

PRESS TAKE-OVER IMPERATIVE

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SHADY TRIO !



What They Mean By "Freedom of the Press"!

Snippets from P.M.'s Statement in Parliament

"I would like to inform Members of the National State Assembly of the investigations that I have caused to be made in regard to reports published in the "Weekend" and the "Riviresa" of 3rd Sept., 1972 under the name of M. W. Gamage of Independent Newspapers Ltd. . . .

"For a long time the Government of Sri Lanka has been making efforts to obtain from Swiss and other foreign banks disclosure of the particulars of foreign account holders in order that action could be taken against them under our exchange control and bribery laws. . . . These articles allege that there has been a change in the policy of Swiss banks whereby this information could now be disclosed and that the newspaper had learnt of the contents of these articles through that change. On 6th Sept., 1972 I caused enquiries to be made from Interpol, Switzerland by cable . . . On 7th Sept., 1972 a reply was received. . . . This is exactly the same law and practice that has hitherto been applied. . . .

"Mr. Rex de Silva (Editor of "Weekend") was. . . questioned by the CID on my

instructions and in his statement to the CID he stated this: "When I saw the original report of Mr. Gamage written in Sinhalese, I felt that it was not colourful enough to go as the lead story in the "Weekend". Hence, when I instructed Mr. Devanarayana to prepare the translation of the English publication, I asked him to pad up the story on the background of Swiss Banks."

"On being questioned by the CID, Mr. Gamage denied that his informant told him anything about pay-offs for political assistance in gaining contracts or that any of the persons allegedly on this highly confidential list were persons who were involved in exchange frauds. . . .

"Newspapers have a great deal to say nowadays about the freedom of the Press and

their sacred duties in placing facts before the public. If, in fact, the purpose of these articles was to initiate a genuinely useful investigation, it is surely necessary that, subject to proper safeguards, the Exchange Control authorities at least should be given all the available information. . . .

"Newspapers behaving in this manner, talk of the freedom of the Press, when what they really want is licence to publish false stories of a sensational character without responsibility. . . .

"Under the law, no further investigation is possible, as Mr. Gamage either will not give information or has no information to give. The Swiss authorities deny that there has been any change in their law or their policy and the only person who claims to have the information declines to assist the authorities in their investigations. . . .

The Moral Behind "Riviresa" Scandal

The Prime Minister's revelation of the fraudulent story deliberately cooked up in the offices of Gunasena Mudalali's establishment, which goes by the name of Independent Newspapers Ltd., has astounded the public of Ceylon which daily pays for the trash and falsehoods and wicked inventions that these mudalalis purvey through their newspapers. We carry elsewhere on this page some extracts from the Prime Minister's statement that has already received adequate publicity in the country.

What our readers should note is the virtually pathetic key on which the Prime Minister concluded her statement in the National Assembly. "Under the law, no further investigation is possible. . . . All that may be possible is to prosecute Mr. Gamage and those others in Independent Newspapers Ltd. responsible for the publication for failing to cooperate with the authorities in their investigations. I shall therefore be sending up the papers to the Attorney General," she said.

Surely, the aspect of this newspaper fraud that can be handled by the Attorney General under the present law is the least important aspect of this case. It is necessary to take the whole fraud and establish the purpose behind it. Once this is done, it is imperative that action should be taken to prevent repetition of frauds of this nature by this particular mudalali or any other mudalalis associated in newspaper enterprises.

The fraud itself, it should be noted, is one that is perpetrated, not on a single individual or institution or even a group of them, but on the general public. It is a crime against the whole of society.

Secondly, the fraud consisted of the invention of a story which was not based on any fact or facts that the newspapers concerned had in their possession. The whole thing was a lie from beginning to end.

Thirdly, the story put out was varied in its contents to suit the purposes behind it in different language newspapers published by the same establishment. The Sinhala version in the "Riviresa" was not merely written up for the "Weekend", but new lies were added to it for suborning the English reader.

Fourthly, the whole bias of the story was political. It alleged that 1,432 Ceylonese (the intention was to make the report completely credible!), including top-notch politicians, public servants, corporation bosses, gem racketeers etc. has accumulated money illegally in Swiss Banks. Specific mention was made that some of these monies were pay-offs to politicians by foreign contractors etc. It

was further suggested that Government was able to find out the names of those involved (following an alleged change in Swiss banking practices!), but was apparently not doing so for obvious reasons. In other words, the lies were maliciously invented for the purpose of discrediting the Government and, perhaps, politicians in general.

Government cannot forget that this is not the first occasion on which Gunasena Mudalali's newspapers have been found to circulate barefaced lies in recent months. Some of the major lies have been publicly controverted by Government, generally by resort to the Radio.

Government cannot forget also that these practices have by no means been confined only to Gunasena's establishment. The other capitalist newspapers have indulged in the same kind of vicious falsehoods with political intent.

All of them are doing so in a singularly barefaced manner in regard to the current strike of Bank employees. For the first time in their lives, the capitalist press is supporting the collapsing morale of thousands of strikers by resort to their familiar methods of inventions, lies and distortions. Government is aware of this but is helpless. The Banks can do nothing and have, in desperation, refused to communicate with these newspapers. But that does not prevent the invention of statements by so-called "spokesmen" of this or that Bank to provide a peg for a report or statement put out by the strikers.

What Government must realise is that this situation, in which a pack of unscrupulous scoundrels is allowed to mislead public opinion in this country and misrepresent and obstruct Government's plans, cannot be allowed to continue. Either Government does not wish to govern or it does not know how. There is no other explanation of its refusal to take-over the newspapers from these unscrupulous mudalalis.

BANDARANAIKE DAY SUPPLEMENT

UGANDA IN TURMOIL

Friday

It is now evident that the crisis in Uganda is no longer a strictly internal matter. Amin by both his utterances and actions has given rise to a situation that has arrested the attention of much of the world. It is still too early for us to comment on the military conflict in Uganda. So confused are reports that it is impossible for one to either assess the actual nature of the conflict, let alone its ultimate outcome. On the other hand it is interesting to retrace the incidents that have led to this sorry state of affairs.

There is no doubt whatever that the internal economic and political crisis forms the basis for the present military crisis. Gen. Idi Amin ousted President Milton Obote by means of a coup a short while back. Dr. Obote took refuge in neighbouring Tanzania. It would be of course interesting to speculate on the motivations behind this coup—but as in the case of most successful coups, and even some unsuccessful ones, it is hard to discern the actual instigators. Nevertheless it is evident that the accession of

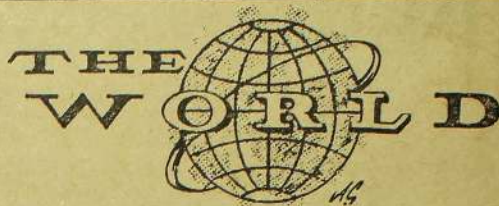
Amin in Kampala was regarded with favour in the West.

Uganda however had a small army—only two battalions at the time of the coup—and as such the influence and scope of the military rulers was severely restricted. Had the army been a more formidable institution, as in say Pakistan or Indonesia, we would not expect to see the break-up of military rule so early. The political situation in Uganda under these circumstances was bound to deteriorate rapidly and it was

accompanied by a corresponding economic deterioration.

Britain soon became disillusioned with Amin and began to regard him with suspicion. This was heightened when Amin took the unusual step of expelling the Israeli advisors attached to his Armed Forces. It is very unlikely that Amin would have done such a thing had he not been desperate.

It is possible that by that time Amin was already in such dire economic straits that he was prepared to do anything in order to receive the \$26 million that Col. Gaddafi of Libya was prepared to hand-out. On the other hand, of course, it is possible that the Israelis were being used by the British in order to create a rival group within the Army and bring such a group to power. One must not lose sight of the fact that in practi-



cal terms the Israelis were extremely important to Amin—he needed them to train and expand the Army on which he relied to rule the country.

No Love for Asians

Amin's next move could have flowed from either or both of these circumstances. Amin's expulsion of Asians could be purely economic in motivation. It could be that he needed the economic resources that the Asian community had built up in order to salvage his country's economy. On the other hand it is possible that Amin was afraid that the Western imperialist powers may attempt to use this powerful Asian middle class in order to topple his Government.

It is important at this stage for one to appreciate the role of the Asians in the newly independent African countries.

Most of these Asians, especially those engaged in commercial activities, were brought in by the British or whatever the Colonial power in question, in order to cater to the European colonialists. In the intervening years these Asians—mainly Indians, Pakistanis and Bengalis—were able to amass considerable amounts of wealth. They became an exclusive class who lived much like the colonials—on the fat of the land—regarding themselves as some kind of beings who were superior to the Africans. It is indeed a historic tragedy that the affluent, influential Asian communities in Africa, refused to identify themselves with the Africans, or cooperate with them in the attainment of political independence for Africa.

(Continued on page 19)

The Plan to Link Two Oceans

The Thai Government has recently revived the idea of building a canal across the Isthmus of Kra, linking the Gulf of Siam with the Andaman Sea and the Indian Ocean beyond. The project has been discussed, on and off, since the early years of the century but has never come near to fruition. Cost was not the only obstacle. For many years, for example, Britain strongly opposed the canal on the grounds that it would divert trade from Singapore on the Straits of Malacca—for centuries the principal waterway linking the Indian and Pacific Oceans.

It was also feared that an attempt to realize the canal might touch off a territorial dispute with Malaysia in the Southern Provinces. Security has always been tenuous in this region, where Thailand's Moslems, of whom seven-eighths are ethnic Malays, are concentrated.

Now at least on the face of it, these worries have been set aside. Thailand's National Energy Authority is to make a detailed study of a canal running for about 95 miles from a bay in Phangnga province on the west coast of the Isthmus to another bay in Surat Thani province on the Gulf of Siam.

Completion of the study and the preparation of a report on its findings, is expected to take about six months.

The canal, as presently con-

ceived by the NEA, would be about 390 feet wide at the top and nowhere more than 40 feet deep, accommodating vessels of up to 100,000 dwt.

It would mean building five locks, three reservoirs and a deep-sea port; widening and lengthening the sea channels in the two entry bays; and providing dolphins, sea berths and oil transferring installations. The provisional total cost put by the NEA at about £180m.

The canal, if it ever came to be built, would provide a new route from the Middle East to Japan and other Pacific destinations—a route shorter by about 450 miles than passage through the Straits of Malacca. It is the Japanese, accordingly, who ought, in theory, to be particularly interested in the project.

Japan is the world's biggest

importer of crude oil with an annual consumption running at about 200 million tons. This is expected to rise to 500 million by 1980 and 700 million by 1985. At present 90 per cent of Japan's supplies are carried by tanker from the Persian Gulf through the Straits of Malacca.

Dependence

Japanese anxieties about their dependence on this economic life-line have been increased by the growing militancy of the countries bordering the Malacca Strait. Both Malaysia and Indonesia have laid claim to a 12-mile limit on their territorial waters that would bring the entry waterway under their jurisdiction.

Malaysia has talked of levying a toll on the 3,000 vessels that pass through each month and Indonesia has proposed denying passage to ships of 200,000 dwt or more. Several of the biggest tankers have scrapped the sea-bed in the shallower parts of the straits, and a case can be made for banning them on safety grounds.

(Continued on page 19)

South Africa: Khakalegushas pants and the Foreign Monopolies

A 31 year old Masingayi, named Khakalegusha, laboured eleven hours each day, seven days a week for a foreman, Johannes Liebenberg, on a South African chicken farm for a weekly pittance of 8 dollars. This was well below the South African poverty level of 21 dollars per week per person. Most of what he earned went to support his family.

One day he was asked to report for work at 7.30 a.m., but refused to do this because he had to wash his only pair of trousers and they would not be dry in time. In fact his trousers were wet at the time. Liebenberg had him hauled before the Simonton Magistrate who found him guilty of refusing to obey the lawful commands of his employer and was fined 25 dollars, fired from his job and ordered to return to his home township.

One may ask what this has got to do with foreign monopolies in South Africa. But these are the conditions of exploitation of labour that occur there and account for the massive foreign monopoly investment that one finds in South Africa. Ignoring UN resolutions, Britain, the United States, West Germany and

Japan are steadily expanding trade with South Africa. They already account for 57 per cent of her exports and 60 per cent of her imports. British, American and West German monopolies have invested more than 5,300 million dollars in South Africa. This accounts for over three-quarters of all foreign capital there.

British investors head the list with about 3,000 million dollars, while American investments total about 750 million dollars. There are about 500 British companies and monopolies either owning South African firms or holding the controlling interest in them. Thus the biggest oil refinery in South Africa is operated jointly by Shell and British Petroleum. Imperial Chemical Industries own 43 per cent of the shares in African Explosives and

Chemical Industries, the biggest concern in the country with a capital of £112 million.

There are about 375 American companies and banks with investments in South Africa. For instance, the U.S. automobile industry controls more than half the car market in the country. Some 300 West German companies either operate branches in South Africa or hold shares in local firms. They have a big say in the sale of raw materials and machinery. In return for South African uranium, they have helped in building a nuclear reactor at Pelindaba.

It is these monopolies that also control the politics of Britain, the United States and West Germany. It is no surprise, then, that despite all the platitudes on racialism, Britain and the United States continue to flout UN decisions and arm the South African racists. International imperialism regards South Africa as a major bastion of neo-colonialism in Africa and is going to continue to do so whatever is said to the contrary.

