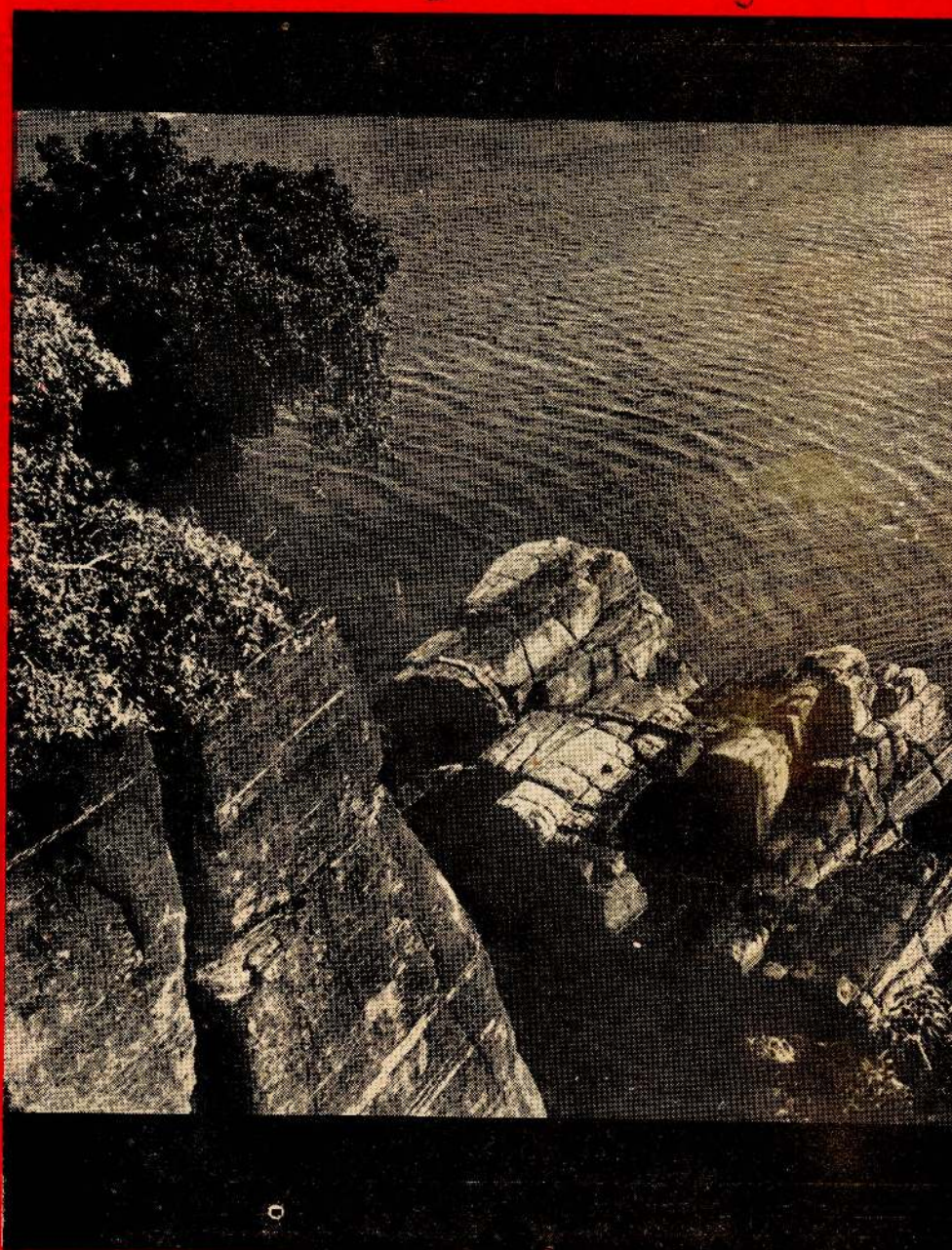
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WITH COMPLIMENTS

C. V. BHATT

- ★ Bank Strike
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IN SRI LANKA, the bank strike has now passed the one month mark, with the Government showing a rare determination to compel the strikers to surrender on terms which would be tantamount to a total and complete defeat of the Union. The Government does not want to negotiate whilst the strike was on, and even

after the repeated failure of all efforts of the Ministry of Finance and the LSSP to break the strike by recruiting new hands and also by issuing an LSSP-backed-call for all "socialists" to return to work, Government sources continue to issue *threats* through obviously-inspired press leakages that probationers would not be taken back after the strike and that all other hands would be treated as raw probationers forfeiting all earlier privileges, rights and the like they had secured, or had become entitled to, owing to length of service.

This strike is a direct confrontation mainly between the LSSP and the Bank Employees Union, and there is no doubt that this has led to a great deal of disillusionment about the leftwing and trade union movement among the general public. The common man does not see much reason for the strike. They feel that the bank clerks are unreasonable in the demands they are making. But at the same time there is a sneaking sympathy for the strikers for standing up to the Government which has brought not merely increased living costs

but also greater unemployment. This is only one aspect of the problem. The impact of the attitude taken by the LSSP and by the Government *vis a vis* the strike has set in motion a sense of great bewilderment in left and progressive circles—bewilderment not caused by UNP's reactionary propaganda but which has inevitably flowed from the clash between the LSSP and the Bank Clerks Union.

The LSSP continues to maintain that the bank strike was a reactionary plot to topple the Government. SLFP sources have been generally silent about the motivation or the dynamics of the strike. The CP on the other hand has urged the Government to take positive steps to settle the strike and has condemned all the steps taken to break the strike. The Staff Officers Unions of the two state banks had urged the PM to intervene in the matter, but she has so far not shown any inclination to do so—she wants the strike called off before she will initiate any talks. Press reports indicate that influential circles in Government hold the view that any move to settle the strike should be postponed until the return to the island of Dr. N. M. Perera, the Minister of Finance. In the meantime, all the commercial banks are providing a limited service to its customers to transact business.

On September 26, Bandaranaike Anniversary was commemorated with all-island pansil,

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pinkamas, shramadana and public meetings. The daily newspapers brought out special supplements, but the most significant development was the fact that Anura Bandaranaike, son of the late Premier, made it clear that he had entered the political life of this country. He had in recent weeks been making stirring speeches sharply critical of certain elements in the Government. Towards the end of August he had made a speech at Nittambuwa in which he had criticised the Government for its acts of commission and omission and had gone so far as to say that he was not going to say "yes" to everything the Government did simply because his mother was the Prime Minister. It was a devastating speech, and it was published at some length in the *Times* group papers as well as in the *Dawasa* group papers. The UNP had proclaimed that it would reprint this speech and distribute the same in the four electorates where by-elections were due on October 9.

Anura gave a sharp retort to the UNP at another meeting on September 3 at Magalagoda in the Attanagala electorate. He is reported to have said: "... The UNP I understand is happy about the speech I made sometime ago at Nittambuwa criticising the Government. They are also wanting to print this speech of mine and circulate it during the next by-elections, I am told. This shows how foolish the UNP is. Even though I

criticised the Government, the blame should fall squarely on the UNP for not solving any of the pressing problems during their term of office...." Mr. Bandaranaike then went on to say "... there are certain reactionary elements in the ranks of the government. If the Government is to successfully implement its socialist program fully, the ranks must be cleansed of these elements. There was a widening gap between the Government and the youth of the country and steps should be taken to bridge the gap...."

The SLFP should be given a new socialist outlook. This should be done by solving the burning problems of the masses. Mr. Bandaranaike continued: "The reactionaries are still in the Government. They obstruct the socialist programme. The Government's work programme has been unexpectedly paralysed as a result. This state of affairs should end immediately. The Government should be cleansed forthwith and the oppressed and depressed masses should be served.

"The Prime Minister is quite anxious to achieve socialism and there is not the slightest doubt about that. That is why she is giving over 1300 acres owned by her in terms of the Land Reform Bill. I am proud to state that she is prepared to sacrifice every inch of her land for the sake of the people of this country.

"She is determined to continue the socialist programme

envisaged by the late Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike. Several other progressive Bills will be introduced to provide redress to the poor. But the Government must be cautious of certain persons within the Government itself who try to thwart those progressive measures. The late Prime Minister laid the foundation for socialism in 1956. It is the primary duty of all who possess progressive ideas to build socialism upon that foundation. It is deplorable that certain elements are attempting to re-establish reaction by abusing the Bandaranaike name.

"I state without fear that there are people within this Government who are opposed to Socialism. They speak of Socialism but do something else. All such elements would be expelled and the promises and pledges given to the people should be fulfilled to the last letter"

But it was in an article in the Sunday *Lankadipa* of September 24 that Mr. Anura Bandaranaike set out more fully what he felt on many topical questions. We reproduce below the *Ceylon Daily Mirror* version of the *Lankadipa* article. It was obvious to most observers of the local scene that this article had pointed barbs at certain leading politicians. This is how the *Daily Mirror* reported the speech: "On behalf of the people of the country, I appeal to those in power not to exploit the Bandaranaike name

to secure high office and other benefits but to use it to render honest service to the nation. This is the appeal of Mr. Anura Bandaranaike, in an article published yesterday in our sister paper, the '*Sri Lankadeepa*.' Mr. Bandaranaike further points out that people would not be suffering today, if those who chanted the 'Bandaranaike name' as a 'manthram' to come to power had only implemented the Bandaranaike policies after they assumed office. Mr. Bandaranaike regrets that the name 'Bandaranaike' had been used by some people as a "commercial catch word" and confined only to political platforms to secure power and lead luxurious and indolent lives.