—Tissa

Banzer Regime Continues University Shutdown

La Paz

The regime of Colonel Hugo Banzer has been in power now for nearly a year—and the universities that were shut down immediately after Banzer took power following the bloody coup that overthrew the government of General Juan Jose Torres on August 21, 1971 are still closed.

Despite the fact that it was officially announced on more than one occasion that the universities would be reopened this year, the regime stated only a short time ago that they would "probably" open in March 1973.

It is worth pointing out that, even before Colonel Banzer's regime ordered the closing of the universities, the Universidad Mayor de San Andres, here in La Paz, became one of its main targets.

One August 23, 1971, two days after the putschist forces took over, several units of the Army, including the tanks of the Taracapa Regiment and combat planes of the Bolivian Air Force, carried out an attack on the university, where more than 300 students had sought refuge.

The attack, which lasted slightly over half an hour, resulted in the death of at least 12 students. Several others were wounded, and close to 200 were arrested and sent to the concentration camps of Viacha and Alto Madidi. A few days later, the regime ordered the closing of all schools and universities, thus depriving thousands of students of the opportunity to continue their studies.

Needless to say, the measure hit those with low incomes the worst, since the wealthy families can always send their sons and daughters to universities abroad. In fact, several weeks after the order was put into effect, several hundred young people from well-to-do families began to leave the country to study in Brazil, Argentina, the United States and Europe.

The virtually indefinite shutdown of the universities in Bolivia makes for a very serious situation, in view of the fact that more than 65 per cent

of the people there cannot read or write and that there is a crying need for experienced teachers.

In a measure aimed at justifying, to a certain extent, the closing of the universities, Banzer appointed a committee to draw up a new law that will determine their character and govern their operation.

(Continued on page 19)

Linchpin of U.S. Involvement

"All talks about withdrawal from Vietnam have a hollow sound for some 45,000 American servicemen stationed in Thailand," reported the *Far Eastern Economic Review*.

The weekly described Thailand as "the lynchpin for continuing US involvement in Indochina."

"The servicemen are mainly airmen stationed at major military bases scattered about the country. Because the US battle burden in Vietnam has shifted fully from ground combat to air naval bombardment, Americans operations and, to a lesser extent, now wage most of their war there, as well as in Laos and Cambodia, from Thailand."

"If we want to maintain a significant military presence on the Southeast Asian mainland, this is the only feasible piece of real estate available," explains a high-ranking US official. "The combination of geography and changing political factors leaves us little choice."

Commented the reporter: "That choice is fraught with pitfalls however, for Thailand's heightened strategic importance, coupled with the devastating effect of American bombing in Vietnam, invites reprisal raids against its bases."

The Progenitor of the Peoples' Constitution

by

Maithripala Senanayake,

*Chairman, Bandaranaike Commemoration Committee
Leader of the National State Assembly,
Vice President of the SLFP and
Minister of Irrigation, Power & Highways*

Today, September 26th, 1972, marks the 13th anniversary of the tragic death of Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, the founder-leader of the SLFP. As we commemorate this sad event and pay homage to this illustrious son of Sri Lanka let us recall the contribution he made to inaugurate the flow of events that has led his countrymen to adopt and enact a new constitution for our country. With the enactment of the new constitution, Sri Lanka is a free sovereign and independent Republic deriving its power and authority solely from our own people.

The year 1972 is epochal in the history of our country as it marks the date in which the Constitution of the Republic of Sri Lanka was adopted and enacted by the Constituent Assembly of the people of our country. The new constitution declares Sri Lanka a free sovereign and independent Republic pledged to realise the objectives of a socialist democracy. The new constitution has become the fundamental law of our country deriving its power and authority solely from the people.

The promulgation of the Peoples' Constitution and its enthronement as the fundamental law has resulted in the restoration of our national self-respect, which we as a people lost, when the Kandyan Kingdom which held out to the end against foreign domination was finally ceded to the British invader in 1815.

By drafting a constitution, deriving its authority from the people themselves we have aligned ourselves with other emergent nations who have asserted the principle of "autochtony" in fashioning a "home made" constitution to accord with our national identity and cultural ethos.

By the promulgation of the new constitution on May 22nd 1972, barely two years after the historic victory of the SLFP-led United Front in 1970, the people of our country have been able to set right an aberration which caused the then leaders of our country

to accept the Soulbury Constitution, some 24 years ago.

The Soulbury Constitution had the British Crown as its fountainhead of power.

Soulbury Constitution

The Soulbury Constitution was introduced to Ceylon in 1947-48 and followed by the grant of Dominion status. By virtue of these measures we obtained political independence. The Soulbury Constitution wherein our independence was enshrined was conferred on us by the British as a parting gift to Ceylon. Immediately before Independence, civil disobedience or armed struggle did not mark our determination to obtain freedom as it happened in India and Burma. The Reforms Movement which pioneered our "struggle" for Independence did not wish to eliminate the British altogether from Ceylon. It aspired at most for a power-partnership with the British and later heightened that aspiration for something not more than dominion status.

The mode of Government enshrined in the Soulbury Constitution did not represent an organic growth with historical roots; still less did it represent the will of the people or their aspirations. It clearly suffered by not being chosen as the most suitable constitution for the country by a popularly elected Constituent Assembly.

Modelled on the British Constitution, which had a long history of evolutionary growth,

the Soulbury Constitution offered to Ceylon was replete with British parliamentary conventions and rules covering the work of the Legislature and its relations with the administration. These were copied on to the constitution for Ceylon by lawyers unacquainted with the conditions operating in Ceylon.

Even so, the late S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, then Leader of the House of Representatives and a prominent Minister of the D. S. Senanayake Cabinet expected much from the Soulbury Constitution as evidenced by his memorable speech on the attainment of Independence on 10th February, 1948, in which he expressed certain beliefs and certain aspirations he held dear:

"We must not, we cannot, allow our newly regained freedom to run the risk of remaining merely a theoretical concept, a thing dead and without real meaning for the vast mass of the people. We must see that this freedom quickens into a life of greater happiness and prosperity for us all. Political freedom comes alive only when it is utilized to achieve other freedoms—freedom from poverty, freedom from ignorance, freedom from fear. Nor is that all. We have to fan the flickering flame of democracy so that each individual is assured of those freedoms, for which democracy has always stood, and which safeguards man's self-respect and secure decent, honest and fair-dealing with man and man. In a wider sphere we must enter into friendly relations with other nations of the world and play our part worthily in all international organisations, in order that we may make our fullest contribution, small though it may be, to the peace and prosperity of mankind."

Fawn on the British

This was a succinct expression of the role Mr. Bandaranaike conceived for an enlightened political party in the context of a country newly emerging into an independent era.

However as time went on, Mr. Bandaranaike realised that the ruling class was merely content to fawn on the British and run the affairs of state in the colonial tradition. The freedom obtained, he felt, had no tangible reality for the common people.

Along with Independence, the broad masses had hoped to enjoy social and economic liberation and a restoration of their cultural heritage, and above all a chance to live with self-respect and dignity in their own land. Without this tangible substance of independence the freedom obtained from the British had no reality for the people.

The ruling elite, after Independence in 1948 set about consolidating and improving the economic position of the capitalist class and the state, increasingly became the tool for the promotion of local capitalism. Culturally alienated from the broad masses, the ruling elite and its party—



the UNP, bamboozled and cajoled large sections of the poverty stricken peasantry by the enormous economic, political and state power it inherited from the departing British. The UNP worked the Soulbury Constitution for the benefit of foreign vested interests with which its own class interests were linked and sought to frustrate any visible manifestation of the awakening of the common people.

With the foregoing picture as back-drop, Mr. Bandaranaike chose to sever relations with the UNP. In a forthright speech to Parliament on this occasion in July, 1951, Mr. Bandaranaike said:

".... When I myself agreed to serve in the present Government I did so in order to ensure that stability of government which was needed particularly at the beginning of the new era of Freedom. I also hoped that as time went on there would be increasingly manifested a greater tendency towards progressive policies and a greater readiness to deal effectively with many important problems that face our country.... There does not appear to me to be any important change in the fundamental line of thinking that we pursued for the last 25 years under colonial rule. In a free country, particularly in the context of world affairs today, this in my view, is most unsatisfactory and tragic."

Break with UNP

Mr. Bandaranaike's break away from the UNP was a turning point in the history of our country as subsequent events showed. His breakaway was clearly informed by his disenchantment with the Soulbury Constitution from which he expected so much.

This is clear from the remarks he made at the founding of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party in September 1951 and by the name he gave the new party he founded. He had in mind a party which could carry forward the Freedom movement of the country to its

inexorable culmination. On that occasion Mr. Bandaranaike said:

"At the outset it is important for you to understand clearly the nature and trend of what we may call the freedom movement in our country.... The Donoughmore Commission did not come to Ceylon as the result of any insistent demand by the people or even of our leaders but as a result of a request made by the then Governor, Sir Hugh Clifford. The Soulbury Commission was sent out here against the wishes of a large majority of the State Council and, it was boycotted by a large section of the people including Ministers...."

"It will be seen that unlike other countries like India, Pakistan, Burma, Indonesia, Ireland etc., which advanced to freedom through the instrumentality of mass movements based on clear cut principles and policies, our freedom movement was really one proceeding from the top and cut off to a great extent from the masses. It has created a feeling in the minds of most people that our freedom is not something that the people have obtained but one which a few individuals have succeeded in getting, and one therefore that is looked upon to a great extent as the private property of these individuals, the benefits of which would be chiefly enjoyed by them. It is this psychology that is chiefly responsible for nepotism and cliquism which are rampant today and for the reluctance to deal effectively with the many important problems that face us, a free country today, particularly in the context of the present trend of world affairs."

"Constitutionally, we stand for a new constitution framed with the approval of the people that will give full effect to both the concepts of freedom as well as democracy."

(Continued on page 17)

PARANTHAN CHEMICALS CORPORATION

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Bandaranaike Policy

Let Us Save It From Extremists and Reactionaries

by

T. B. Illangaratne

Minister of Foreign and Internal Trade

Thirteen years have passed since the untimely death of Prime Minister, Mr. Bandaranaike. The ceremonies in commemoration of his memory expand from year to year.

It is the other way about in respect of most people. The funeral is elaborately done, and thereafter the death anniversary is either forgotten or the colour of its ceremonial gets faded.

Why has an exception emerged in regard to Prime Minister Bandaranaike? There is no doubt this question will arise in the minds of youth.

In most countries there are permanent Exhibitions depicting their country's past. These Exhibitions are divided into three sections. This has been done with a view to keeping minds fresh with events that should not be forgotten. A person of any age seeing such an Exhibition would recall how they were, how they are, and how they would be. Recollection of such things gives oneself some sort of genuine courage. If there are such permanent Exhibitions in our country too, it would not be necessary to write articles of this nature over and over again.

Among the persons implicated in shooting Prime Minister, Mr. Bandaranaike, was one draped in robes. According to the assassin, he shot Mr. Bandaranaike as he did not work for the benefit of Buddhism and the Sinhala people.

This appears to be an astonishing statement for everybody, because several people said that the late Prime Minister did too much for the Sinhala Buddhists. When one

section said that Prime Minister, Mr. Bandaranaike, did too much, another section assassinated him saying he did too little.

Could we be pacified by such utterances? We cannot. Prime Minister, Mr. Bandaranaike, made use of the Government machinery to offer an opportunity of reasonable and decent living to all citizens of this country.

In his words, to achieve Political, Cultural, Social and Economic Freedom for Lanka has been his prime objective. Privileges of local and foreign capitalists and other vested interests started diminishing in the process of this new change, and Prime Minister Bandaranaike, was murdered by those forces with the cruel intention of preventing this progressive process.

Today, the reason for this is clearer than ever. Fortunately, those who succeeded in eliminating him physically failed to kill the policies that he stood for. Those policies were safeguarded by Mrs. Bandaranaike and others who were able to comprehend them.

Today, all progressives in Sri Lanka have accepted the Bandaranaike Policy. The United Front Manifesto clearly shows this.

What is Bandaranaike Policy? To obtain power through the franchise, and to establish a simple and an equitable or Socialist Society through legislation. This was

something new at that time. There were two extremes before the Bandaranaike era came into being. Preserving the capitalist system was one. Formation of a Socialist Society by power obtained and safeguarded through clashes, was the other.

The aim of Mr. Bandaranaike was also the foundation of Socialism. The line of action adopted was the power of the Vote, and the Law. He based his programme on support obtained from the people by correctly enlightening them, while giving due place to Language, Religion and Culture.

Most people had their doubts on the successful implementation of this new political system evolved by Mr. Bandaranaike. Later on, these doubts were gradually weaned. It is a difficult task to forge ahead having Democracy and Socialism on parallel lines. But, having one without the other is of no use. Enjoying economic freedom without community freedom is just like a "Tiger's life spent inside a Golden Cage". Similarly, enjoying community freedom without economic freedom, is like a "Cat's life under a table".

People who have not experienced these lives find it difficult to say which is better. Do not we see some African Countries? Today they live, but without hope of a tomorrow. For what purpose should we have a system of that nature?

Therefore, a Democracy without Economic Socialism is useless. Economic Socialism without a Democracy is also useless.

People of the Pre-Bandaranaike era tried on one hand, to put into action a Democracy without Economic Socialism, as opposed to Economic Socialism without Democracy on the other hand.

According to Bandaranaike Policy, both these are necessary. True, certain limitations do occur from one to the other Society. Internationally, the late Prime Minister was committed to a policy of keeping friendship with every country without any infringement on his domestic policy,—i.e. to stay without alignment with any Power Bloc.

It was to put these ideas into practice that the people of Lanka voted in the Bandaranaike Policy in 1956, 1960 and 1970.

The citizens aim at peaceful and happy living. People know through experience that peaceful and happy living could only be achieved by the Socialist Democratic System, which is termed as Bandaranaike Policy. This is what they have learned from experience, after being governed by all political parties.

Now that the policy of the Middle Path has been voted into power, Socialism should be achieved while preserving Democracy. All of us face that problem.

This is a grave problem. Political Freedom has been obtained legally, through the Republic of Sri Lanka Bill, The Land Reform Bill, Income Ceiling Bill and the Housing Bill have the effect of eradicating anomalies in our social life.

The difficult thing is to achieve Economic Freedom. We were indebted to foreign

countries to the tune of 1,500 Million Rupees. Every year Rs. 3,000 Million is paid in settlement of these loans. We won't be able to achieve real independence in conformity with the Bandaranaike Policy unless we put an end to this situation. Now, we are just like that "cat under the table". We have the freedom of movement, but have to creep under the World Bank's Table in order to free ourselves from starvation.

Some people ask "Why are you under this table? Let's creep under some other table". There is no difference whether you are under friend or foe. Economic freedom could not be achieved until this life under tables is given up. That is why there is need to produce and grow everything locally to the maximum extent, without which we cannot be truly independent.

Without facing this problem properly, certain elements in the United Front have started "running with the hare, and hunting with the hound", which is a highly double-dealing, cowardly, anti-social and opportunistic act. What politics with those people who bow their heads on seeing garlands and bouquets, and run away after pushing others into the front at the sight of brickbats. Either they should stand erect together or say "Goodbye" without hesitation.

Reactionaries as well as extremists are forever opposed to Bandaranaike Policy. On this 13th Anniversary of Mr. Bandaranaike's death, may his followers make a firm determination to defeat both those camps.

(Translated from Sinhala)



At a Convocation of the University of Ceylon in Peradeniya. The late Prime Minister with the Vice-Chancellor, the late Sir Nicholas Attygalle.

Paranthan Chemicals Corporation

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The Reactionaries Brought About His Assassination

Let Us Resolve to Break Them Now Once and For All!

by

Dr. N. M. Perera

Minister of Finance

More than a dozen years have passed since an assassin's bullet deprived this country of the vast knowledge and experience of Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike. During the short time he was Prime Minister, he laid the basis for many progressive acts. With the take over of the buses from the bus mudalalis he began the process of nationalisation. He followed this up by nationalising the cargo handling in the ports.

Unfortunately, his progressive ideas were not carried out fast enough or comprehensively enough. The result was that the reactionaries were able to consolidate themselves and break him before he could become the major menace to the capitalist system. This is a lesson that we have to learn from the 1956-1959 regime of Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike. One begins to wonder, however, whether our Government has learned this lesson adequately.

The Government that was set up in 1970 started off well on the foundation of the 25 point programme. This programme cleared the way for the break up of the power of the capitalist class and the re-awakening of the consciousness of the masses in a manner that would prevent the capitalists from re-entrenching themselves. The process of implementing the programme

has, therefore, to be pushed along rapidly. The blows on the capitalist class must fall with repeated force. Time and opportunity to recover would be fatal. This is what the Government does not seem to have realized adequately yet.

There is a feeling of lethargy, an easy-goingness, which discloses that the urgency to break capitalism has not been properly grasped. The insurgency of 1971 demonstrated the lengths to which the capitalists would use various stooges to do their nefarious work. The present Bank strike and the other threatened strikes are another manifestation of utilizing seemingly progressive slogans and acts to cover diabolical plots directed against the Government. The capitalist class cannot be happy about the Land Reform Act, the Productivity Act, Capital Levy, Compulsory Savings and various other measures directed to lay the

foundation of a Socialist society. These measures are also calculated to stimulate the planned development of the country. The control of private establishments and, wherever feasible, the take over of important key industries will and should not only help improve the production, but also create the atmosphere that is so important to generate the enthusiasm of the work force. No plan can succeed unless the working class takes an active part in the fulfilment of the objectives of the plan. Mere arithmetical figures of a Plan cannot enthuse the people. Each person must feel that he is part of the Plan, that he has a stake in the fulfilment of the Plan. This is why the Five-Year Plan still remains largely immobilized. There are isolated acts taken in terms of the Plan, but there is no comprehensive achievement of the goals set out in the Plan.

Let us, at least on this anniversary of Mr. Bandaranaike's death, re-think the tasks that we have to fulfil in order to achieve the goal that we pledged to realize in 1970. This is a solemn pledge that we gave the people of this country. We then undertook the re-ordering of our society ensuring prosperity to the country and a high standard of living to the people.

A Timely Thought

"Count no man happy till you see him die"
So Solon said. Then let us ponder, why?
Great Emperors who knew no higher power
In captive chains approach the fatal hour.
Proud demagogues when people's choice enthroned
Tomorrow by that choice are overthrown.
The Croesus who has piled much wordly store
Gloats on his hoard at night desiring more.
The mighty Sandow confident and strong
May not enjoy his health and strength for long.
Then why should men for wealth and office strive
For fleeting power that cannot long survive?
Let them amass the only lasting store
Of merit which prevails for evermore,
By selfless service free of envy, hate
And shed their vices ere it is too late.
Let politicians keep an open mind
And know their failings—not to them be blind.
Let them not seek in folly to suppress
Their critics or the searchlight of the Press
But rather face the challenge of the hour
And keep their faith with those who gave them power.

Mervyn Casle Chetty



**THOUGH NOT
WITH US TODAY
YOUR MEMORY IMBUES
TOMORROW'S
FORWARD MARCH**

SATHOSA

COMMEMORATES THE LATE
HON. S.W. R.D. BANDARANAIKE'S
DEATH ANNIVERSARY

**TODAY
WE REMEMBER**

A revered National Leader

Beloved of the People

of

Sri Lanka



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Bandaranaike was a Man of Compassion

Six bullets from a foul assassin's weapon laid low a man whom destiny had marked to be a leader. Those misguided persons who believed that death would destroy him were certainly mistaken. Bandaranaike dead is more potent than Bandaranaike alive. Plots and plotters generally end in disgrace and miscalculations—his enemies did not realise that destiny will not brook defeat, and human anticipations cannot discern the ways of destiny. Thirteen years have rolled by, but his memory continues to live; and, what is more, it operates as a source of inspiration to many.

I gladly accepted the invitation to record my impressions of this man among men as I have had some opportunities of being associated with him and can speak of him and his worth with some personal knowledge. Some of my impressions are naturally based on hearsay, but many of them are personal as I had the privilege of a somewhat close acquaintance with him particularly during the latter part of his life when I was head of the Times Group of newspapers.

He was born into an aristocratic family in the last year of the last century. The nineteenth century was ebbing fast, and the twentieth century was struggling to be born. His aristocratic birth gave him all the opportunities to go astray into the bosom of high officialdom. The glittering prizes of governmental positions could have enticed an ordinary person away from the worries and anxieties of the maddening crowd. But young Bandaranaike seems to have been born with an inner urge to understand the tribulations and aspirations of the common man to whose service he subsequently dedicated himself.

He was no infant prodigy; but he was the precious only son of a highly be-Knighted gentleman who imported into Ceylon an Englishman of learning in whose care the young hopeful began to grow in letters and numbers. He subsequently joined St. Thomas' College where he distinguished himself. He was among the eight students who obtained First Class Honours in the Cambridge Senior Examination in 1915—a great year for St.

Thomas'. He then entered Cardinal Woolsey's Christ Church, Oxford, where he missed a first in Mods. But he acquired a reputation as a Speaker in the Oxford Union. The *Oxford Magazine* and the *Isis* have recorded complimentary references to his prowess as a debator. The late Edward Majoribanks, Union President and a double first wrote in the *Oxford Magazine* of 9th Nov. 1922 as follows:

"Rare eloquence is rarely heard in any debating society, but we heard it from Mr. Bandaranaike"

Sinhala Maha Sabha

More need not be said about his performance at Oxford as he himself has recounted his reminiscences in eighteen articles he wrote to *The Ceylon Caurerie* in 1933, 1934 and 1935.

It was in 1927 that Mr. Bandaranaike ousted the then invincible A. E. Goonesinghe from his seat in the Municipal Council. It was a strenuous contest. As young boys we were with Mr. Bandaranaike. Not that we wielded any influence, or were equal to the thuggery in which some Goonesinghe supporters excelled; but we had loud voices which shouted "Appa Nayake Bandaranayake". These sounds reverberated in and out of Tower Hall which was then a platform for political meetings. Will it be incorrect to say that this cry has continued to reverberate through the years?

This was really the beginning of his political career. He had outstripped and outshone an outstanding labour leader. In 1931 he was returned un-

by

C. X. Martyn

(M.P. for Jaffna)

opposed as Member for Veyangoda. Mr. Bandaranaike formed the Sinhala Maha Sabha. He explained that his object was "to unite the Sinhalese and work in cooperation with other communities". One cannot honestly say he achieved these dual objectives. He was a friend and admirer of the late Sir Baron who reciprocated his friendship and admiration.

In 1936 he became a member of the Board of Ministers. When the Soulbury Commission was enacted he entered parliament as Member for Attanagalla securing 31,643 votes. He had a large following and he could have seriously embarrassed D. S. but he preferred to co-operate. He was a member of the D. S. cabinet but for political reasons which need no recapitulation here he resigned from the Cabinet; he founded the Sri Lanka Freedom Party. A new movement had arisen, a different stage had been reached.

Magnanimous

At the General Election of 1952 he was again returned to Attanagalla with a very impressive majority of 32,000 votes but his party suffered a crushing defeat. It secured only nine seats. He became leader of the opposition in the House of Representatives. Nothing daunted, Mr. Bandaranaike then proceeded in his pursuit to capture public opinion. On the eve of the General Election in April 1956 he formed the Mahajana Eksath Peramuna which was a political alliance of three political parties; he also entered into a no-contest pact with the leftist groups. He was however quite nervous of the outcome of the elections. It may be appropriate to record a conversation which his lieutenant Mr. A. P. Jayasuriya and he had at the breakfast table while he munched his kiri bath.

I also happened to be there. Mr. Bandaranaike said: "A. P. how many seats do you think we will win". A. P. hesitated and then hazarded a guess—"about fifty". Mr. Bandaranaike almost jumped out of his chair and shouted "Ha ha ha... A. P. that's wishful thinking! Optimism with a vengeance! If I get a little over twenty seats I'll be in a bargaining position". The conversation terminated. When the results were announced his party had captured 51 out of the 60 seats contested and had decimated the ruling U.N.P. He himself had polled 45,106 votes and had a record majority of 41,997 votes over his nearest rival.

He was magnanimous enough to tell A. P. "You are a marvellous fellow. As usual you are always right."

Mr. Bandaranaike then commenced the movements for which he had prepared himself for several years amidst the mixed complex of success and defeat. A social and economic revolution had begun.

Mr. Bandaranaike was one of the first to wear national dress in about 1925 and in this matter he shares the honour with Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayakam the Federal Party leader. In 1931 he attended a dinner at Queen's House in National Dress. Mr. Bandaranaike preserved his Western dinner Kit so carefully that when he attended the Commonwealth Conference as Prime Minister, he told me he used the same kit for the Queen's dinner, which he wore as an undergraduate. While his physical dimensions remained the same, his intellectual dimensions had enormously increased and progressed.

National Dress

Dress by itself is not a matter of much consequence. But in him it was an outward manifestation of an inward disposition. There lies the importance of this change of attire. The first speech to be delivered in Parliament in Sinhalese was by him in the course of the Budget Debate in 1948. Here too he was thinking of the Common Man.

It was during this period of a little over three years that he had the opportunity of beginning to fulfil what he understood to be his mission in life. The era of the Common man had begun. But to him this period was by no means a bed of roses. His goodness was mistaken for weakness, his desire to explore and understand all sides to a question was misunderstood to be an inability to make quick decisions. This is the misfortune of the thinking man.

He made Sinhala the official language with an assurance for a reasonable place for Tamil. This did not satisfy the Extreme Sinhala elements and it offended the Tamil minority which expected greater protection for its linguistic rights. His difficulties arose because he was thwarted in his honest attempts by elements he could not throw out without

destroying the other objects he had in view. It is unfortunate that Mr. Bandaranaike who wanted Sinhala with a reasonable place for Tamil was the target of all the minority attacks, while the U.N.P. which wanted Sinhala without any strings attached did not receive the same antagonism. Anyway it is significant that when the Federal Party and the Tamil Congress joined the U.N.P. in 1965 their demands were met by the Bandaranaike language policy as contained in the Sinhala Only Act and the Tamil Language Special Provisions Act. In making these observations I am not in any way deprecating the efforts of honest Tamils who seek more adequate linguistic rights; nor am I expressing satisfaction and contentment about the existing linguistic position. I need only repeat that politics is the art of the possible and that a slow and steady way may win with less difficulty, but perhaps with some delay.

B-C Pact

During his tenure of office as Prime Minister I had some chance of understanding his aims and objects as I had easy access to him as head of the Times Group. For instance, I know he had genuinely desired the implementation of the B.C. Pact. But the web of circumstance was too intricate. When he met me at the Lodge at N'Elia the day after the B.C. pact was negotiated, he told me "I did not tear the pact. The pact exhausted itself as the result of errors on both sides"—I found he was greatly distressed.

I cannot conclude my observations without some reference to his views on the Press. He said in an address to the Press Association of Ceylon on 10th January 1959.