Recalling the words "the prime duty of man is service to mankind" which his father wrote in his autograph thirteen years ago. He maintains that if those who use the Bandaranaike name wanted the blessing of the people, they should try to serve the people like the late Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike. It is important, he writes, for those living in air-conditioned mansions to come down from their ivory towers, mix with the people, and thereby come to realise their sufferings and aspirations. Mr. Bandaranaike further observes. "At a time when the country is waging an economic war and the nation is struggling to extricate itself from an economic morass, it is a pity to note that some people are engaged

in holding political tamashas to fete persons who are supposed to have completed 25 years, 35 years or 45 years in service to the people".

Mr. Bandaranaike adds that if these persons had rendered genuine service to the people, such services would be embedded in the minds of the people for ever like letters engraved on stone and there is no need to hold tamashas to remind them. Is it not an insult to the intelligence of the oppressed masses of this country for these persons to go all over the island participating in such tamashas " he asks.

He states that Aladdin secured whatever he wanted by rubbing the lamp and this habit has been acquired by some members of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party too. Persons who got stranded in the political arena begin to recite 'the name of Bandaranaike, Bandaranaike policies', etc and whenever they chanted this "Bandaranaike manthram" the people gave them a mandate.

Up to now, there had been two occasions on which this mandate had been given. But it would be pertinent says Mr. Bandaranaike to pause at this stage and ascertain to what extent his father's policies had been implemented.

"We have now been given a mandate for the third time. But I however, doubt whether with this mentality of Aladdin and his wonderful lamp still prevailing any useful results

would be achieved with regard to the present state of affairs.

Mr. Anura Bandaranaike's appeal was mainly directed to the dissident youth. This was an undoubted attempt to bridge the gap between the Government and the angry youth of this country. He blamed the "reactionaries" inside the SLFP and the UF for the credibility gap which had began to envelope the Government.

This article came as a "shocker" to many people. Two

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SLFP parliamentarians and one CP parliamentarian had in recent times celebrated their 25th anniversary of their entry into parliamentary politics. Minister T.B. Illangaratne had celebrated his anniversary about three months ago, but Mr. Maithripala Senanayake had started his celebrations on September 13 and Mr. Pieter Keuneman on September 20. Apart from castigating those who were celebrating anniversaries, he also directed some well aimed shots at people who used the "Bandaranaike" name and only one politician has in contemporary times adopted the Bandaranaike name in addition to his own. It was a broad sweep, and if one left CP's Mr. Keuneman out Mr. Anura Bandaranaike's broadside fell squarely on some of the immediate and future contenders for the post of Prime Minister. Mr. Anura Bandaranaike has thus given a clear indication of his intentions

Whilst the Finance Minister was busy pleading Ceylon's case before the Commonwealth Finance Ministers and the World Bank, there was a daring jail break at Anuradhapura on the night of September 28 and in the early hours of the morning of September 29. It was not an ordinary jail-break: It was an assault on the jail by a professionally adept armed band to rescue a group of insurgents kept in detention. The *Times of Ceylon* of September 29 under the banner headlines DARING 1.30 A.M. ATTA-

CK ON A'PURA JAIL: GUNS, HAND-BOMBS, IN HOUR-LONG BATTLE: 35 PRISONERS ESCAPE reported that. "THE ANURADHA PURA jail was attacked at 1.30 this morning by about 25 young persons dressed in blue slacks and armed with shot guns, hand-bombs and hatchets and 32 suspect insurgents were set free.

"One of them was later recaptured by a Prison Guard. According to reports reaching Colombo this morning the operation to release the 35 suspect insurgents took only seven minutes.

"The attackers used a rope ladder to scale the prison wall and they over-powered the prison officials and demanded the keys to the prison wards. When the keys were refused the wooden door leading to the wards of the cells was hacked open with a hatchet and the 35 prisoners were released. One policeman was shot in the gun battle which lasted for nearly an hour, after the 35 insurgent suspects were set free. The attackers had exploded hand bombs and used shot guns to confuse the guards at the time of the attack

At 7.30 this morning the Commissioner of Prisons, Mr. A. A. de Silva accompanied by the Army Commander, Major-General Sepala Attygalle flew to Anuradhapura to hold an on the spot inquiry."

The *Times* also published a note from its Anuradhapura

correspondent. It read: "Our Anuradhapura correspondent states About midnight a gang of nearly fifty men armed with shot guns and hand bombs came near the prison gates and challenged police sentries asking them to surrender as the gang claimed they had already captured the police station. The gang had blocked the road to the prison on both sides with old tyres and other debris and set fire to rubbish they had heaped. They threw bombs and fired at police sentries.

"The Police opened fire. While the battle was on, some jail guards on duty with the police had fled. In the meantime from inside the Prison, thirtyfive prisoners scaled the wall by means of an improvised ladder made of ropes and escaped.

"Of the thirtyfive, two are said to be top criminals serving sentences and others are alleged insurgents. Of this only one escapee has been arrested. Two police constables have sustained minor injuries by gun shot fire."

The *Observe* of September 29 also had a banner headline (much smaller than that of the *Times*), but next morning the *Daily News*, the *Sun*, and the *Daily Mirror* reported the assault on the jail under very sober headlines in an obvious effort to play down this incident. The Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation did not report this incident on its news. It is understandable that the Government should want to play down this episode, but

unless the SLBC reports incidents like this, which receive wide publicity in the papers and in in ta-aar-gossip, the creditably gap which already exists in the public mind about our State-run Radio will grow wider and wider every day. But, the newspapers had another incident to draw an excuse for a red herring: on the afternoon of September 29 a bomb was flung at a murder suspect while in fiscal custody just outside the Magistrate's Court in Hultsdorp. It was part of gangland's war from Wattala-Hendala as carried to the very doorstep of our major institutions of law enforcement. It is certainly not wise to over-dramatise acts of violence, and the restraint which the daily papers have now begun to show in these matters is an index of the concern responsible quarters have developed to the growing violence and law breaking in this country.

IN THE WORLD OUTSIDE, violence continues to grow apace: Violence has reared its head in many new places. Vietnam and the Middle East are chronic theatres of violence. The Letter-bomb now carries violence and war to every nook and corner of the world and into every home and office through the post. The Munich terror by the Arab commandos and the savage Israeli reprisals in Lebanon and Syria have brought new tension to a world which was hoping that the *detente* between

the big powers will spread on ever-widning basis. In East Africa, the military confrontation between Ugandan exiles and President Amin's superior forces nearly triggered local war between Uganda and Tanzania. Libya jumped into the fray with gay abandon, but Sudan endeavoured to defuse the Libyan intervention by grounding and returning five Libyan planes carrying arms and troops to Uganda. This has brought a rift between Sudan and other Arab countries like Egypt and Libya. But Col. Gaddafi insists on being a crusader and his troops are now fighting with Amin's forces inside Tanzania — having obviously reached Uganda by longer and more devious routes rather than the short hop across Sudan. The Organisation of African Unity (OAU) endeavouring to bring peace between Uganda and Tanzania whilst the airlift of Uganda Asians has begun on a massive scale. The British Foreign Secretary has made it clear that it would not be physically possible to keep to Amin's deadline of airlifting the 85,000 Asians and hoped that the Ugandan President would extend the deadline. In the meantime, Amin's strong arm tactics are helping to maintain some semblance of law and order in troubled Uganda, torn by tribal tensions and quarrels.

The American elections have begun to hot up, but Nixon seems to have a lead which McGovern is not likely to re-

duce: especially because his wavering and vacillating statements and actions seems to take him two steps back for every step he attempts to take forward. In the meantime, Nixon is taking an aggressively positive attitude towards achieving some kind of truce and peace in Vietnam before the end of October. He has already concluded a big trade deal with Russia while at the same time he has arranged for US wheat to be shipped to China as a precursor to a bigger trade agreement.

But the news of the month is the visit of the Japanese Prime Minister to Peking starting from September 25 and ending on September 30. In this short period Tanaka expressed regrets for what the Japanese Army had done to the Chinese from the beginning of this century (from 1894 to be exact), and with the expression of sorrow, Peking has waived all claims for reparations for war damages — and thus begin a new chapter in Sino-Japanese history.

Mr. Kakuei Tanaka the Japanese Prime Minister, arrived in Peking on September 25 and at a banquet the same evening he set the ball rolling for a Sino-Jap rapprochement. But it was Prime Minister Chou En lai who, in his opening speech, had paved the way for the Tanaka "sorrow" at what the Jap Army had done in China. This is what the Chinese Prime Minister had said:

"...Prime Minister Tanaka's visit to China opens a new page in the history of Sino-Japanese relations. Friendly contacts and cultural exchanges between our two countries have a history of two thousand years, and our two peoples have forged a profound friendship; all this we should treasure. However, in the half-century after 1894, owing to the Japanese militarists' aggression against China, the Chinese people were made to endure tremendous disasters and the Japanese people, too, suffered a great deal from it. The past not forgotten is a guide for the future. We should firmly bear the experience and the lesson in mind. Following Chairman Mao Tsetung's teachings, the Chinese people make a strict distinction between the very few militarists and broad masses of the Japanese people. Therefore, since the founding of the People's Republic of China although the state of war between the two countries has not been declared terminated, friendly, contacts and trade relations between the Chinese and Japanese peoples have continuously developed instead of being interrupted. In the past few years, the number of Japanese friends visiting China each year exceeded the number of friends from other countries and the volume of China's trade with Japan based on equality and mutual benefit surpassed that with other countries. This has created favourable conditions for the normalization of Sino-Japanese relations..."

The Japanese Prime Minister had responded to this in a way that paved the way for the normalisation of relations. This is what Mr. Tanaka had said:

"...I flew non-stop from Tokyo to Peking on this trip. It makes me once again deeply aware that Japan and China are close neighbours with only a strip of water in between. The two countries are not only so close to each other geographically, but have a history of 2,000 years of rich and varied ties. However, it is regretful that for several decades in the past the relations between Japan and China had unfortunate experiences. During that time our country gave great troubles to the Chinese people for which I once again make profound self-examination. After World War II the relations between Japan and China remained in an abnormal and unnatural state. We cannot but frankly admit this historical fact.