"Judging from my own experience, the Press, or an influential section of it, has generally been hostile to me during the whole thirty years of my career; but it seems to have done me more good than otherwise".

The hostility of some sections of the Press towards his government was sometimes notorious but that did not warp his outlook on the position of a free press nor did it impel him to reciprocate his hostility. He did feel that the press should show greater responsibility, especially in a country where there is a pathetic belief in the infallibility of the written word.

I should like to recount just two incidents which throw some light on his views. The Times of Ceylon had condemned British actions in Kenya at that time as acts of savagery. The Times had financial commitments with a British Bank. One of the legal advisers to this Bank spoke to me quite threateningly about what I considered was very fair comment. I mentioned this casually to Mr. Bandaranaike who immediately took the telephone and told the big boss of the Bank: "Please remember that financial commitments and Press censorship

"We are, all of us, men and women, people of all races, of all ways of thinking, to a greater or lesser extent, trustees for mankind"

The Honourable S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike
Late Prime Minister of Ceylon

Eastern Paper Mills Corporation
356, Union Place
Colombo 2

(Continued on page 15)

The True Significance of 1956

Historians Have So Far Failed to Interpret It

by

Gunadasa Amarasekara

What struck me most in reading the 'modern histories' of Ceylon is the absolute lack of insight and sympathy displayed by almost all the writers who have attempted to interpret the modern period and the changes of 1956.

this country, that has given these writers to come to such superficial conclusions. This type of analysis with pretensions to rational judgement, suffers from a lack of basic understanding, insight and intuition.

Of the histories I have read the only work that displayed some measure of insight is 'A Divided Nation' by Farmer. By this I do not mean to endorse Farmer's lamentations over what happened here, or his superficial observations. In spite of the prejudices that could be easily discerned Farmer displays a streak of insight in his analysis. He is the only historian of this group who is willing enough to admit, though very grudgingly, that there was a second wave of 'Nationalism' in 1956, similar to that in 1948, and that it was not a victory of a barbaric horde over a civilized community. This observation of Farmer, though not very original or profound, at least accepts the fact that there have been two separate political movements in existence which reached their peak in 1948 and 1956. I would like to come back to Farmer's thesis at the end of this. Before that it would be worthwhile examining some of the attitudes and statements of some of the writers and historians at this point.

Almost all the writers who have attempted to comment on the 1956 'Revolution' can be divided into two main categories.

The first group consists of writers, G. C. Mendis, Farmer, and Ludowyke. This group suffers from a lack of sympathy and an inherent prejudice. The feeling one gets from their writings is that they have been unable to come to terms with

the events that they are dealing with, and would have preferred a different course of events. Dr. G. C. Mendis' writings are typical of this group.

According to Dr. Mendis, the Sinhala nation was saved from the tyranny of the Old Sinhala Kings by Colebrooke and Cameron. They, with their progressive measures, civilized us and brought about the emergence of an enlightened English-speaking civilized community. This was a progressive community—a current of life flowing in the modern direction. But unfortunately, at the same time there slowly emerged another class, consisting of Buddhist monks, Ayurvedic physicians, and Sinhala school-masters who were gradually facing extinction in the presence of the above-mentioned English speaking community. In 1956 the dark forces were let loose and these would in time destroy all that is valuable amongst us, and take us back to the Dark Ages.

This is Mendis' analysis of the 1956 events in a nutshell. Ludowyke and Farmer too maintain more or less the same attitude. Ludowyke is at a loss to understand why ignorant peasants flocked to see the dead body of a man, ignoring his weaknesses but willing only to remember the kind words he spoke of his killer. I think it is not only a lack of sympathy on the part of these writers, but a part of their inherent incapability to identify themselves with the aspirations of the masses of

The other group of writers who I feel are wide off the mark are the so called Left theorists. They are more slaves of Marxist tenets than critics who are capable of creatively interpreting these valuable tenets. They may have been influenced by Marxist writings of the early period which have now come to be labelled as 'crude Marxism'. Their main folly was to apply preconceived Marxist analysis—analysis of class structure etc.—on a society and a situation which had no relevance to these. These theorists saw the above ranks, Buddhist priests, Ayurvedic physicians, and the Sinhala School-masters as comprising a national bourgeoisie. Nothing could be further from the truth than this. In the first place, to divide the Sinhala peasantry into classes, which invariably admits an economic basis for its definition, shows more lack of understanding of our peasantry than an understanding of Marxism. The Sinhala peasantry, including Buddhist monks, Ayurvedic physicians, and school teachers, fall into one class. They are ranks within that one class. Even in the West, prior to the Industrial Revolution, there were hardly any classes in the Marxist sense of the word. Present-day sociologists prefer to call them ranks rather than classes. Even today the Sinhala peasantry that lives in the villages falls into a single class, within which one may discern a few ranks. To imagine that there is a class-consciousness and a sense of class-antagonism among such a peasantry and to hope to bring about a revolution by fanning a class antagonism is only to suffer under an illusion.

I think one of the main tasks for the more enlightened Marxist thinkers among us today is to clarify these points to the younger generation who, for lack of opportunity to read and understand the essence of Marxist thinking, seem to cling to those meaningless outmoded concepts in the name of Marxism and Scientific Socialism. (Recently a young Communist had even pointed out that I had not brought out this class antagonism inherent in our society (even) in my recent collection of stories.)

What then is the essence of the events of 1956, that have eluded both these groups?

To understand this one would have to examine these events in the light of the recent history, or may be the entire history, of our country. Martin Wickremesinghe's essay, 'The fall of the Brahmin Caste' is such an attempt, to examine these events in terms



With India's Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru. On a visit of the latter to Ceylon.

of the cultural history of our entire nation. Here Wickremesinghe sees the victory of the mass Buddhist culture over the Brahmin city culture. This is one piece of writing which shows depth of understanding, insight and intuition.

Farmer is partly right in calling 'the revolution of 1956' a second wave of Nationalism, but where he errs is in not considering this the main political and nationalist movement of the country.

In the nationalist movements of India and Ceylon two complementary sentiments, Patriotism, and Political Consciousness, can be observed working hand in hand. The call for Patriotism was also a call for the awakening of the political consciousness. A leader like Gandhi had to first identify himself with the masses before calling for Patriotism. This may be why a body like the Indian National Congress, in spite of being labelled as a bourgeois party by the Marxist theorists, has been able to win the confidence of the masses, and has managed to survive so long.

It was Anagarika Dharmapala who initiated this dualistic, true Nationalist movement of this country. How Anagarika went from village to village, lived with the peasants, ate what they gave, and engaged himself in an incessant dialogue with them, and how thereby he was able to awaken the political consciousness of the masses is still a living memory to some of us. The movement

initiated by Dharmapala gathered momentum through leaders such as Piyadasa Sirisena, F. R. Senanayake, C. A. Hewawitharane, and Walsinghe Harischandra. It was an off-shoot of this main current that was taken over by the later temperance workers who did not wish to be involved in this main current, lest they may be thrown out by the very forces that went into its formation. The independence of 1948 was a creation of these leaders who feared this main current. That the independence of 1948 was not felt by the masses of this country is no surprise.

This event, the Independence of 1948, could in no way crush the mass movement or mitigate the rising political consciousness of the masses of this country. It could only send it underground in a sense. And hence it could not be seen by the English-educated civilized community that Dr. Mendis speaks of.

The genius of Bandaranaike as a statesman lay in the fact that he could see this main current which could not be seen by either the English-speaking civilized community or its rulers. His slogans, Sinhala in 24 hours, Pride of place for Buddhism, Recognition of Ayurveda, were mere incantations that were needed for that current to break through that covering crust of 'the civilized' community and see the light of the day. They have no more value beyond that.

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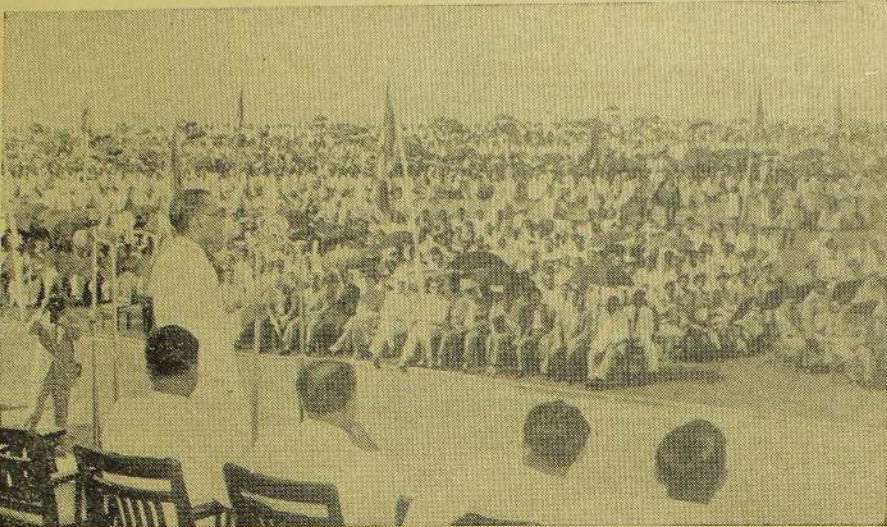
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S W R D - The Cultural Activist

By Nalin Wijesekera



On the occasion of the Nationalisation of Buses. The late Prime Minister addresses a Public Meeting opposite the House of Representatives.

King Dutugemunu curled up in a domestic ottoman, was Hamletifying about the question of Sri Lanka being in the jaws of foreign contamination. Perhaps a similar mental dialogue was in progress at Horagolla. The mind behind this thinking was our late and revered Prime Minister, S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike whose vision executed that indomitable Peoples victory. He was an architect of sombre wisdom that permeated through the country's tranquility. He was cultured to an extent that the world curtsied to his discretion.

Here I remember Cardinal Newman professing on Art and silently ejaculating the words "living nature, not dull art, shall plan my ways and rule my Heart". Surely this is implicitly what Mr. Bandaranaike enumerated and exercised.

As a politician, as a philosopher and as an artist, Ceylon accepted perhaps the most versatile Prime Minister to wear the diadem of indigenous and universal accolade. Here I would like to briefly skim

through one of the late Mr. Bandaranaike's most well known literary achievements.

It was only last year that the 'Horror of Ma Hena' was subjected to cinematic treatment. Superficially it may look to the imperceptive mind a 'passes' episode. But intrinsically it reeks with humanitarian veracity. Here the protagonist—a vampire—is living on the sweat and the blood of his less fortunate humans. Symbolically the picture is so akin to reality. The blood sucking is merely a visual enhancement of Mr. Bandaranaike's own vision of the privations that existed in our colonial society.



We Salute...

We Salute the
Late Mr. S. W. R. D.
BANDARANAIKE,
Prime Minister of Ceylon,
who ushered in the
Era of the Common man.

And today, the People's Bank
Brings Banking to the common
man.



DRAMATIC STILLS FROM
THE MOTION PICTURE
THE 'HORROR OF MA
HENA'



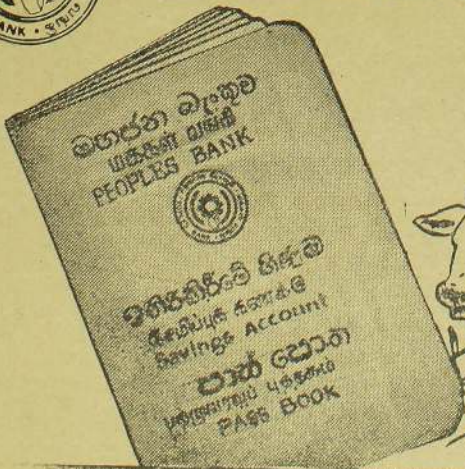
It was some years back that we read this poignant human dilemma serialised in the national newspaper media under the ink of Piyal Wickramasinghe.

This is but one facet of a colossal personality that would be hard to come by in the span of our past or in the span of our future.

It is almost the definition of a gentleman like Mr. Bandaranaike to say of him that he is one who never inflicts pain or discord but imbues concord and amity. Surely it is to such a memory and to such a man that such words speak "ex umbris et imaginibus in veritatem".



PEOPLE'S BANK



Consolidate Socialist Gains

(A resolution Adopted at the Executive Committee Meeting of the SLAMAT held on 24th August, 1972.)

The Sri Lanka Malay Workers & Students Socialist Front (SLAMAT) has decided to support the United Front Candidates in the forthcoming by-elections to the Nuwara Eliya, Ratnapura, Kesbewa and Puttalam seats in the National State Assembly.

In its assessment of the economic and political situation in the country during the last two years *vis-a-vis* the performances of the United Front Government, the SLAMAT takes note of the emerging threat of reaction which appears to have come to the offensive in an endeavour to recoup its fastly eroding position and which finds political expression through the

demagogy of the United National Party.

The scarcity of certain essential commodities and its corollary—the rise in the cost of living, are being exploited by these forces to drive a wedge between the Government and the mass of the common people who voted in the United Front Parties to power. The SLAMAT is

conscious of the fact that a country like Ceylon dependant as it is on the sale of only two or three primary products in the foreign markets is completely vulnerable to imperialist exploitation and as such any serious attempt at developing the economy would necessarily involve a reduction of consumption standards in the country.

This problem is further aggravated due to the unprecedented increase in the international freight rates, the instability of international currencies such as the Dollar and the Pound Sterling and the resultant increase in the world market prices of commodities essential to the community. It is the cumulative effect of all these that continue to cause the hardships the common man is undergoing at present times.

The SLAMAT reasserts its position that the only way out of this situation lies along a rapid advance towards Socialism and no other.