"But we should not forever linger in the dim blind alley of the past. In my opinion, it is important now for the leaders of Japan and China to confer in the interest of tomorrow. That is to say, to conduct frank and sincere talks for the common goal of peace and prosperity in Asia and in the world as a whole. It is precious for that goal that I have come here. We hope that we can establish friendly and good-neighbourly relations with great China and its people and that the two countries will on the

one hand respect each other's relations with its friendly countries and on the other make contributions to peace and prosperity in Asia and in the world at large.

"It goes without saying that Japan and China have different political convictions and social systems. Yet, I think, in spite of all this, it is possible for Japan and China to establish good-neighbourly and friendly relations and, on the basis of equality and mutual benefit, strengthen contacts, respect each other's stand and carry out cooperation.

The normalization of relations is absolutely necessary to the establishment of good-neighbourly and friendly relations between Japan and China on a solid basis. Of course, the two sides have their own basic positions and peculiar conditions. But despite the fact that some minor differences exist between the positions and views of the two sides, I believe it is possible for Japan and China to overcome their divergence of views and reach agreement in the spirit of seeking common ground on major questions and of mutual understanding and mutual accommodation. I am willing to accomplish this important task and take a new step forward along the road of long-standing Japan-China friendship..."

After this exchange of "friendly sentiments" in public speeches (evidently all this had been negotiated earlier in the private and diplomatic talks

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AS OTHERS SEE US — I

The New Constitution

by Dr. LUCY M. JACOB
University of Rajasthan

WITH the inauguration of the new Constitution on May 22, 1972, Sri Lanka became a free, sovereign and independent republic. Though she achieved independence as a dominion within the British Commonwealth on February 4, 1949, she did not punctuate her independence by framing a new constitution but continued to be governed by the Soulbury Constitution of 1946 drawn in Westminster, owing allegiance to the Crown. However, the efficacy and suitability of the Soulbury Constitution began to be questioned from the early 'fifties, particularly by the Leftists who advocated the scrapping of the colonial Constitution and the formation of a Constituent Assembly to frame a new one.

After 1956, many attempts were made to revise the Constitution from within by way of amendments, but till 1970 nothing substantial towards the amendment of the constitution could be achieved as no Government could command two-thirds majority in the Parliament.

In 1970, however, the joint election manifesto of the UF asked the voters "to permit the

Members of Parliament to function simultaneously as a Constituent Assembly to draft, adopt, and operate a new constitution which would declare Ceylon a free, sovereign and independent Republic." It was in terms of this mandate that a Constituent Assembly which derived its authority from the people of Sri Lanka was convened by the Prime Minister, Mrs Bandaranaike, on July 19, 1970, and on the first resolution regarding the aims and objectives of the new Constitution, she succeeded in evoking consensus as was evident from the unanimous adoption of this resolution. This unanimity, however, could not be maintained when the details of the Constitution were spelt out at various stages. By July 1971, the Tamil Federal Party, the most important regional party in the North, had decided to walk out of the Assembly and at many stages the major opposition party, the United National Party, expressed its resentment at the undue haste with which the Government, with a steam-roller majority of 116 members in an elected House of 151, was pushing it through.

THE CONSTITUTION as framed after the Constituent

Assembly's sitting for 44 days stretched over 21 months, is not a consensus document; it fails to carry with it the representation of almost half of the total electorate. The Sinhalese based UNP, which secured about 38 per cent of the total votes polled, refused to bless the Constitution. The Tamil Federal Party which had initially participated in the deliberation of the Constituent Assembly had withdrawn from it when its amendment to the Government's resolution seeking parity for Tamils with Sinhala, was defeated by a large majority in the Constituent Assembly. The Tamil Congress which had extended its support to the Government throughout the deliberations of the Constituent Assembly voted against the adoption of the final draft of the Constitution. On the promulgation of the Constitution, both the Tamil parties which accounted for about 7 per cent of the votes polled in the last general election, boycotted the election on the plea that it does not provide adequate safeguards for the use of Tamil. Notwithstanding its failure to evolve consensus on certain basic issues, the new Constitution contains certain very radical features and is a major departure from the old Constitution in many respects.

To begin with, unlike the earlier bicameral legislature, the new Constitution provides for a unicameral one, styled as the National State Assembly which is "the supreme instrument of

the state power". It will be even more powerful than the Constitution in the sense that it will have the power to amend the Constitution any time though in accordance with the procedure laid down in it. Another difference that arises from the above is that unlike the Privy Council which was vested with the authority to look into the validity of the laws passed by Sri Lanka's Parliament no court administering justice under the new Constitution shall have the power to enquire into or pronounce upon the validity of any law enacted by the National State Assembly.

A HEREDITARY MONARCH as the head of State has been replaced by a nominated President for a term of 4 years by the new Constitution. Finally, the Soulbury Constitution contained nothing corresponding to the Fundamental Rights and Freedom, and Principles of State Policy which are provided in the new Constitution.

Some of the special features of the Constitution of Sri Lanka are: A nominated president, a very powerful Prime Minister, supremacy of National State Assembly, a Constitutional Court, pride of place given to Buddhism, official status to Sinhala and non-justiciable Fundamental Rights without right to private property.

"The extent to which the Prime Minister and the Cabinet are powerful under the Constitution is evident from analysis of the inter-relations

between the executive, judiciary, and legislature"

Under the new Constitution the Prime Minister has been made such a powerful figure that no parallel can be found in any other parliamentary form of government. The extent to which the Prime Minister and the Cabinet are powerful under the Constitution is evident from an analysis of the inter-relations between the executive, judiciary, and legislature. Thus, as regards the head of the state, not only is he the choice of the Prime Minister but is also removable on the determination by the Prime Minister that the President is incapable of performing the functions of his office by reason of mental or physical infirmity, or on a resolution of no-confidence against the President passed by a majority of the National State Assembly on the proposal of the Prime Minister.

In almost all parliamentary forms of government, a Council of Ministers is provided to aid and advise the constitutional head in the exercise of his functions. But it is essentially the Cabinet, an inner body of the Council of Ministers, which is the pivot of administration. But the new Constitution of Sri Lanka has provided not a Council of Ministers, but a Cabinet of Ministers, not to aid and advise the President, but charged with the direction and control of the Government. The Cabinet is entrusted with unusual powers also. It is responsible for the appointment

transfer, dismissal, and disciplinary control of all state officers and its recommendation, order or decision cannot be questioned by any institution administering justice. This gives the Cabinet, of which the Prime Minister has been traditionally the *primus inter pares*, control over all state officers including the judges.

UNDERLINING; the supreme power of the Cabinet is the fact that all institutions for administration of justice are created by the National State Assembly and the judges are appointed by the Cabinet of Ministers on the recommendation of the Judicial Services Advisory Board. The power to remove judges is also vested in the National State Assembly by the fact that the President removes the judges on an address of the National State Assembly. So the cardinal principle of the separation of powers has not been applied even to the judiciary.

Unlike in India or the USA, where the judiciary is vested with the power of judicial review i.e., to enquire into the validity of legislation passed by the their respective legislatures, in Sri Lanka this power is vested in a special Constitutional Court created for the purpose. Comprised by the five members appointed by the President, the scope of the Constitutional Court is also circumscribed by the power vested in the National State Assembly to pass a law which may have been declared

inconsistent with the Constitution by the Constitutional Court, with the special majority required for the amendment of the constitution. Thus, in effect, the Constitutional Court is a whip in the hand of the National State Assembly.

In contrast to the autonomous Public Service Commission that prevailed under the Soulbury Constitution, the new Constitution has provided a three-member State Services Advisory Board appointed by the President for a term of four years to advise the Cabinet of Ministers in matters of appointment, transfers, promotions etc., of the state officers. But again, the Cabinet is at liberty not to abide by the recommendations of the Board provided it offers an explanation to the National State Assembly. Here again, the Constitution has, in effect, left enough scope for politicalisation of bureaucracy.

"... the Constitution in its present form has denied many features that go to make a parliamentary system and the realisation of democratic values."

THE NEW CONSTITUTION also contains a chapter on the non-justiciable Principles of State Policy, similar to those in the Indian Constitution, which would form the guidelines for future Governments. The special mention of "group rights" and specific mention of 'the development of collective forms of property such as state property or co-operative property in the means of produ-

ction, distribution, and exchange as means of ending exploitation of man by man" reflect the unmistakable socialistic imprint of the left-oriented UF led by Mrs Bandaranaike.

The language and the religion of the Majority community have found a special place in the Constitution. While Sinhala is made the special language, Buddhism occupies the foremost place in the Constitution. With Buddhism occupying the 'foremost place' with the responsibility cast on the State to protect and foster it, it becomes quite clear that followers of other religions such as Hindus, Christians, Muslims, and others cannot claim state protection and state help as a matter of Constitutional rights, thought their survival is ensured in the Fundamental Rights Chapter. Although Buddhism will not be the State religion as such, it will more or less enjoy that status in practice. In this respect Sri Lanka is neither a secular State like India nor a religious State like some of the Muslim countries.

In sum, the new Constitution of the Republic of Sri Lanka is an experiment in a new pattern of democratic set-up with a socialist content and a religious background. But it will be so because the ruling UF headed by Mrs Bandaranaike is a coalition of the SLFP, the Trotskyite LSSP and the CP (Moscow). While the right wing of the SLFP has sought to preserve the basic features of a parliamentary democracy

in the framework, the LSSP and CP have contributed the socialist content and the Buddhist enthusiasts of the SLFP are responsible for its religious orientation. While it retains the Parliamentary democratic pattern of the West with a constitutional head, periodical general elections and the choice of a Prime Minister by the President, from a party commanding a majority in the elected Assembly, it also contains such provisions for realisation of socialist democracy, like Fundamental Rights minus the right to private property, realisation of group rights, and the elimination of economic and social privileges.