Looking back at the performance of the Government over the last two years, it is a matter for satisfaction that the Government, despite the machinations of reaction to distract its attention, was successful in declaring Ceylon a free, independent and sovereign Republic; has adopted a Constitution committed to the realisation of Socialist objectives and several other radical measures of which the latest was the Land Reform Act.

Nevertheless, it should be confessed that the pace of its movement leaves much to be desired. The pace has to be hastened and the Government will have to move in a much more purposeful manner if it is keen in kindling the necessary mass enthusiasm,

which is a *sine qua non*, for a serious march towards Socialism. This can be generated if the Government shows its determination in fearlessly implementing its declared socialist measures and other pledges expeditiously. It is the absence of this political courage that has emboldened reaction to come into the open in various colours and hues to frustrate the aspirations of the people. The demagogy in which it indulges shows its crass opportunism and is intended to thwart any possible transformation of Society.

We have to sound a note of warning to the mass of the

people who voted the United Front parties not to be duped by the political chicanery of the Right. Let us jealously consolidate the gains already made and unremittingly participate in the acceleration of the process towards a radical change of Society.

It is in this situation the SLAMAT appeals to every right-thinking citizen and every Malay voter who have the interest of the country at heart, in the Nuwara Eliya, Ratnapura, Kesbewa and Puttalam electorates, to rally round the SLFP candidates representing the United Front and ensure their victory at the forthcoming By-Elections.

So-So-Sodepax and the Bank Strike!

(The current Bank strike has given rise to a most extraordinary phenomenon. The emergence of a whole new 'class' of strike-sympathisers. We need hardly add that this new 'class' has sprung up from the middle classes and consists of people who are normally hostile to trade union action and who are the inherent 'allies' of management. This is of course a peculiar strike, since it is launched against a worker's Government, by the middle classes, thus the conduct of these strange new defenders of 'the workers' is easily understandable. Among such organisations is 'SODEPAX', which for some reason we always associated with mineral waters! Reader Tilak Samarasingha has contributed a very interesting letter of the Almighty that he had managed to intercept. It is reproduced with kind permission of the Almighty.)

—ED

Blessings to my chosen children of Sri Lanka for having formed SODEPAX. Pity that poor heathen of a

Finance Minister who will be hard put to find an Earthling of an arbitrator "a man of the highest integrity and who is completely disinterested as far as this dispute is concerned." Although in all humility I would not say I am the greatest, yet I think I am the only one who possesses those exemplary qualities required of an arbitrator to settle this bank strike.

Even if I could find a little time to intervene in this trying affair on earth, I doubt whether the Finance Minister would engage my services. My partiality for Christians is only apparent, not real, but Dr. N. M. Perera will not believe it. Strangely enough, though almighty, I am powerless to make him believe it. So must I appeal to him to settle for a 'second best'. A bench of five judges, three Christians and two non-Christians, to secure that disinterested balance!

Mercifully Yours
God

Tobacco: An Expanding Industry

Tobacco—a non traditional export item—has now become a valuable foreign exchange earner for our country. Last year, Ceylon Tobacco Company earned nearly seven million rupees in foreign exchange by exporting locally grown tobacco. The amount of tobacco exported represented one fifth of the total crop.

A spokesman of the Company said that on account of the unprecedented drought early this year, export plans could not be finalised due to a fall of two million pounds below target production. However, the Company was able to maintain the same level of exports despite the shortfall.

For 1973, orders for higher exports have been received and if the weather conditions are suitable, export earnings can increase to about Rs. 10 million, the spokesman added.

Referring to the problems facing the export of tobacco, the Chairman of Ceylon Tobacco Company, Mr. S. V. Wanigasekera in his Annual Review states that despite offering the leaf at prices barely covering direct cost, it is becoming difficult to find buyers in the international export markets. "Whilst the leaf is perfectly acceptable as to quality, our prices are not com-

petitive in the world market because of the guaranteed price scheme in operation locally", he says.

Mr. Wanigasekera adds: "We are again faced with demands by farmers for higher prices and once more we have stated that with present prices already unrealistic by world standards, such increases will only put the exporting of tobacco into more jeopardy than at present. In addition to other countries in the East, new areas in Africa and South America are supplying world markets with tobacco at prices much lower than those which we can offer. Government authorities concerned with tobacco price negotiations will have to appreciate that farmers can get more income from better yields than from higher prices per pound and this in turn will lead to our export prices not becoming even more uncompetitive. Our efforts to increase the volume of tobacco

exports, with a view to earning more foreign exchange in keeping with the Government's Five Year Plan, will be nullified unless Government authorities concerned co-operate with us in this respect."

The area under tobacco cultivation now exceed 18,000 acres and over 50,000 persons are in gainful employment in the rural sector. The total payout to farmers last year exceeded Rs. 28 million. This represents an income of between Rs. 1500 and Rs. 2000 per acre.

Meanwhile, the importation of leaf tobacco has now ceased thus helping to conserve foreign exchange. The Company is also conducting extensive trials and experiments with a view to substituting local printing and packaging materials for those normally imported.

According to the Company's Annual Report, a sum of Rs. 343 million rupees has been paid to Government during 1971-72 as Excise and Duty on tobacco, Turnover Taxes, Income tax and Fees.

Communications

Solving the Un-Employment Problem

In formulating an employment policy in Sri Lanka the central weakness in the view of a Government Programme was that it wanted to isolate Sri Lanka from the rest of the World. In a country that was so much dependent on her primary agricultural commodities such a policy would be disastrous. In response to a question that Sri Lanka had nothing to benefit from tying itself to the developed world as the experience of the last decade had indicated.

One would like to be frank about the failure of the developed countries to meet the problems of the Third World. It was unfortunate that the last UNCTAD conference at Santiago would produce no results since there was now a hardening of attitudes of liberalism in trade policies to their World from the developed countries as a result of the developed countries themselves facing an unemployment crisis. In the developed world the unemployed figure was about 3 per cent a decade ago. In the developing World of course, the problems of unemployment was far worse—at rate of 10-20 percent.

One would agree with many persons who said that the Governments were helpless when tackling the unemployment position in the developing countries. Taking Sri Lanka as a specific instance, one would say, that little or nothing had been done to limit families. If one did not tackle the population problem, one could not in the long run prevent young people coming into the labour market and not being absorbed.

In Sri Lanka something like 100,000 young persons were coming into the labour market every year and there were no jobs for them. There was plenty which Government could do in this situation. I am talking in general terms and not trying to lay down what Sri Lanka should do. There was plenty of room for manoeuvre but politically difficult decisions had to be taken. One needed new orientations to educational, administrative,

taxation and population policies. These would involve painful decisions. They were however, not impossible decisions to take. There was plenty that any Government could do from inside.

One of the phenomenon of the modern world was that unemployment even in the developed World was alongside rising prices. Its ominous character unlike that of the nineteen thirties was that it was high despite expansion in trade and industry all over the World since the last war. In the 1950's one thought that economic growth would solve unemployment, in 1960's one thought that expanding education was the answer, in the 1970's we are thinking of equal income distribution as being one of the methods to correct unemployment.

The major sources of unequal income distribution (i) big land holdings, (ii) high profits (iii) high salaries. On salaries I wish to cite some very interesting figures. These related figures of the ratio between the head of a department's salary and the equivalent salary of a messenger boy in these countries—U.K. 12-1, U.S.A. 11-1, Ghana 80-1 East Africa 100-1, French Africa 150-1. These figures revealed 'gross inequalities'. In most developing countries such inequalities in the wage structure were due to just taking on the colonial systems of salaries.

One would be very critical of aid policies of the developed world. In very many cases aid was being given to disrupt equality of income distribution. One would be particularly critical of tying project aid which was more harmful than the high interest rates charged. It is referred to the inapt and inept technology that aid usually transferred to a developing country where there was plenty of labour and less need for machines. Mere figures like one percent transfer of resources from developed countries meant nothing.

Victor Karunaratne

Wattegama Road,
Ukuwela.

Education and the Pre-School Child

by R. D. Karunairajan

In January 1973, consequence to the decision of the Educational Authorities of this country, the first batch of children will begin their compulsory schooling on reaching their sixth year.

Formal education in many of the affluent countries such as Germany, France, Italy and in most of the states of the USA begins at six years. In the USSR, Netherlands and the Scandinavian countries, children begin school an year later. In England, the usual practice is for the child to spend its first two years in an infant school and then start the normal school at the age of seven. German children aged between 4 and 6 attend pre-schools called *volksschulen* while their counterparts in France attend nursery schools supported by the Government from direct taxation. In some parts of the USA, children begin their schooling at the age of eight. The USSR, which is the foremost country in the provision of nursery education, runs these institutions through government offices, factories, collective farms and other workers organisations. In the Peoples' Republic of China and in the USSR, which has a literacy rate of 99%, schools at all levels emphasise on skills rather than mere book-learning, and all schools are co-educational. Their educational system is divided mainly into three categories—primary, secondary, and technical, and is very much development-oriented.

Although formal education begins between the 5th and the 8th years, during the last 100 years, educationists and psychologists have found that by the age of six, many of the sensitive periods for specific types of learning have already passed. In these periods the child is open and ready for learning a particular skill appropriate to his stage of development. It is the period of the most radical growth in physical and mental characteristics and is greatly influenced by environmental factors too. Educational and medical experts are now convinced that once the child has passed this age, it is difficult and probably impossible for it to re-adjust. A recurring theme of child psychologists is that early ideas, associations and taboos which a child learns are probably the most enduring he will ever have.

Constant Analysis

The pre-school child is busy, curious, observant, forever eagerly discovering, experimenting and seeking information. Any pre-school programme should be designed to stimulate the child's thirst for knowledge and guide him towards the skills he needs for school. His number sense should be developed by letting him learn to recognise numbers and help to make number work easy and enjoyable. He should be helped with confident and lively speech in order to aid his ability to communicate and to develop his enjoyment of words and sounds and thereby infuse in him a great deal of self-confidence. The child should also be encouraged to develop his powers of observation,

co-ordination, manual control, word-awareness and be given 'reading-readiness' by the time he arrives at school. Finally, he should be helped to learn through discoveries and experiments that would capture his imagination and keep him busy and happy.

Learning is a process of inquiry beginning from doubts and uncertainty. Learning is also spurred by the desire to reconcile with issues, problems and events and even to relieve the strain and tension of the environment. Every little acre in the world has its own peculiar problems and needs, and requires constant adjustments and solutions. Education must therefore begin with experience and have as its aim growth and achievement of maturity. It also requires a constant analysis of the contemporary society, its needs and its aims, particularly in view of the rapid and momentous changes that are occurring as a result of great advances made by science and technology. We cannot set back the hands of the clock. We have to appreciate that in the twentieth century, conditions of life has been enormously transformed for man, both materially and psychologically.

Institutions of learning today have to become more student-centred than subject-centred grinding machines. Secondly, education through activity is vital, than formal learning, and finally vocational and occupational education should be greatly emphasised, in preference to the mastery of traditional subjects. Pre-schools have therefore a very vital role to play in making the right start for children before they commence formal schooling.

Skilled People

The pre-school is a bridge between the life of the home and school, homelike in character and as welcoming to parent as to child. Attendance at a pre-school is desirable for all children, even more for those in socially and geographically deprived areas. Children need the opportunities for constructive play, a more richly differentiated environment and the access to medical care that good pre-schools will provide. In this sphere in particular, the scope for pre-schools to promote health and welfare standards in the society, is tremendous. Above all children need verbal stimulus. Amongst children below the age of six, the growth of measured intelligence is associated with socio-economic factors. Poverty of language is a major cause for poor achievements. It is best that attempts are made to offset this particular short-coming at an early age. Most children do benefit from the physical care, varied opportunities for play indoors and out, the companionship of other children and the presence of understanding adults in well organised pre-schools.

It is unfortunate that even today, when two great determinants of the modern age—science and technology, has blasted its way through the barriers of space, a demand for pre-schools should be answered by the mushrooming of

hundreds of verandah nurseries extending the *Sit-Still* pattern of an already moth-eaten primary school system, teaching the very drudgery of parrot language, that would anyway be taught to the child an year or two later, to make him even more bored and miserable. The equipment generally is confined to a table, a set of chairs, a black-board and a teacher or two generally ill-equipped for such a task, both in quality and temperament. Children need love, which is the most important condition for healthy and happy all-round development, and all kinds of mamas and made-moiselle do not make good preschool teachers. It is better for children not to attend such pre-schools. This is a heinous crime on society and amounts to total mutilation of a child's spirit.

Education is no more the drill of numbers and alphabets drilled to establish motor-habits. Education is also no more synonymous with schooling. The world outside—the mass media, all forms of communications including the television and the films, places of worship, the faculties of education, the factory floors, social service institutions, the museums and the libraries, the forces, corporate training programmes, industrial and agricultural training centres, movements such as the YMCA, Boy Scouts etc. are all educating institutions. Long before the child is 6, he is already using words and is often familiar with books, toys and music. The issue is not whether he should be 'educated' before he reaches school age, because that is happening anyway. What has got to be

decided is whether his education is to take place in increasing association with other children under the supervision of skilled people and in the right condition with the right people.

Tomorrow's Citizens

Children and adults are learning all the time to keep pace with rapid changes and environmental re-structurisations. Education therefore is the creation, evocation and transmission of knowledge, abilities and values, with the deliberate purpose to reconcile with the requirements of the society and to continuously improve on existing standards. Education also facilitates joy in learning and aesthetic expression, and above all, develops character, and trains the individual to responsible citizenship. The children of yesterday are the world citizens of today.