IT MAY BE NOTED however, that the Constitution in its present form has denied many features that go to make a parliamentary system and the realisation of democratic values. To illustrate, by conferring the unprecedented and sweeping powers — legislative, executive and judicial — on the National Assembly the new Constitution demonstrates to the world at large that Sri Lanka is aiming to preserve the sovereignty of her people. But one cannot overlook the fact that the powers of the Assembly are exercised by the Prime Minister and her Cabinet. As such, in the absence of vital checks and balances, and in view of the untrammelled powers which the executive enjoys under the new Constitution, some commentators apprehend that this might lead to a "legalised authoritarianism".

AS OTHER SEE US—2

Crisis of Consensus

by URMILA PHADNIS
Jawaharlal Nehru University

TWO YEARS ago when the United Front, comprising of the democratic socialist Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP), the Trotskyite Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP) and the Moscow-oriented Communist Party (CP) came to power with an overwhelming electoral support and a two-thirds majority in the Parliament, there was jubilation in Left circles not only in Sri Lanka, but also abroad. The ideological dominance of the Left in the Government was seen as an opportunity to bring about socialism through Parliamentary democracy in a developing country. It was also seen as a challenge to the leadership to evolve and implement appropriate policies synthesising the twin objectives of social justice and economic growth on the base of what was essentially a colonial economic structure.

As it happened, however, in less than a year, the UF Government headed by Sirimavo Bandaranaike, the SLFP leader found itself confronted with a profound crisis of Left consensus. A large segment of the Sinhalese youth, largely responsible for a massive majority of the UF, questioned the Left moorings of the coalition and

its ability to bring about institutional changes consistent with the spirit of socialism in Sri Lanka's society.

Reopening virtually a dead controversy in the Left circles, whether it was possible to bring about peaceful transformation through the well-ordered means available in a parliamentary democracy, this segment of the local youth staged an insurrection which well nigh paralysed the Government's capability for working for socialist reconstruction as it had, indeed, pledged in its electoral programme. The struggle for sheer survival in power assumed an overriding priority.

To be sure, the UF Government not only managed to survive the insurrection, but also implemented one of its major electoral promises of a new republican constitution pledging in its preamble to realise the objectives of the socialist democracy. The promulgation of the Constitution on May 22 gives the Government a lease for two more years in addition to the five-year term to which they were entitled under the old constitution.

Looking ahead, it is easy enough to foresee the demands

that the Government would be called upon to meet if the country is not to continue to live in a state of emergency in which it was plunged following the insurrection. First and foremost, it would seem that the coalition would need to establish a rapport with the masses which was rudely shattered by the action the Government had to take against the insurgents. The fact that nearly all the insurrectionists belonged to the age group 14-30, indicates that the political infra-structure of the parties of the coalition has been seriously eroded, virtually denying them the dynamic youth element, the pride of these parties, which all along had spear-headed the initiative for popular support.

CLOSELY LINKED with this problem is the equally serious question of the ideological credibility of the parties which has been thrown into doubt by the revolt of the relatively underprivileged rural sections of the society against a socialist coalition. The Left leadership in the coalition is, as a consequence, confronted with an 'emerging' elite contending for power with the 'established' elite.

The clue to this situation lies largely in the pattern of political evolution in the island since 1931 when universal adult franchise was introduced with a measure of autonomous power to the indigenous leadership. Unlike in other colonial countries, independence

was virtually widening the scope of this autonomy and deepening its content. Qualitatively speaking, the difference was the exposure of Government to the direct and unfettered impact of the electorate.

The present party system in Sri Lanka, which under the circumstances was in effect the evolution of a pattern conditioned by universal adult franchise over the last 40 years or so, seems to have undergone three phases. If the first phase connoted a multi-party-group system, the second phase, beginning with the election of 1956 could be designated as that of two major parties system. The final phase, beginning after the election of 1970, heralded the era of one party dominance (formerly operating as one of the two major parties).

Be that as it may, the UNP rule, spread over the first eight years of independence, fostered to a considerable extent the consensus as it had evolved under the colonial rule. Emphasis on the efficiency of administration, maintenance of law and order and nurturing of the secular as well as welfare organisations of the State were some of its noteworthy features. It might be mentioned that the Welfare State concept—an ultra-modern idiom—fitted in comfortably with the traditional idiom of “service to King” and the consequent paternalistic duties which the King had toward his subjects.

The SLFP era (1956-64) ordered a different set of consen-

sus which, instead of underlining the cold efficiency of the bureaucracy, emphasised on the democratized and committed character of the ‘steel framework’. In the welfare orientation of the State it was its socialist content which was underlined and the rights as well as the dignity of the common man underscored.

THE TWO—TERM cycle of the UNP and the SLFP coalitions, as parties in governance and opposition alternately, facilitated the widening of inter-party consensus areas and blunting of dissentient elements. At times the compulsions of continuity in ‘ruling’ demanded it and, at others, it was dictated by the expediency of scarce resources of the society. The two major-parties system, thus, tended to provide a competitive front, but consensual substance to politics.

One of its manifestations was the relative ease with which coalition governments functioned. Unlike in India, the coalition governments in Sri Lanka connoted aggregation and not fragmentation of its politics. Underlying its operation was a competitive consensus which evolved out of a tenuous process of conflict, bargaining, and accommodation. In this process, majority of the party elites irrespective of their ideological affiliations pursued ‘consensual styles’ which, notwithstanding different shades seemed to be the dominant style for facing basic issues.

The first phase, beginning with the founding of the then Ceylon National Congress, was marked by a medley of political groups, most of whom were highly personalised and could be termed as ‘notable’ parties, with the notables marshalling popular support vertically with the local societies organised and integrated by rank, mutual dependence and the legitimacy of traditional authority. This pattern, casually made for a patron-client relationship between the electorate and the elected, was rooted in the feudal morass with social obligation as a manifestation of deference to traditional authority structures and the duties flowing from such a relationship. This type of electoral link of local men with ‘vote banks’ provided the support structure of the United National Party in its initial phase when it was brought into being in 1947 as a coalition of various groups and personalities.

AN EXCEPTION to this pattern of political mobilisation was that of the Left parties like the Lanka Sama Samaj Party and the Communist Party which, unlike other parties and groups, had an organisation and an ideology and which attempted to mobilise popular support horizontally cutting across vertical solidarities. However, its fragmentation leading to the emergence of many “personality Parties”, robbed it of an impact which it would otherwise have made on the political system.

"The crisis of consensus in the politics of Sri Lanka thus brings to the fore the pertinent issue of its 'extent' to keep the system operative and the sustenance of its credibility"

The party system as it evolved during its second phase i.e., 1956—70 was neither a dominant party system of the Indian variety, nor a bi-party system, nor a multi-party system of the French variety. It emerged as a system with two major parties with the SLFP and the UNP having an almost equally strong support base and virtually all the minor parties aligning themselves with one or the other of the major two. Underlying this evolution, were several factors such as the relative homogeneity of its social organisation, a successful projection of the SLFP image as a 'movement' party in 1955-56, the electoral laws and a fairly consistent electoral alliance pattern between the major and minor parties.

IF AN OPEN disagreement was made on a particular subject, everyone knew by and large, the limits and scope of such disagreements. Issues like minority rights and strategies for economic growth did evoke sharp differences amongst various parties but on several other issues, an overall consensus seemed to prevail. One such issue was the faith in the efficacy of the parliamentary framework which had LSSP leader, Dr N. M. Perera, as one of its most vocal exponents.

Curiously enough, this assertion of Dr Perera's faith was a reaction to Shanmughathanan SLFP leader, Felix R. Dias Bandaranaike's statement that a 'little bit' of totalitarianism was good for Sri Lanka. An even more striking evidence of such a consensus among the elite was that the CP (Peking wing) leader, Shanmughathanan, called upon his 'comrades' to make their votes 'invalid' in 1970 elections, on the plea that they had no faith in the efficacy of the parliamentary system. Thus, even the Peking wing leader, an ultraradical then, decided to register his protest against the parliamentary framework in a constitutional manner, as was ordained in the framework itself.

Along with the faith in the efficacy of the parliamentary system lay the consensus on the part of the party elites to ensure a socialist democracy. Here was a close relationship between the strength of consensus and levels of performance. Thus far there had been some sort of a balance between the 'distribution of perceptions in regard to the system's efficacy and the distribution of expectations from the system', the authority of the party system being legitimised by the people. Such a balance, however, was upset by (a) the progressive expansion of the social base of the political parties and the generation of a large number of demands from there; (b) the failure on the part of the 'Left establishment' to keep up their Left

image intact in their style of living and in their mode of contacts with their 'comrades' (c) the 'routinisation of revolution'. Such a state was reached when the Left parties, as partners in power almost failed to act demonstrably to foster economic growth and social justice.

This is not to minimize the formidable difficulties bedeviling a consumption-oriented economy surviving on the import of even essential commodities and dependent on the fluctuation of international prices of primary export products.

Aggravating the situation is the heavy commitments to the welfare sector, which leaves a relatively small scope for budgetary savings. In the absence of industrialisation, surpluses that could be expected of increased productivity as a consequence of welfare measures do not warrant an investment of this magnitude.

THE EXPERIENCE of the present Government was none too happy in this regard, despite its two-thirds majority when Finance Minister, N.M. Perera, tried to tackle the issue in a different way. In his budget of 1971-72, the Trotskyite Finance Minister proposed an increase in the rationed prices of bread and flour and a cut in the supply of sugar on ration price. These proposals almost instantaneously provoked a revolt from the back benches, majority of whom demanded a free vote on the issue as they would not be able to face

their electorate if such an increase in the prices of flour and bread was not withdrawn.

Underlying the revolt of the back-benchers lay an undercurrent, almost identical to the views of the insurgents. It was alleged that while the ruling elites restrained the consumption of the poorer sections, it was not earnest about other socialist measures like ceiling on ownership, of land and houses, higher taxes on upper income groups and nationalisation of key sectors of the economy. It was also alleged that the proposals that had been made had left enough loopholes to salvage the interests of the group to which most of the ruling elite belonged.

It is noteworthy that while the consumption pattern of Sri Lanka's elite has been of a much lower order than in India where the consumption gap between the masses and the Left establishment has been much wider. In other words thanks to the high political literacy of Sri Lanka's people, consequent upon the experience in the ballot box politics over 40 years and in 11 elections at fairly regular intervals, it is not so much the gap between extreme poverty and extreme wealth but in the perception of the rural elites as their being the exploited sector of society, their faith in the importance of policy, in the restructuring of economy, their disappointment *vis-a-vis* the capability of the 'consensus' politics in delivering the goods and finally

their revolt against the parliamentary democratic framework and the established Left that dominates it.

This situation has had its inevitable repercussions on individual parties of the coalition. Its impact, however, has been more marked on the LSSP and the CP (Moscow-oriented) which are traditionally particularly susceptible to ideological questions. The CP, for instance, is faced with a cruel dilemma from which it has yet to find its way out. Its Sinhalese daily *Attha* (Truth) has been openly campaigning against some of the decisions of the Government which has resulted in the Prime Minister's firmly asking the CP members of the Government to make up their mind on whether they want to stay in the Government or not and so far the CP has hedged the issue.

The crisis of consensus in the politics of Sri Lanka thus brings to the fore the pertinent issue of its 'extent' to keep the system operative and the sustenance of its credibility. It also brings into relief excessive loads on participatory democracy, particularly when the level of development is inadequate to meet the heightened political expectations that are inevitably aroused in a competitive political process.

LETTER FROM AUSTRALIA

On Uganda's "Black Racism"

Canberra,

THE DECISION by President Amin, the military dictator of Uganda, a former part of British East Africa, to expel in three months time some 80,000 Ugandan Asians who are British citizens has been used by White racists in Australia to excuse their own prejudice by pointing the finger at "Black racism" in Africa.

"The idea (of some of the Asians coming here) of course is preposterous", writes the Sydney Sun editor (August 8). "Just as is the notion that racism is a sin of whites."— only that white imperialism has used racism everywhere for its own ends.

It should be noted that the most extreme opponents of Asians in Africa, the ones who are "Black racists" or who, like Bokassa in the Central African Republic display the most barbaric methods of dealing with ordinary criminals, are extreme Rightwing in their policies and never allow their "Black racism" to turn against the real rulers of their countries — the white imperialist

companies and plantation owners. They are left untouched and are indeed encouraged.

Even the extreme Rightwing commentator, Emery Barcs in the Sydney Daily Telegraph writes that Amin's move was his "latest stunt for popularity."

Reactionary politicians in East Africa, including Jomo Kenyatta in Kenya, have, for many years attempted to turn African frustration and anger against the Asian shopkeepers rather than the real enemy: imperialist companies and white landowners.

Asian merchants, many of whom are very wealthy, do exploit the African masses. Indeed, this exploitation, because it is direct—it occurs over the shop counter through short weights, high prices and steep interest charges on small loans is often more obvious than that of big companies and landowners.

IN THAT SENSE the Indian in East Africa or the Lebanese in West Africa (and the Ibo in Nigeria) are the Jews of Africa; they are the merchant class who do exploit the masses but are definitely second fiddle to the real rulers.

And, like the Jews in Europe, only a small minority of them are major exploiters, while in Africa, the big majority of Asians are workers.

Amin's anti-Asian campaign has many things in common in its demagoguery and brutality with Hitler's nazism. He needs

some force of demagoguery, for since he over-threw the popular regime of Milton Obote in February last year he has cut the education budget by 50 per cent and the health budget by 70 per cent. He has, on the other hand, increased military expenditure by three times in the last years.

Amin has viciously suppressed all opposition in Uganda, and particularly the Leftwing in Obote's party and youth leagues. His regime is very unpopular and shaky and so he tries to turn the discontent against the Asian minority.

Any socialist regime in Uganda would certainly nationalise the property of wealthy Asian businessmen, along with imperialist concerns and White plantations and the Black capitalists. But it would not take discriminatory action against Indian workers who have every right to remain and work in Uganda.

A passing note on President Bokassa of the Central African Republic, who last week personally supervised the brutal beating by soldiers of 45 convicted thieves in the courtyard of the prison of the capital, Bangui.

Bokassa is a well-known French puppet. He seized power some time ago when he was army chief for another puppet.

The Central African Republic is part of the French Community and was given "independence" as a safeguard against any real independence movement.

The point is clear: it is not the genuine representatives of African nationalism and revolution who engage in the racism or barbarity seen in Uganda and the Central African Republic.

Rather it is the reactionary regimes which have taken power with aid from imperialist powers precisely to protect imperialism in their countries against the African revolution.

THE SHOUTING and screaming from our local press barons on Uganda attempted to hide their support for Rhodesian participation in the Olympic Games. Only the threat of a total African boycott and boycotts from some West Indian nations and Black American athletes forced the Olympic committee to narrowly vote to exclude Rhodesia.

It should be noted that Uganda was until recently for "dialogue" with South Africa and Rhodesia. Only mass outrage in Uganda at Amin's policy forced a change.

Moreover it was only the radical nationalist African States such as Tanzania and Zambia who at first said they would boycott the Games if Rhodesia took part. Other conservative and pro-imperialist African regimes only supported the boycott at the last minute when African popular opinion became too strong to resist.

Finally, Australia's racist politicians on both sides of the House, including Arthur Calwell, are virulently opposing

any Asians from Uganda being allowed to settle here.

Asians from Uganda should be welcomed here to both help solve a humanitarian problem and also to break down the White Australia policy.

Enough of the hypocrisy of our own demagogic and hypocritical daily press leader-writers.

At the Moment

from P. 6

which had taken place during the last few weeks, it was therefore no surprise that on September 30 a joint communique should be issued, with Japan according full diplomatic recognition to China" and also acknowledging that Taiwan was part of the Republic of China,

For the record, the full text of the communique is reproduced below:

„Premier Chou En lai and Foreign Minister Chi Pengfei had an earnest and frank exchange of views with Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka and Foreign Minister Masayoshi Ohira, all along in a friendly atmosphere on various matters between the two countries and other matters of interest to both sides, with the normalisation of relations between China and Japan as the focal point' and the two sides agreed to issue the following joint statement of the two Governments.

“China and Japan are neighbouring countries separated

by a strip of water, and there was a long history of traditional friendship between them. The two peoples ardently wish to end the abnormal state of affairs that has hitherto existed between the two countries.

“The Japanese side is keenly aware of Japan's responsibility for causing enormous damage in the past to the Chinese people through war, and deeply reproaches itself. The Japanese side reaffirms its position that in seeking to realise the normalisation of relations between Japan and China, it proceeds from the stand of fully understanding the three principles for the restoration of diplomatic relations put forward by the Government of the People's Republic of China. The Chinese side expressed its welcome for this.

(1) The abnormal state of affairs which has hitherto existed between the People's Republic of China and Japan is declared terminated on the date of publication of this statement

“(2) The Government of Japan recognises the Government of the People's Republic of China as the sole legal Government of China.

“(3) The Government of the People's Republic of China reaffirms that Taiwan is an inalienable part of the territory of the People's Republic of China. The Government of Japan fully understands and respects this stand of the Government of China and adheres to its stand for complying with

Article 3 of the Potsdam proclamation.

(4) The Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of Japan have decided upon the establishment of diplomatic relations as from Sept. 29, 1972. The two Governments have decided to adopt all necessary measures for the establishment and the performance of functions of embassies in each other's capitals in accordance with international law and practice and exchange ambassadors as speedily as possible.

(5) The Government of the Peoples, Republic of China declares that in the interest of the friendship between the peoples of China and Japan, it renounces its demand for war indemnities from Japan.

(6) The Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of Japan agree to establish durable relations of peace and friendship between the two countries on the basis of the principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non aggression, non interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence.

“In keeping with the foregoing principles and the principles of the United Nations charter, the Government of the two countries affirm that in their mutual relations all disputes shall be settled by peaceful means without

resorting to the use or threat of force.

(7) The normalisation of relations between China and Japan is not directed against third countries. Neither of the two countries should seek hegemony in the Asia-Pacific region and each country is opposed to efforts by any other country or group of countries to establish such hegemony.

(8) To consolidate and develop the peaceful and friendly relations between the two co-

untries, the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of Japan agree to hold negotiations aimed at the conclusion of a treaty of peace and friendship.

(9) In order to further develop the relations between the two countries and broaden the exchange of visits, the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of Japan agree to hold negotiations aimed at the conclusion of agreements on trade, navi-

gation aviation, fishery etc., in accordance with the needs and taking into consideration the existing non-Governmental agreements."

Thus after nearly seven decades of enmity, war and separation China and Japan have established friendly relations with a compromise agreement which appears to embody 'both the substance and the spirit of give-and take'.

CHRONICLE

September 26 - October 4

Tuesday, September 26.

The 13th death anniversary of S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike was commemorated with the Bank Strike entering the 26th day without any prospect of a settlement. The Family Planning Association hopes to catch up lost ground by bringing at least 150,000 couples a year into the scheme. A personal envoy of Premier Mujibur Rahman arrived in Colombo yesterday to canvass the Sri Lanka government to extend its support in the matter of Bangladesh's application for admission to the UN. Japanese Prime Minister Tanaka has begun his talks with Prime Minister Chou En-lai in Peking yesterday, and both expressed the hope that relations would be "normalised" at a banquet held last evening.