Will History Repeat Itself?

The news item in a daily paper with the caption 'The High Price of Legal Advice'—'Corporation Chairmen among recipients'—giving the names and the amounts received by them in the way of fees shocked a few. But they would be in for bigger shocks if only the figures for the other corporations were also published; the figures given publicly concern only one Government corporation. Then what operates behind the scenes would be laid bare to the public.

But this is no surprise to those who had been painfully watching the snail-space with which the Government had been proceeding so far. I met the present Minister of Finance about two years before the last General Elections when he was in Hospital. Then he told me that the coalition was sure of being returned to power with at least two-third majority. If that was the case, I told him, then it was time for the coalition parties to plan out the programme and even to get their draft bills ready. For this purpose I suggested that several committees operate and all progressive legislations passed within three months of the election. He agreed with me though he said that three months was too soon; he suggested an year's period. I told this same thing to the present Minister of Housing and Construction.

However nothing was done in that direction resulting in the delay of most important legislations. This contributed in no small measure to the insurgent movement of 1971. It is a well known fact that the longer the delay the greater the chance for reaction to build up resistance—as they are doing now—and for corruption to set in. The news-item is only an instance of the stranglehold reaction has on the Government.

From 1970 onwards we have heard only loud expressions of proposed legal reforms, doing away with various monopolies etc., but there has been no relief so far. Able lawyers and genuine supporters of this Government policies were shut out from any patronage by the former Government; and they are again shut out by the present Government because they do not belong to the privileged class who can successfully pre-

surise any Government. But those lawyers continue to work for the Government serving in committees without payment and serving their parties by appearing in cases free of charge.

One instance would illustrate this point. A few months ago an experienced counsel who is also a member of the central committee of a coalition party appeared for a pittance for an employee of a Nationalised Bank, while a noted supporter of the opposite Party and a very raw recruit to the profession appeared for the Bank charging a sizable fee. When it came to a dispute over the quantum of costs that should be awarded by the Bank, the Bank lawyer had the

bugs" was able to become the Chairman of an important Corporation under a 'Marxist' Minister within days of the election. After they become Chairmen, of course, they know how to run their Ministers.

This is how the progressive policies of the Government are being thwarted. Not that there is paucity of talents in the country. But the Ministers are surrounded by pressure groups obstructing their view of the world outside. The fact that the Ministers themselves belong to a class or a community is also contributory. But it would be unwise of the Ministers not to provide against it. There is a way out.

The constituent parties of the coalition can sit and draw up a list of names of those, who are fit and proper to be appointed as Chairmen and Directors of Corporations. These names can be pooled and a selection made from among them by a responsible committee—of course with the concurrence of the particular Minister. This would prevent the overnight decisions of making shocking appointments

There is now another headline in the papers that the Government is proposing to take steps to do something in the direction of preventing the drain of money outside for legal work of corporations. But we have seen several such proposals either shelved or delayed indefinitely. This has happened only too often in the past and is still happening. The question is therefore thrust further back to find out why time and again sincere and well intentioned schemes of the Ministers are thwarted.

The reason is that they have around them deep-seated reactionaries and the Ministers rely only on them without any dialogue with those outside more capable of doing the job. The provisions in the Constitution that the people should participate in the Government in all matters including the administration of justice—and at all levels—as stated in the constitution has to be implemented immediately. The Ministers have to get out of their ivory towers. If they fail in this history will repeat itself.

—Sagitta

Mr. Karunairajan is at present involved in the setting-up of 'Serendeeepam' a model Pre-School Children's Centre in Sithankerny, in the Northern province.

Communications

temerity to remark "I did not know that you were so expensive". He was able to say so from a position of power, for he knew that the Government would continue to engage the old set of Proctors and therefore that he also could continue to ride high-horse. One has only to scan the names of counsels retained by the so called leading Firms of Lawyers to realise the monopoly enjoyed by the top class whichever Government came to power.

In the field of Legal work there is no reason for Corporations to pay out fees when all corporations are having separate legal sections of their own. A separate section of the Attorney General's Department can be formed to deal only with Corporation work. If any outside consultation is necessary the Government itself could prepare a list of counsels and select from among them from time to time and pay them also according to scheduled rates instead of sending the cases up to Firms of Proctors.

This does not apply only to lawyers. Take the case of the Chairmen and Directors of Corporations. With a few exceptions the same class and even the same set has wormed its way up to positions of power in Corporations. A person who declared only two months before the last elections that "all Marxists are hum-

Religion, the Radio, and the People

To the establishment-oriented, there would hardly be a problem. A message was given once, and for all time, by a religious founder, and the task of the religious broadcaster is to transmit that message to the listeners.

To the people-oriented, more important than the unchanging essence of the message, is its meaningful communication to the people. In radio this involves three main stages: message-formulation, message-transmission, listener-feedback.

The essence of the christian message, for instance, is the inter-communion of men in the heart of the Infinite.

The broadcaster remembers that the formulation of this message is culturally conditioned in each country, epoch, generation. The first task in the East, therefore, is to make sure that the christian message, formulated for the West in terms of Greek and Roman thought-systems, is re-formulated in the East in terms of Eastern wisdom and experience.

The christian broadcaster in Sri Lanka receives his formulation of the message from several sources: the state machinery of government, the church hierarchies, the middle class with its more powerful segment of the western-educated urban bourgeoisie and the less powerful segment of the swabasha-educated rural bourgeoisie. Does he also

receive it, as it is most important that he should because his is a mass medium, from the masses of the people? Our Constitution states that Sovereignty is in the People, but in fact the masses of the people are the least powerful and society, as it exists, does not provide the mechanisms to make their voices heard.

Yet, radio is a mass medium. The formulation of any message that it relays must therefore come from the masses. If it must come also from other sources, it must yet come mediated through the masses.

Ecclesiastical and civil rulers press their formulations: the broadcaster does not dare not to take account of them, for his job depends on them. The middle classes talk a cultural language he can understand: he is one of them, and is culturally inclined to uphold their point of view. And so it comes about that the people, who are the masses, take last place, if indeed they are consciously allowed any place at all. The message of the mass medium is to that extent not formulated by the masses.

But the story does not end there. The broadcaster has to transmit the message he has

received. Subjecting it to his own cultural definitions, he transmits to the sources from which it came to him: to the church and civil government, to the bourgeoisie, to the masses. But as in the formulation, so now in the transmission, the masses exert much less than their due pressure. Their felt wants and needs may very easily be forgotten.

The religious broadcaster has therefore constantly to ask himself if he is beaming his message to the masses. Or is the transmission both in content and in form predominantly to the ruling and to the middle classes?

In the process the message will be made into a nice and comfortable thing. It does not shake prejudices. It makes no radical demands. It never threatens the status quo. It reflects the policies of the managers. It meets the demands of its most paying consumers. In consequence, radio becomes not a mass medium but an elite medium. An important means of transmitting the message to the masses is thereby lost.

The process tends to be reinforced when the broadcaster seeks feedback from his listeners. He sometimes sends out questionnaires asking for listeners' reactions. When these are in English only, the feedback is automatically

restricted to a class. But even transliterated into the swabasha, the questions tend to reflect in language and thought the needs and culture of the middle and ruling classes. The middle classes know the idiom of the questionnaire or the interview and so are able to articulate their feedback. The ruling classes have in addition the advantage of supporting their feedback with promises of reward or threats of punishment. There is insufficient, if any, feedback from the masses.

What remains to be said is undoubtedly open to the broadside that no one, but the people, can speak for the people. It is therefore tentative, and must be ratified or rejected by the people.

Wants may be distinguished from needs. A want may be defined as a subjectively felt need; a need as an objective, though not necessarily subjectively felt, want.

The masses want liberation: from oppression and poverty, fear and insecurity, and alienation. The feelings of powerlessness, normlessness, placelessness build up the alienation of the masses from the society that matters. Alienation is not just a dramatic metaphor. It refers to the long-standing condition of the masses. The religious message must contain for them an effective promise and a tactic of liberation.

The other day on a busy street in Kandy there was a young man in his twenties. With a spike piercing his cheeks, in a banner-carrying procession of some ten persons, he danced with his elder sister, herself in a state of apparent frenzy. After the procession ended, and he had removed the spike, and put some white ointment on his cheeks, he explained that he was involved in a court case and that his sister had vowed that she would proceed with him to the shrine of the god in order that he might not be sentenced. These people were full of fear of the law and of the god. The authentic religious message must help to liberate people like them. Else religion becomes, like the social system, their oppressor.

The masses need communion. They need it among themselves: otherwise, they will never have solidarity. At the time of the demonetization, it was pathetic to see the people working against the people by queuing outside the banks to change notes for a small commission from the capitalist hoarders. The religious message of communion should have been effective at a time like that.

One thing is sure: unless radio maintains its link with the masses, it is a misuse of language to call it a mass medium. It would be more honest to treat it as the elite medium of a message formulated by the elite for the elite.

Paul Caspersz

The Teaching of English

Having been a teacher of English in a provincial school for over three decades, I wish to make some comments on the teaching of English in our Schools today in the hope that the Committee of Inquiry into the Teaching of English, now in session, would find my observations useful.

When English was the medium of instruction in our schools, there were no problems, even at provincial and rural levels. The students acquired a good command of the language, were able to speak fluently and write well and the results at the senior level showed a high percentage of passes even in provincial and rural schools. The change in the media of instruction into Sinhala and Tamil and the relegation of English to the status of a second language have resulted in a gradual deterioration in the standard of English in our schools. The all island percentage of passes at the G.C.E. (O.L) level is indicative of the present poor standards.

To my mind, one reason for this decline in standards is the poor quality of the teachers recruited and trained to teach English. Anyone engaged in the teaching of English is painfully aware of the poor command of the language possessed by even those students who, with the exception of students coming from English speaking homes, have obtained credits at the G.C.E. (O.L) Examination.

Whatever may be the effectiveness of the methods currently taught at the Training Colleges, one strongly feels that, methods, however acceptable are of no avail if taught to those whose knowledge of the language is poor. As Mr.

Doric De Souza, very rightly remarked, 'Only those who can use the language should be called upon to teach it.'

Most of the so-called 'English Specialists', with the exception of those who have had their education in the English medium or those who come from English-speaking homes, have a very poor knowledge of English; they are slaves to the sentence patterns and structures given in the prescribed texts and which they have learnt to drill into students with an almost mechanical adroitness; they cannot simplify, and enlarge on the texts owing to their limited competence in the language; they cannot discuss a simple composition in a manner likely to be useful to children whose vocabulary and language are poor.

The question may be asked as to how this problem could be solved, considering the material available. Recruitment to the Training Colleges should be done on a very rigorous written test and a thorough 'Viva Voce' test. Selections should be confined to those who have secured Credits and Distinctions in English at the G.C.E. (O.L) examination.

The courses at the Training Colleges should be extended from two years to three. Of the three, the first two years should be devoted to a comprehensive training in English Language and Literature comparable to the standards of the old Senior Cambridge or London Matriculation or the London Intermediate in Arts. The final year should be devoted to methods.

One wonders whether the techniques adopted at present are useful. The drilling in sentence structures and

patterns, which are so much a part of the instruction given in our schools today, seem to make a very mechanical approach to the teaching of a language which is so rich and varied in expression and so illogical in syntax and usage as English.

With all the drilling, children coming from Sinhala and Tamil speaking homes in the provincial and rural areas show an inability to grasp the language situations presented to them and to make the structures and patterns a part of their language practice. It is my experience that a judicious use of translation does help in the fixation of the patterns and structures. The texts prescribed do not present problems to children coming from English speaking homes and to those who have had the good fortune to hear and speak English in their daily life. Such children find the prescribed texts rather easy.

Although the Direct Method Course books in use some years back had no local colour, they were far more effective in helping children generally to speak and write English with a fair degree of proficiency. Those books did help our children more than the books presently in use.

Of the books in use, there seems to be no correlation, for instance, between Book Six in use in the eight standard and the book prescribed for Grade nine, the former being somewhat more difficult than the latter.

Whatever be the course books used, the writer feels that a higher standard could be achieved, if children are taught to speak English at the Primary and Middle School

levels. The emphasis should be on the spoken word, supplemented by a reasonable amount of written work. If the children coming up to eighth grade can speak English, there will not be any problems at the ninth and tenth grades and teaching the language will be a simple affair. If this were the position, the all-island percentage of passes would reach a level devoutly to be wished for.

All this implies the need for a competent body of English teachers to man the schools. In addition to the suggestions made above in regard to the selection and training of teachers, I feel the English medium should be retained for the teaching of minority communities such as the 'Burghers and the Muslims in selected areas such as Colombo and Kandy where there is a concentration of these communities. If this were done, a better selection of teachers would be available for training.

The class of teachers designated as English Assistants are entrusted with the teaching of English in the Primary and Middle schools. These teachers, apart from a few, are not competent to teach children at these stages and they do irreparable damage. Very often in most provincial and rural schools, these teachers alone man these sections. When children come up to the Ninth grade with a poor foundation, more qualified teachers find themselves badly handicapped.