Wednesday, September 27:

The 27th day of the bank strike. The Tamil United Front has announced that on October 2 there would be only a hartal, but that the civil disobedience movement which had been scheduled to start on that date has been put off to a date after the four by-elections and the conclu-

sion of the bank strike. Britain's chief Common Market negotiator, Mr. Geoffrey Rippon, arrived in the Island yesterday to hold discussions with the Prime Minister and other Ministers regarding the impact on Sri Lanka of UK's entry into the ECM from January 1973. The three day meeting of the Board of Directors of the Pacific Area Travel Association (PATA) began this morning at the Bentota Beach Hotel. Press reports indicated that the Prime Minister, Mrs. Srimavo Bandaranaike, had said that Sri Lanka would give full backing to Bangladesh in her attempt to obtain UN membership. Norway decided in a national referendum not to join the ECM—this came as a major shock to many European countries. UK's Prime Minister yesterday warned the world's airline chiefs that they must bring down their fares or lose their customers to the cheaper-flight charter companies. President Marcos defended his action in imposing Martial Law over the whole of the Philippines.

Thursday, September 28:

As the bank strike entered the 28th day, Government sources indicated that recruitment will begin this week to replace permanent bank employees on strike and that recruitment to fill posts vacated by probationers would take place simultaneously. The Government has decided to allow a limited number of pilgrims to visit Mecca for the Haj festival despite the

acute foreign exchange situation. TUF circles announced that the FP leader, Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayakam, had decided to resign his seat in the National State Assembly. The Government has granted permission to South Korea to open a trade mission in Colombo: for the moment Sri Lanka was not likely to open a reciprocal office in Seoul. The *Sun* reported that Sri Lanka had indicated to China that her rice imports would be reduced during the next five years. Security measures in the North had been tightened with additional police and army units in view of the impending hartal by the TUF. Mr. Geoffrey Rippon, Britain's chief ECM negotiator, has assured Sri Lanka that Britain will do everything possible to maintain the benefits this country currently enjoyed in her trade relations with Britain. The President of India's ruling Congress Party, Mr. Shankar Dayal Sharma, has renewed his attack on the United States Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) for its "unfriendly and subversive acts" against India.

Friday September 29:

There were no signs of a settlement to the bank strike which will be 30 days old tomorrow: official sources stressed that a settlement of the strike would be possible only after the return of the Finance Minister, Dr. N. M. Perera, on October 9. One-third of Sri Lanka's houses are unfit for human beings to live: more than half the urban people live in slums with 300,000 in Colombo alone: sixty-two percent of all houses are less than 500 sq. feet in size with the national average being 333 sq. ft: an average of six people live in each house: one house in every four has pipe-borne water supply and only 8 percent are lit by electricity. A planned and daring attack on Anuradhapura jail at 1.30 a. m. this morning enabled 35 inmates to escape, 33 of whom were insurgents held in detention. Chairman Mao Tse-tung received visiting Jap Premier Tanaka yesterday. Egypt's relations with Sudan deteriorated further owing to differences about developments in Uganda.

Saturday, September 30:

As the bank strike touched the 30-day mark there were hints that the strike situation might

snowball with other unions joining in. One person in fiscal custody, an accused in the David Rupasinghe murder case, was blown to bits when a handbomb hurled by an assailant burst in the close proximity of the Law Courts at Hultsdorp a little past noon yesterday. There was a massive countrywide manhunt to track down the 35 inmates of the Anuradhapura jail who had staged a spectacular getaway early yesterday morning. China and Japan established diplomatic relations yesterday and buried an enmity which had begun at the beginning of this century. The US Senate yesterday passed a resolution supporting suspension of American aid and imposition economic sanctions against any nation providing sanctuary for persons committing international terrorism.

Sunday October 1:

The 31st day of the bank strike: the Ceylon Bank Officers Association has stated that it has evolved a formula for the settlement of the strike. The Muslims of Sri Lanka accorded the Prime Minister an enthusiastic reception in Colombo yesterday to felicitate her for having made the island a Republic with a new Constitution. A visiting PATA director has stated that it will take years for tourism in this country to reach international standards. A number of guests at a lunch given by Tourism Minister Kalugalle to the PATA at the Bentota Beach Hotel took ill immediately after the meal. Mutiny and sabotage was reported on board the Fisheries Corporation trawler *Mirissa* on its latest voyage to the Maldivian fishing grounds to bring skipjack and tuna to fulfil a massive US order. The Sino-Jap *entente cordiale* has been hailed as a major victory for Premier Chou En-lai—especially in persuading Japan to recognise that Taiwan was part of the People's Republic of China.

Monday, October 2:

The 32nd day of the bank strike, and a press report said that official sources had indicated that "government has withdrawn the concessions granted to bank men including the offer of two increments made at negotiating stages because the Ceylon Bank Employees Union resorted to strike action after the talks broke down". This

was the answer given to other Unions and persons who had tried to negotiate a settlement. According to the *Daily News*, twenty odd "soft liners" belonging to the Keuneman group in the CP were relieved of their fulltime duties by the new *hardline* CC of the CP. According to TUF circles, the one-day hartal was a complete success in the Jaffna peninsula, (reports from other areas were not yet available): no incidents were reported and everything had passed off peacefully. A gang—believed to be section of the 36 prisoners who had escaped in the daring attack on the Anuradhapura prison—had escaped again from an armed confrontation with the Police at an abandoned house at Vijithapura near Anuradhapura. There was a breach of the ceasefire in Kashmir near Rajouri, but peace was established after a few hours. The Indian Prime Minister in a speech today at Ranchi stated that she had information that USA's CIA was active in India, and she wanted Congress members especially in the eastern parts of India to be vigilant and counteract the CIA's activities.

Tuesday October 3:

As the bank strike entered the 33rd day, the SLFP-controlled Sri Lanka Independent Trade Union Federation yesterday denounced the bank strike and appealed to the strikers to return to work: "Get back to work and the Government will then consider your demands," was the Union's dictum. Three suspected insurgents and two others who had allegedly helped in Friday's daring jail break from the Anuradhapura prison were arrested yesterday on the outskirts of Anuradhapura town by a combined police and army unit. Press reports indicated the TUF hartal was a complete success in the Tamil areas and there were no untoward incidents at any place. Minister T. B. Ilangaratne in a statement analysing the economic situation stated that the immediate objective of the Government should be to attain self-sufficiency in food requirements and to save at least one-third of the Rs. 1069 million now spent on the import of food and drinks. Mr. S.J.V Chelvanayakam, the FP leader, tendered his resignation in the Assembly today. A number of prominent Ugandans said to be sympathisers of Dr. Obote are reported to

have "disappeared". No comment has yet been forthcoming from Russia or India about the new Sino-Japanese accord. Malaysian Premier Tun Abdul Razak was on a visit in Moscow and in a speech at a Kremlin banquet yesterday invited the Soviet Union to participate in his country's second five year plan.

Wednesday, October 4:

The 34th day of the bank strike. In tendering his resignation from the Kankasanturai seat in the National State Assembly, Mr. Chelvanayakam, who now leads the TUF, has asked for a six-point revision of the constitution and added: "It is claimed by the government that a sizeable section of the Tamil people accept the new Constitution. We deny this and want to give an opportunity to the Government to prove their claim." According to the *Times* a number of politburo members of the CP have had their party status downgraded—as candidate members pending investigations as to who was responsible for publishing the Sinhalese paper *Satan Maga* without obtaining permission from the ruling body (the *Satan Maga* was a Ceylon Federation of Trade Unions Publication): those downgraded are Keuneman "softliners" and nearly all of them who were fulltimers have been taken off the payroll. Historic agreements between the USA and the USSR to limit offensive and defensive nuclear weapons came into force yesterday, and thus opened the way for a new round of negotiations to place curbs on the arms race. According to a Washington report America's famous consumer watchdog, Mr. Ralph Nader, charged today that President Nixon's administration was the most corrupt in American history. Denmark voted to enter the ECM in a national referendum. The Danish Prime Minister Jens Otto Krag tendered his resignation.

THE WORLD
WILD LIFE FUND

Why Save Wild Animals

PEOPLE ask us frequently why we should conserve, and protect wild animals. This question is being increasingly asked in Ceylon today with the growing pressure on land to meet the needs of a vast population explosion. There are of course many answers which can be given. One of the finest answers we have ever read to this oft asked question was published recently in a booklet issued by the World Wild Life Fund. It is given below.

Wild animals have evolved, like Man, over millennia. Together they form part of the complex web of life on earth. When a species is wiped out it can never be recreated. And if the world becomes an unsuitable place for wild animals, it might be Man himself who follows them into extinction.

A flourishing wild animal population is a sure sign that the environment is healthy enough for Man himself. Man depends on air, water and soil as much as other creatures. Man cannot safely slake his thirst from a river or lake in which fish are unable to survive. Crops and domestic animals cannot be raised where

NOT MERELY A TEENAGE PROBLEM

Is Pop Music a Capitalist Plot?

by J. B. GOODE

IT HAS BEEN a long-held fallacy amongst a large sector of the left that pop music is a capitalist product which is used to numb the brains of teenagers, breeding a docile generation whose attention is safely diverted from the evils inherent in the system under which they live. According to this widespread erroneous belief, pop

soil has been poisoned and its structure itself has been destroyed.

Man can rely on wildlife as the miner traditionally relied on his canary—show that the surroundings are safe for him. Many wild animals have provided food and other supplies for indigenous peoples. If they are wiped out these peoples have to be fed and profitably cropped for the benefit of Man. The predators have a key role in controlling and keeping wild stock healthy.