Another drawback is the lack of library facilities in most of our schools. The prescribed course books have to be supplemented by graded reading. But most schools do not have an adequate stock of graded readers to be given to the children. The need for intensive reading

from grade seven upwards cannot be over-emphasised. The writer does not think that the limited objective of teaching reading comprehension could be achieved unless children are taught to speak and write English well. Part I of the English Language question Paper at the G.C.E. (O.L) examination is supposed to test the so called passive skills and a candidate who does well in this paper can obtain a credit pass. In most schools and private tutorials, teachers drill their pupils in hundreds of questions of the type set for this part of the question paper. As a result of this mechanical exercise a fair number of students obtain passes or credit passes. But these students are unable to speak a few words of correct English or even to give an answer to a simple question such as—'Why were you absent yesterday?' Where is your pen?' etc. It is unwise to make Part I the sole criterion for the award of a pass since it cannot assess a candidate's skills in the language. Paper 11, which I believe is a real test of a student's competence in English, is outside the reach of the majority and is attempted by perhaps a few students from the big urban schools.

The earlier question papers based on Syllabus A and B were intended to test a candidate's language skills in a manner likely to indicate his or her ability to use the language in daily speech and composition.

The observations of the writer have relevance to the situation in provincial and rural areas and do not apply wholly to the big city schools in Colombo and Kandy etc., where the students move in any environment in which English is widely used.

Noel L. Rodrigo

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ARALU AND ARALIYA

Friendship and Competition

When at the opening ceremony of the Olympics Avery Brundage said "our German friends have done their best to stage this festival of youth with dignity" he could not have imagined that in a few days time they would make a hash of the 'hostage affair'. Nor could Alexis Kosygin for that matter have remotely dreamt of Palestinian determination when in his Olympic message he referred to "the Leninist principles of peaceful co-existence and the co-operation and solidarity between

young people". The tragedy of the Olympics was indeed the tragedy of the German people who seem to be dogged by an inexorable fate. When one considers that the Bonn Government had invested three-hundred million Pounds in the Olympics, it is easy to understand the German mind.

What of the performances itself. There can be no disputing that from the point of view of an individual's performance, the American Mark Spitz was in a class by himself, whereas the East Ger-

man Team by winning 20 Gold Medals demonstrated what a Nation with only 17 million people could do. One other performance that struck me as remarkable was that of David Hemmery although he only finished third in the 400 metres Hurdles. There aren't many track athletes who could in consecutive games, reproduce the form that Hemmery did and that too after a long lay-off from competition.

As for Ceylon's contingent, two performances are newsworthy. Wimaladasa's time in the 400 metres was better than the best that the turbaned Seikh Milkha Singh ever turned in and will surely secure him an Asian 'Gold'. Nadarajasingham finished 63rd in his Rifle Shooting Event and his benefactors carefully blacked out on this farcical performance. I don't need to be a

seer to predict that when the next trip comes along the wool will be pulled over all eyes by arguing that he was only 12 points behind the winner.

Football

The first Football Test between China and Ceylon was an excellent game although I am not so sure that the standard reached was all that high. The Ceylonese who went down by the odd goal have rarely played better and in my book at least it had to do with the size of the opponents. When in the past they had encountered bigger built European Teams, it was not uncommon to see them rushing their passes and kicking indiscriminately. The inevitable result was that they lost possession of the ball. But on this occasion one was privileged to see, to borrow a phrase from London Welsh, a brand of 'Running Football' which provided the magnificent crowd with excellent fare. Talking of the massive crowd, I could not help marvelling how the CFA always manages to continue in the 'red'.

The Press

The press has an invaluable role to play in the cause of Ceylon sport and hitherto not even the staunchest supporter of the so called National Press can be pleased with what has happened. The disproportionate space allotted to Rugby, School Cricket and Golf are just instances of the wrong emphasis and lop-sided approach adopted by the Newspapers in the country. One has only to reflect on the coverage given to the recently concluded National Hockey tournament to be convinced that the Press is woefully out of step with national aspirations.

It is imperative that they first get their priorities in order, after which perhaps Rugby and Golf, which curiously seem to 'hog' the headlines, can be relegated to the corners now reserved for Hockey and Soccer.

I am sufficiently realistic to accept that school cricket is played up for purely commercial reasons, but even so has it to be done in this disgusting fashion. To judge from the display on the sports pages one would assume that Rugby and School cricket are the focal points of our National sporting endeavour, and that Hockey and Soccer are unedifying past-times better left to the 'riff-raff'. As long as this thinking persists, not only will spectator interest in these sports be stifled, but there seems little prospect of attracting the younger generation to them. My plea to the Newspapers is to give the sports in which we have some hope of achieving international standards a wider publicity and for a start they can do no better than invest these games with a glamour that can fire the imagination of the youth.

Badminton

When a Chinese Badminton team visited Canada recently they asked no quarter and decidedly gave none. The Canadians were surely and completely vanquished. What I saw though of the Chinese when they played a Ceylon Team in the First Test was vastly different. Their strange sporting philosophy, in these parts of the world, of friendship first and competition second need not I am sure be carried to such an absurd extent.

—THE ACTOR

A Generation of Swingers

Editor—"The Nation,"

Dear Sir,

Enclosed herewith is an article submitted to the "Ceylon Observer"—rejection slip and all! I do not know why it was rejected, even though it was accompanied by a covering letter from a journalist, himself a permanent employee of Lake House. But I can make a very good guess!

I hope you will publish that article and even this letter if you so wish. The gullible middle-class which has been fed too long on 'scare stories' of the monopoly press should be made to see the hypocrisy of our so-called national newspapers, late as it is.

Yours sincerely,
Ajith Samaranyake,
5, Wewelpitiya Road,
Kandy.

While King Richard was being crowned in Miami Beach bra-less girls were demonstrating outside Coronation Hall. I had a momentary vision of our 'guys' and 'gals' swinging to the music of some out-landish pop group in Sri Lanka. That vision faded in the face of what I read in the newspaper, giving further details of 'King Richard's Coronation.' (The Republican Convention at Miami Beach). These American 'guys' and 'gals' were planning a march against murder on the night Mr. Nixon will be nominated Republican candidate, it said Police....baton-charges....tear gas....the vision turned into a nightmare.

Before proceeding any further I would like to make one thing clear. This is not a trumpet blast to revolution, a stirring call for demonstrations and marches, for brawls with the police and imprisonments. This is not even an invocation to bra-less 'dolls.' It is an articulation of a thought which has been harrying my mind for a long time—an articulation which I believe I have every right to make, as a student and as a teenager.

For I have been deeply disturbed (if that is not too high and mighty) by the pursuits of my generation—by their almost complete lack of participation in useful and creative activity—by their almost complete lack of awareness of the socio-economic situation of our country.

I will not burden you with big words any more. Let us, for a change, go for a walk together—always observing and commenting upon interesting phenomena.

See that 'guys' coming towards us? He is wearing bell-bottoms—which seem to be happily waving to us. He appears to have given a rest to his pair of drain-pipe slacks—a rest long overdue no doubt. See his carefully-tended side burns, expensive wrist watch and latest 'mod' sunglasses? If you see him in this light, you will be seeing at the same time, a typical symbol of my generation.

Service of Our Country

Let us pass him by, leaving

him to be drawn towards the magnet of a *Sun Down Dance*, and proceed further. Whom do we see now? Another typical symbol of my generation—this time Eve. Observe her oh-so-mini skirt. I will not proceed any further, for I am no expert on ladies' wear (over to you Kirthi Sri Karunaratne)! But you can take my word that she is a typical symbol (though that phrase is getting worn out now) of the average young female.

But flippancy apart, what is happening to my generation? Were they born into this world merely to imitate the fashions of London, New York and Paris, to whip themselves into a frenzy over their 'pop' idols? Are they destined to swing away their lives at parties and dances? Weren't they born into this rich and verdant isle, to do some service, however small, to their mother land, before they add their bones to its fertile soil? These are no rhetorical gimmicks of a writer, trying to come to the lime light, but the agonized queries of a disillusioned youth. For, make no mistake, we have the material—the grit and the determination, the toil and the sweat and even the blood—we have all this amongst us. It is time now to channel this material in the service of our Country.

For that we need a sympathetic understanding of our Country and our people—an acute sensitivity to their problems. That is another element that we lack. It is time now to kick at the props that have

been holding us so far in our petty middle class worlds. It is time now to identify ourselves with our people and their aspirations—time to turn our backs on those potty symbols of our leisurely existence like pianos and air conditioners.

It is the time for us now.

If we continue to recline in cushioned comfort in our upper and middle class homes, listening to music and munching peanuts (shades of Nero), generations to come will curse us for our utter lack of sensitivity and indifference. Let us young people at least, do something constructive, for our people and our mother land. Over to you Ranjit and Ramani. What do you say?

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In a memorandum dated 16th August, 1949, the then Minister of Health and Local Government, the late Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, strongly recommended the establishment of a state organisation for the running of a National Lottery for the purpose of securing necessary funds for the furtherance of the Government's policy in regard to medical and health services of the country.

For some reason or other, this recommendation was not implemented; the matter was revived in May 1954 by the then Minister of Health, the late Major E. A. Nugawela, who submitted a proposal to the then Cabinet for setting up of an organisation to conduct National Hospital Sweeps.

The proposal was accepted by the then Cabinet, and the Hospital Lotteries Act, No. 4 of 1955 was enacted in February 1955.

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FROM THE LABOUR FRONT

Two Issues in the Bank Strike

Middle-class Privilege: Reactionary Conspiracy

The current Bank strike has brought into public focus the utterly over-weighted salary scales prevailing in favour of white-collar employees in our country. The privileged position of this sector of employees is yet another legacy left to us by the white masters who ruled our country. Through the desire to keep the civil service as close as possible to the aspirations of Whitehall, they pandered to the interests of a coterie of officials and a thin layer of subordinates. At that time the country too was in a position to afford it.

The passing of power to the nationals failed to bring about any marked change in the attitude of officialdom until the year 1956. This year saw the urge of the masses to challenge the interests of the privileged layers of society and since then many a significant step has been taken in this direction—except during the rule of the UNP-FP Coalition. The present Government, particularly, has taken several measures to take power away from the elitist groups and vest it in the people.

The interests of the capitalist class are under attack. In the very many measures the Government has taken to reshape the economy the privileges of the middle-class, to which the better-paid white-collar bank employees fall, have undoubtedly come to be threatened. Their cosy life of 'Sunday Specials' and 'Sundown Dances' are fast waning in the context of Government's rigid austerity measures. So it is understandable that sections of better paid employees who belong to a particular social group are fighting the present Government which is determined on breaking the false and artificial values in present day society.

Viewed in this way, the present strike presents the picture of a struggle between the forces of reaction and progress. The strike has been launched whilst the Government made a firm declaration of its avowed policy of seeking to alleviate the economic conditions of those who severely feel the impact of the rising cost of living, by bridging the gap between the skilled worker and his clerical counter-part. This was a declaration which was long over due. Now that it has been pronounced as Governmental policy, action must be taken early to rectify this anomaly.

In a developing country like ours, it is the skilled worker, the technician, who should be given pride of place—not pen-pushers with false sense of values. It is time that we stop pampering this section which is trying in vain to cling to a dying past. If anybody deserves a rise in wages, it is the worker who puts productive effort into the development of our economy and not else—least of all, the well-looked-after bank clerks.

There is another aspect of the current strike of bank employees which deserves com-

ment in this column. This is the political aspect. It is known that the present leadership of the CBEU comprise of ultra-leftists and activists of the Tamil United Front. It is to be noted that both these factions have planned this strategy to wean away the working mass from the Government, and thus meets the needs of the Right in the country which is today politically incapable of asserting itself through the UNP. It is also significant that the TUF fixed the date for their Direct Action (not peaceful satyagraha) a few days before the actual launching of the Bank strike. The ultra-left grouping, led by Bala Tampoe and Co., has decided to stage a one-day Fast against the Government in the month of October along with Thondaman's CWC and the MEP's CCTUO.

The pattern emerging is now clear. As was the case in 1964, the Tampoites steeped in their Stalinist politics of the Third Period, have once again joined the bandwagon of reaction to attempt to dislodge

the present UF Government from power. In this endeavour they have the ready support of all the enemies of the Government, from the Monopoly Press down to self-seeking trade unionists. This motley crew will strive every nerve to complicate issues, make difficulties and erect obstacles in their efforts to frustrate the aims of the Government.

In this connection, this columnist thinks it apposite to sound a note of caution to the Government that the enemy it faces today, though donning a working class garb, is essentially the lackey of political reaction in the country. This enemy would, in desperation, seek to provoke the Government by staging sporadic incidents involving strikers and non-strikers. They would indulge in action which would compel the state's law enforcers to be firm, which could then be used to embarrass the Government which continues to enjoy wide working class support.

In British Guyana in 1964,

the trade unions, especially those led by middle-class leaderships, fell an easy prey to the machinations of international reaction by permitting the widespread discontent among the working class in that country to be utilised by the notorious CIA to topple the Centre-Left Government of Dr. Cheddi Jagan which was enthusiastically brought into power by the workers themselves. To bring about Jagan's downfall, it is now known, the CIA through the Public Service International, made use of the strike weapon of the workers. A similar possibility in the local scene is not ruled out. Therefore it is prudent that the Government be alert and be tactful in applying firmness. It must categorically refuse to play into the hands of provocateurs. It is a matter for satisfaction that many important trade unions and centres of trade unions have come out openly against the narrow sectarian course of action of the Ceylon Bank Employees Union.

—MILITANT

Bandaranaike was a Man of Compassion

(Continued from page 6)

are essentially two unconnected matters. I am sure you know that there can be no freedom without a free Press". The big boss himself was a charming fellow who promptly agreed and added that the Bank was no party to the censure.