Wildlife is an important source of tourist revenue—it is Kenya's biggest source of foreign exchange. The preservation of the wild animals' natural habitat ensures that the world retains its natural vegetation, which is one of the essentials for the production of the oxygen we breathe, and the regulation of the cycle of water in the biosphere.

music trends are contrived by big companies and then foisted upon the youth of the "free world" who are brainwashed into accepting them.

Ask any upholder of this theory to give some evidence to support his viewpoint and he will triumphantly bring forth Fabian, the Monkees or any of a number of such over-promoted, undertalented "stars". It would not occur to our self-righteous denigrator of the music of youth that none of the computerised puppets, whom he considers to be the rule rather than the exception, have been even remotely connected with the development of new pop ideas.

In fact, significant trends in pop music start from underneath and have to force their way to the surface, constantly struggling against obstacles placed in their way by the establishment with its vested interests in preserving the status quo.

Today's pop music goes back to the birth of rock n'roll. The words "rock" and "roll" are both old American Negro terms of sexual reference. When Bessie Smith, the great blues singer of the '20s and '30s sang "My daddy rocks me with a steady roll" she was well understood by her predominantly lower class Negro fans.

Disc jockey Alan Freed is generally given credit for combining the two words as a name under which a form of "rhythm'n'blues" or "race" music could be presented to a young racially mixed audience in Cleveland, Ohio in 1951.

A few years later some white guys started catching on, bringing with them their own musical backgrounds (mainly country and western). Bill Haley was one of the first, but he was a tame prototype of what was to follow. Wild men, Negro and white. Little Richard's freak voice roared and whooped anarchic messages in a bluesy gospel-based style as he ripped off his clothes and screamed for the audience to shut up cause he'd rather do it all himself. Jerry Lee Lewis, who made famous Little Richard's trick of bashing the piano keys with his foot, would give a violent mule kick sending his stool across the stage, hammer his piano almost to death, phallicise the microphone by putting it down his trousers, and make pelvic thrusts simulating copulation with mid air.

THIS VIOLENT SPONTANEOUS MUSIC virtually threatened to rape its audience. It paid no respect to the establishment and the puritan ethic. Nice young white boys became sex-crazed maniacs singing filthy Negro music which attacked the moral fibre of American youth and appealed to their spirit of rebellion. Good healthy stuff eh? Also, the new

music provided an alternative to the steady flow of sentimental clichés spewed out by Tin Pan Alley for public consumption.

What was the conservative establishment's reaction? At first the big music companies would have nothing to do with it. After all, their interests were best served by retaining the musical status quo.

As the small companies began to make some headway with rock'n'roll, the big ones had to react to protect themselves. First of all they got their established conservative stars such as Pat Boone to do insipid cover version of authentic rock'n'roll records. Eventually, however, the popularity of the genuine rockers forced the big companies to reluctantly sign them on.

The situation was still not satisfactorily under control, so a new way was devised of kill the "passing phase" of rock, and get back to good old soppy mush. New young singers billed as teen stars recorded limper and limper imitations of rock. They were pushed by the disreputable practice of payola (slipping the disc jockey and others enough money to plug the right records.)

By 1960, with most of the originals dead, in jail or retired from rock, they managed to completely swamp the market. The towns in the USA, Britain and Australia which had initially banned rock'n'roll were now willing to accept pop's new watered down res-

pectable "wholesome" image. Later the same basic pattern was to be repeated with the Mersey sound, British rhythm'n blues, the soul sound and the underground scene.

George Melly described the process in "*Revolt Into Style*"

"Each successive pop music explosion has come roaring out of the clubs in which it was born like an angry young bull. Watching from the other side of the gate, the current establishment has proclaimed it dangerous, subversive, a menace to youth, and demanded something be done about it. Something is. Commercial exploitation advances towards it holding out a bucketful of recording contracts, television appearances and world-wide fame. Then, once the muzzle is safely buried in the golden mash the cunning butcher nips deftly along the flank and castrates the animal. After this painless operation, the establishment realises it is safe to advance into the field and gingerly pats the now docile creature which can then be safely relied upon to grow fatter and stupider until the moment when fashion decides it is ready for the slaughterhouse."

Jeff Nuttall in "*Bomb Culture*" makes a more positive, if less colorful, statement: "...each time a group of young people created their own culture the squares bought it up, streamlined it and sold it back on a large scale, invalidating it and making necessary for young people to sidestep again."

RIGHT FROM THE START, the driving forces in rock, as in any art form, have been in conflict with the establishment. The creative element seems to be most abundant in those not content to drift with the tide of conformity.

Up until the mid '60s, pop was not, on the whole, very self-conscious about its political and social meaning. Bob Dylan, who came to rock from the "folk" scene (using the old rhythm'n'blues—country and western mixture in a new way) was one of the first to be heard cursing the "masters of war" and telling the straight world "something is happening but you don't know what it is, do you Mr. Jones."

Many others chimed in with conviction. John Lennon handed back his MBE and used a large part of his wealth for the peace movement, thus biting the capitalist hand that fed him. The Rolling Stones recorded "Street Fighting Man". Grace Slick of Jefferson Airplane was reported to have been caught in the White House heading for the punch bowl with a quantity of LSD. What a gesture! If only she'd succeeded!

The authorities all over the western world sensed youth being led away from their control, so they launched a power struggle against the new leaders of young thought. This took the form of systematic harassment of pop figures, usually ostensibly for drug offences.

FROM THE EDITOR'S DESK

Trincomalee

ON THE COVER this time we have once again spotlighted Trincomalee. We had a Trinco cover a few weeks ago and we have reverted to the same subject again. We have not chosen any picture of a topical and current event, but have selected a photograph of the view from a corner of Koneswaram Temple on Swamy Rock in the Fort Frederick area. The old and submerged Temple is said to be under the

Their tactics backfired. The jailing of Mick Jagger on drug charges probably did more to alienate young people from the sick capitalist system than all the persecution of avowed communists put together.

Pop music continues to grow and diversify. Album sales soar as the popularity of singles declines. Of course there are a lot of phoney about, but if you care to delve past the banalities of top-40 singles and sift out the rubbish, you will find a vigorous art from which looks beyond the values of the sordid war-mongering society from which it sprang.

Pop ain't a capitalist plot. Really.

sea in this part. Skin and deep sea divers like Mike Wilson have reported that the ruins of the old temple, including a remarkable *lingam* (maybe, perhaps, the 1008-faced one legendarily worshipped by Ravana) stone pillars, carvings and the like, lie on the sea bed not far from Swamy Rock. Legend has it that the Siva temple of Ravana went down under the sea owing to natural causes (probably at the time of what geologists describe as the "third marine denudation"). It is not necessary to trace the history of the temple after that—suffice to mention that the third temple built by Chola Kulatunga was destroyed by the Portuguese. Incidentally, prophecies made about this Temple and Trincomalee itself at the time the Chola had rebuilt the temple are said to cover events to this day and the immediate future.

We do not want to draw the ire and attention of the remarkable Rationalist crusader in our midst, Abraham Koveer, by referring to these prophecies. There is no doubt that Trincomalee has a future, but both according to the prophecies of the ancient chroniclers as well as the more mundane observations of students of contemporary affairs the future of Trincomalee will not be what was envisaged by D. S. Senanayake or Dudley Senanayake or C. P. de Silva and now hoped for by Minister Kalugalle and others who think Trincomalee will shortly become a world famous tourist complex.

Trincomalee has been conquered and re-conquered. It has been an important centre from the dawn of history. It is not merely because it has one of the finest natural harbours in the world. Its immediate hinterland is watered by the *Mahaveli Ganga* and it enters the sea just south of Trincomalee in a vast sweep of a delta that reaches to very nearly the Batticaloa area. At the time the Portuguese had come, this fertile and remarkable area was ruled by Tamil *vanniyars* and Kandyan *dissawas*. They lived in a state of tolerant co-existence, intermarrying on the basis of their feudal ties, fighting their dynastic wars, worshipping at the same temples and generally getting along in peace and amity. Towards the end of the British era, there were no *vanniyars* and *dissawas* (only a few existed in name), and the area was over-run by colonists of low-country Sinhala vintage. The Karawes from the deep South were competing fiercely with traders from Jaffna after ousting the Indian traders with the clever and devious use of the co-operative movement.

THE LAND was parcelled out under the colonisation schemes to odd and sundry folk on whom the State expended vast sums in order to create Sinhala majority electorates. *Salagama* toughs gained control of land which were once farmed by Kandyan *radalas* and *pattis*. The Kandyans were silenced by slogans that the

Sinhala were fighting the Damilas who were out to destroy the Buddhist religion and the Sinhalese language. And this merry-mixup of non-agriculturally inclined colonists from the low country sputniked into Trinco and its hinterland through the Land Development Ordinance has not brought prosperity to this area on which many hundreds of million rupees have been spent by the Government. The Sugar plantations at Kantalai and the Sugar Refinery there and a whole lot of other projects will bear testimony to the failure of this new "invasion" of this area watered by the Mahaveli under agencies of the Land Development Ordinance. The amount of money invested by the Government in the Trincomalee area (and even other Eastern Province districts)—mainly to create pocket boroughs for the ruling elite under a parliamentary system of adult franchise—has not been worthwhile. A number of such electorates have undoubtedly come into being, but the economic development achieved and the employment therefrom have not solved the burning problems of the country—in fact they have become more acute and accentuated.

Furthermore, the influx of low country Sinhala into the area has already embittered the Tamils and is driving them into open revolt. The Kandyans in the area—constituting the most impoverished sections in the country—have already indicated what they feel about their plight in April 1971; and the currently disturbed law and

order situation in the stretch of country between, watered by the Kala Oya and the Mahaveli is a further indication of the situation.

Those living in air-conditioned ivory towers in Colombo do not seem to know just what is happening in the Trincomalee area and its hinterland. Reports from bureaucrats who think that their main function is to safeguard the already wasted investment under the land colonisation schemes (and to sustain the new electorates created by the Government) are incapable of penetrating below the surface. Very soon the people in the area will have no use for parliamentary elections because they have so far got nothing from them and every year their economic and social plight gets worse and worse.

Moreover, until and unless the Government is able to solve the manpower problem of the area by establishing peace between the Tamils and the Sinhalese in the area, and progress and economic development will not make much headway. But even more important is to ensure the presently unsaid and submerged grievances of the Kandyans in the area are brought to the surface and dealt with on the basis of justice and equity. Terrorism and insurgency in the Mahaveli - Kala Oya basins and their hinterland cannot be resolved until the ruling elite realise that the suppressed sentiments of the descendants of the Kandyan *radalas*, *pattis* and other caste groups in

this region properly, appropriately and adequately dealt with

Jingoists (In the SLFP, the UNP, the LSSP and the CP) who feel that have already created a homogenous Sinhala nation on the basic chauvinist (euphemistically now called nationalist) Buddhism and Sinhala only slogans are living in a fool's paradise. Even April 1971 does not seem to have woken them to the realities of the situation. Even Minister Kobbekaduwa does not seem to have sensed the stirrings among the Kandyans from Wilpattu to Horowapataka, from Madukande — Medawachchiya area to the Kurunegala-Dambulla-Amparai line. He seems to think that once the hill country is cleared of the Indian plantation workers, the problems of the Kanyans will be solved. It will not be long before he discovers how far he is from the realities of the situation. It must be remembered that the bulk of the Kandyans lived and live in the dry-zone Vanni, and that the Land Reform Law and the Agricultural Productivity Act will have little or no impact on the Vanni.

TRINCOMALEE is symbolic of the Vanni and the dry-zone. It is a place where the Kandyans, the Tamil, the low-country Sinhala and the Muslim must be allowed (and encouraged) to live in peace and amity so that they can work for economic development. To think that these differences do not exist is only to fool one-

self: to think that the Kandyans can be submerged under the low country Karawes and Salagamas in these areas under chauvinist slogans (of race, religion and language) is blindness—the basic imperatives of history may be zig-zagged through jingoism only for short periods in the grand sweep of history. Names like the Senanayakes, Chelvanayakams, Bandaranaiques, Silvas, Fernandos, Rajagalles and the like will go into oblivion, but the name of Trincomalee and the destiny of the people who have made the area (genuinely) their home will go on for ever.

It is in this context that one must view the current attempts to "develop" Trincomalee. The downgrading of British power from the first place in the world to about the tenth made their evacuation from Trincomalee inevitable and Bandaranaike was the instrument of history to mark the departure of the British. But since the time that Trinco teased being the supreme British naval base in the past, it has deteriorated in importance and affluence. In independent Sri Lanka it is a "depressed" area. The attempts to increase commercial shipping have not been very successful. Little else has been done—except to proclaim from time to time that Sri Lanka with its policy of non-alignment would not permit any big power to get a new foothold in the harbour and make it a military-naval-air base.

Various schemes, however, have been suggested to "deve-

lop" Trincomalee. One of those schemes was to make Trinco a free trade zone like Hongkong. A high-powered committee sat on this job for nearly five years, under the SLFP and the UNP, and a learned report was produced to show the advantages of making Trinco a free trade zone and coupling it with a tourist complex. As late as June of this year there were indications that the Government was likely to make Trincomalee a free trade zone, but just before the Prime Minister left on her historic visit to China there were reports about a fresh re-thinking on the matter.

The *Sun* of June 27 in a frontpage report, under the heading TRINCO FREE TRADE ZONE PROJECT TO BE REVIEWED BEFORE INVITING FOREIGN INVESTORS, stated as follows: "The Government is to review all aspects of the Trincomalee Free Trade Zone project before inviting foreign investors to submit firm proposals for the establishment of export-oriented industries here. The Prime Minister Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, told the "SUN" that the Government had no intention of going ahead with the project without, in the first instance, examining all implications of setting up a free trade zone in the vicinity of the natural harbour of Trincomalee. "We," said Mrs. Bandaranaike: "do not want to create another white elephant. For this reason, the entire scheme is being studied by the Ministry of

Planning and Employment in conjunction with the other ministries concerned."

"While the Government had been actively considering establishing a free trade zone in Trincomalee, no decision had yet been taken on this matter, the Prime Minister revealed, in reply to a question from me at the Press briefing on Saturday. It had been envisaged that a large number of export-industries could be set up in Trincomalee, with foreign investment, for the purpose of earning much-needed foreign exchange for the country.

"A committee headed by Mr. D. B. I. P. S. Siriwardene, Principal Collector of Customs, has now been appointed with a view to finding out what type of industries are suitable for the proposed free trade area and also the infra-structure that should be provided. The committee has been asked to make its recommendations by the end of August, bearing in mind the tourist complex to be established in Trincomalee. Other members of this committee are Dr. Ananda Meegama, Economic Advisor, Ministry of Planning and Employment, Mr. Hema de Soyza, Director, Economic Affairs Division of the General Treasury, Mr. Godwin Vitharana, General Manager, Ceylon Petroleum Corporation and Mr. Tissa Devendra, Government Agent, Trincomalee.

"Meanwhile, about 40 international organisations have offered to prepare a feasibility

report for the envisaged free trade zone project. Some of those who have made offers have signified their willingness to finance the cost of the report under terms of aid. Among the countries from which offers have been received for the preparation of a feasibility report are the United States of America, Britain, Japan, France, Australia, Canada, Sweden, India and Singapore. Furthermore, industrialists from the Federal Republic of Germany, the United States, Britain and Japan have, it is stated, made exhaustive inquiries regarding the prospects of investing in the proposed free trade zone area."

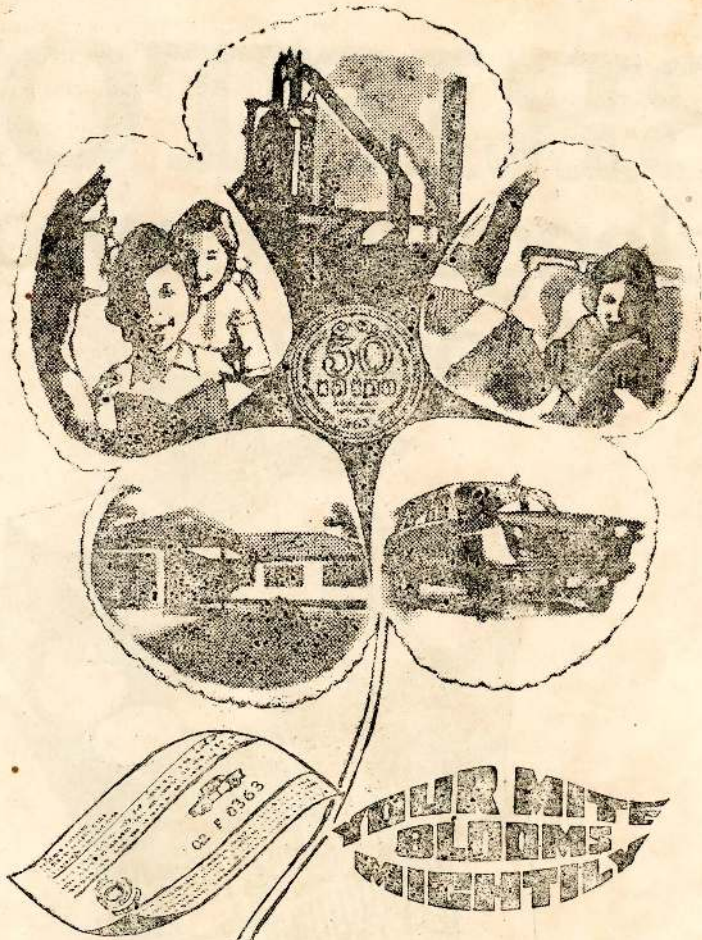
THE PROCESS of re-thinking has continued even after the PM returned from China. In a report in the *Sun*, August 8, 1972, under the heading **VIABILITY OF TRINCO PROJECT UNDER STUDY: WORLD-WIDE INTEREST EVINCED IN OUR FREE TRADE ZONE**, the paper stated as follow: **WORLD-WIDE INTEREST HAS BEEN GENERATED IN THE TRINCOMALEE EXPORT PROCESSING ZONE PROJECT ENVISAGED UNDER GOVERNMENT'S FIVE-YEAR MEDIUM-TERM PLAN**. As a sequel to this, the Minister of Industries and Scientific Affairs, Mr. T. B. Subasinghe, has taken steps to assess the economic viability of this free trade zone scheme in the light of similar projects which have been successfully

launched in India, Singapore, Philippines, Mauritius, South Korea and Taiwan. Mr. Subasinghe, told the "SUN" yesterday that all implications of launching into the project would be reviewed in accordance with a decision taken by the Government.

"The Government, he explained, did not wish to rush into the project. It was for this reason that offers had been invited through our foreign missions for the preparation of a feasibility report on the export processing zone scheme. Reputed international consultants from the United States, United Kingdom, Japan, India, Australia, New Zealand, Singapore, Denmark, France and Italy have signified their willingness to undertake a study to assess the economic viability of this project

"A shadow board appointed by the Minister, with the Additional Secretary, Mr. Anura Weeraratna, as Chairman, has decided to evaluate the offers, numbering about forty, which have been received from the international consultancy firms.... Investors from the United States, Japan, United Kingdom, Federal Republic of Germany and Australia have shown interest in establishing export-oriented industrial ventures in the natural harbour area of Trincomalee."

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