The Press

In 1958 there was a rigorous Press Censorship. The Governor-General himself was the Supreme Competent Authority. The question arose whether the inquisitorial Competent Authority should cease to interfere with Press comment any more. A conference was held at Queen's House with the participation of the Governor-General and the Prime Minister. Mr. Esmond Wickremasinghe led the Lake House Team and I led the Times Team. Sir Oliver had prepared a large map of Ceylon with darts and arrows affixed to all the so-called danger spots. There was a hot exchange of words between the Prime Minister and the Press representatives. The Prime Minister had the better of us as we had to move warily. Suddenly Mr.

Bandaranaike closed the discussion and said "From tomorrow comment will be free—Gentleman the responsibility is yours." Even the ranks of Tuscany could scarce forbear to cheer! That was Bandaranaike the true democrat.

He was a man of compassion. Sometimes he took offence quickly but he forgave readily and forgot easily. He had an air of intellectual arrogance—but rancour was not in his heart. The lakhs of people who filed past his body, and the tributes that were spontaneously paid to him show that he lives in the hearts of his people. *To live in hearts that one leaves behind is not to die.*

When he had been murderously shot he exhorted all concerned "to show compassion to this man and not to wreak vengeance on him." The end came unexpectedly soon. He has passed into history; but the social and economic revolution which he had initiated will, to use his own words, continue as rivers never flow backwards.

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The Progenitor of the Peoples' Constitution

(Continued from page 3)

Mr. Bandaranaike's public pronouncements while he was Leader of the Opposition resulted in the common people awakening to the limitations of the Soulbury Constitution and the brake it placed on the realisation of the genuine aspirations of the common people.

Participatory Power

Mr. Bandaranaike did some loud thinking during the 1956 election campaign on the need to reconstitute the legislature to give its membership more participatory power in the development process. On that occasion his criticism centred round the weakness of the executive arm of the Government following on the expansion of its activities. This, he argued, tended to create for Government, difficult problems of co-ordination of the work of the central administration. Rapid and efficient execution of the social and economic policies formulated by the central administration was impeded by the weakness of the executive arm of the government. He realised that the mandate of the masses at every election was unmistakably for rapid economic development and social justice through the instrument of government. Certain institutions built in to the Constitution he felt hindered, delayed or vitiated the speedy execution of the will of the masses.

On the assumption of office by the SLFP-led MEP Government, after the historic defeat of the UNP in 1956, Mr. Bandaranaike introduced a resolution in Parliament for a Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Representative to consider the revision of the Constitution to bring it in line with the political, social, economic and cultural aspirations of the people. The revision was to be with particular reference to the establishment of a Republic, the guaranteeing of fundamental rights, the position of the Senate, the Appointed Members of the House of Representatives and the Public and Judicial Service Commission.

Then, as an earnest of the radical thinking on the new Constitution he had in mind, Mr. Bandaranaike took over the British bases at Trincomalee and Katunayake which the former Government had allowed the British to use freely.

The turbulent political climate during the period of office of the SLFP-MEP Government (1956-59) did not make for much progress in the deliberations of the Joint Select Committee on Constitutional reform.

Revise the Constitution

Governments that succeeded kept on appointing this Joint Committee to revise the constitution and a certain amount of useful work was done; in the process, the main political parties reached agreement that Ceylon should be a Republic and a chapter of Fundamental Human Rights should be written into the Constitution.

During 1965-70 when the UNP-led coalition was in power the SLFP and its allies argued that what was needed now was not piecemeal amendments to the Constitution but the drafting of a new Constitution for Ceylon because under the Soulbury Constitution, the Parliament of Ceylon was not sovereign. It was pointed out that the Privy Council had held that "entrenched" clauses were incapable of amendment even if the Parliament of Ceylon were unanimously agreed on the desirability of such a measure. One of these entrenched clauses stipulated that Parliament shall not pass laws affecting the rights of particular groups or communities. Several times on this basis, the Privy Council reversed considered judgements of Ceylon's Supreme Court.

It was in pursuance of this position, adopted by the constituent parties of the present UF Government, that the Joint Election Manifesto issued by them before the 1970 General Election sought the people's mandate to permit the Members of Parliament elected "to function simultaneously as a Constituent Assembly to draft, adopt and operate a New Constitution." The Manifesto pledged that the new constitution so drafted will declare Ceylon to be "a free, sovereign and independent Republic pledged to realise the objectives of a socialist democracy"; it also pledged "to secure fundamental rights and freedoms to all citizens."

The rest is contemporary history. But the political significance of the People's Victory of May 1970 must be placed on record. In a stirring speech on July 1970, the Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike moving the resolution to convoke the Constituent Assembly, said "Our people have clearly expressed their desire to have a Constitution of their own making of which, as a self respecting Nation, they can be proud—a Constitution which will reflect their highest aspirations and help to ensure the well-being and happiness of future generations."

"We have met in order to constitute, declare and proclaim ourselves the Constituent Assembly of People of Sri Lanka. In so constituting ourselves, we undertake to adopt, enact and establish a Constitution for Sri Lanka which will declare Sri Lanka to be a free, sovereign and independent Republic, pledged to realise the objectives of a socialist democracy, including the fundamental rights and freedoms of all citizens."

A Socialist Society

"The People of Sri Lanka have chosen, like other nations which have gained their independence in the postwar years to give themselves a Constitution of their own making through a Constituent Assembly. It is our duty to carry out the will of the people."

"Our Constitution must promote the realisation of the aspirations of the People of Sri Lanka to establish a socialist society in this country. Our Constitution must safeguard our freedom, independence and national sovereignty."

Paying tribute to the memory of her husband, our late revered Leader, the Prime Minister said "if I may be permitted a personal expression of happiness today, I should like to state that I am proud

to be able to begin the fulfilment of one of the most cherished aims of my husband, the late Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike who, when he was Prime Minister, set himself the goal of making Sri Lanka an independent socialist Republic."

The freedom that we have won, and the foundations of which we are consolidating, is not the achievement of one person or a group. It is the achievement of many persons right down from Keppetipola who raised the banner of rebellion against the British. Kohukumbure Raterala, Kiulegedera Mohottala, Gongalagoda Banda, Puran Appu, Ven. Wariyapola Sumangala, Anagarika Dharmapala, E. W. Perera, F. R. Senanayake, D. S. Senanayake, the Ven.

Mahinda, Alwis Perera were among those who played a valiant role in the freedom struggle. These were among several thousand others, some unheard of and unsung, who several years ago and even later, fought for the completion of the national liberation movement of this country.

While we pay homage to Mr. Bandaranaike, clearly the progenitor of the new Constitution we have adopted, we must not fail to remember other patriots referred to above who also played a role, in varying degree, right down our history, making it possible for Mr. Bandaranaike to inaugurate the immediate flow of events which culminated in the enactment of the New Constitution, which has restored our national respect as a people.

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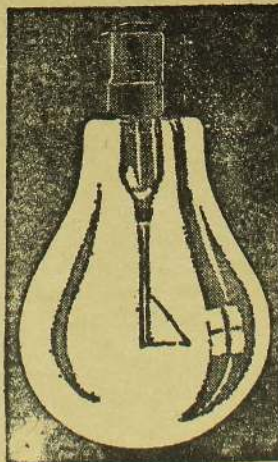
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Uganda in Turmoil

(Continued from page 2)

After the granting of independence, most of the African countries embarked on ambitious social welfare programmes—programmes that needed a large number of Doctors, Engineers, Teachers and Bureaucrats. It happened that this professional group too found their origins in Asia—Sri Lanka included. Thus over the years there has evolved in Africa a powerful group of middle classes, Asian in origin and mercenary in outlook. They have never had the African's interests at heart. To them the Africans were simply people to be exploited—thus they came to be a group for whom the Africans had little love. The deepening economic crises in most of the African countries, which like Lanka have adopted costly welfare programmes, and the rise of African nationalism have both led to the redundancy of the Asian communities, and their emergence as targets for political hostility.

Amin used this climate in Africa to drive the Asians out of Uganda. He hoped to achieve three objectives by this: the weakening of Western influence in Uganda, the salvaging of the economy and the appealing to the worst instincts of African nationalism. Amin no doubt hoped to divert attention from the deepening economic crisis by using the Asians as a political red herring. Has he succeeded or has he failed?

British Instigation

If the unrest in Uganda today is devoid of external instigation, then he has failed insofar as he has not been able to placate the people even with such desperate steps as the expulsion of Asians. This would mean that the opposition to Amin is so great that nothing can redeem him in the eyes of the people. It also means that there must be an organised opposition to Amin—one that is perhaps influenced if not controlled and directed by deposed President Obote.

On the other hand, the disturbances could have been instigated by the British. In which case it would be closely tied up with the expulsion of the Asians. It is too much of a coincidence to imagine that the airlifting of the Asians and a completely unrelated civil war can begin on the same day! This would of course mean that so great are the racist pressures in Britain that they are prepared to go to any lengths to prevent the 90,000 Asians arriving in Britain.

A third hypothesis is that Milton Obote has succeeded in raising an army in Tanzania, and he is using this army-in-exile to topple Amin's Government. This hypothesis is doubtful for the following reasons: It seems unlikely that Tanzania will allow itself to be drawn into a civil conflict such as this. Because even if one concedes that Obote's army in-exile is solely composed of Ugandans, the very fact that it was raised and trained in Tanzania does involve Tan-

zania. The arms that such an army would carry would undoubtedly be of Chinese origin. Then the question arises; would the Chinese be prepared to enter into a conflict with a protégé of the militant Gaddafi? These would be tremendous risks for Tanzania to take.

Even if one assumes that Tanzania aided Obote to launch this invasion, it is unlikely that Obote would have done so at a time when the expulsion of the Asians was beginning—thus exposing himself to the charge of being an 'Asian lover', which he has in fact never been.

Yet would Amin have gone to the extent of bombing Tanzania again and again if Tanzania was completely innocent? After all if the disturbances are entirely local in origin, it would be militarily illogical to provoke Tanzania and thus run the risk of forcing Obote into the conflict.

Thus it is evident that the new developments in Uganda are extremely puzzling and as such require a great deal of detailed study before one can seriously provide a complete answer to the crisis.

—Jayantha

The Plan to Link Two Oceans

(Continued from page 2)

At present, the only possible alternative route for the big tankers lies some 1,200 miles to the south through the Lombok and Makassar Straits. It has been estimated that this route would add five days to the voyage from the Middle East to Japan at a cost of about £25,000 a tanker.

The idea of a "third way", as it is often called here, could be attractive to the Japanese in principle. The canal project, however, is regarded as a rather over-ambitious *folie de grandeur*. The cost of construction, the Japanese generally believe, would be much in excess of the estimates quoted by the Thais.

The fairly severe limit on the size of the tankers that could pass through the canal would also reduce its usefulness from the Japanese point of view. For several reasons, therefore, Japan has shown much more interest in a separate scheme for an oil pipeline across the Isthmus.

The idea here, according to Japanese sources, would be for the mammoth tankers of the future up to 500,000 dwt in size, to make the primary

journey from the Persian Gulf to the western end of the pipeline. The crude oil would then be unloaded and transferred to smaller vessels of 200,000 dwt plying the secondary route between the Gulf of Sipsm and Japan.

A team of Japanese Government officials and representatives of oil and trading interests made a preliminary field survey of the pipeline project last year. It concluded that on the assumption of a flow of oil through the pipeline of between 50m and 150m

tons a year, the total cost of construction might range from £100m to £150m.

The general feeling among Japanese oil men and tanker operators is that the pipeline will not become overwhelmingly attractive for them unless the Malaysians and Indonesians carry out their threat to restrict passage through the Malacca Straits.

This is expected to be discussed at next year's United Nations Conference on The Law of the Sea.

—TIMES.

Banzer Regime Continues University Shutdown

(Continued from page 2)

The commission duly came up with the law, which was approved by the Government, in June.

One of the purposes of the law is to put an end to the politization to which the universities had been subjected in past regimes. However, in the opinion of many students, the new law follows an eminently political purpose, since it places the educational centers under the direct control of the President—thus marking the

end of university autonomy.

However, even in spite of the serious limitations imposed on the universities, Banzer's regime doesn't seem to show any great interest in normalizing academic activities.

When the law was approved in late July, it was said that the universities would reopen in September, but now the regime has come up with a probable March 1973 date.

—GRANMA.

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Notes & Comments

Sri Lanka observes the twelfth anniversary of Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike's martyrdom at a time when the relevance of the occasion has particular meaning. The tragedy of most leaders is that their followers quite often fail to understand him or his message and stultify or traduce both. The phenomenon does not reflect on the leader but on the calibre of those who carried out his behests. There can be little doubt today but that many of those who filled prominent positions under Mr. Bandaranaike learned nothing from him or his experience. Most of them, perhaps, were not given to that kind of learning.

We do not refer merely to

those who plotted and carried out his assassination. Many of them figured prominently in the movement that led up to the popular eruption of 1956. There were others like the C. P. de Silvas who betrayed virtually everything that Mr. Bandaranaike stood for and went over to the side of the enemy. There are yet others who even today boast of their association with Mr. Bandaranaike, but reveal by their political attitudes and actions that they lack knowledge or concern for his most treasured achievements. They are destined to repeat the performance of those who assassinated him and stabbed Mrs. Bandaranaike's Government of 1964 in the back.

Bandaranaike and His Epigones

Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike was no revolutionary. If he was, the kind of people we refer to would never have approached anywhere near him. But Mr. Bandaranaike had achieved in a concrete way what many revolutionaries only succeed in achieving abstractly, viz. the identification of himself with the people he set out to serve. Mr. Bandaranaike's people were the masses who inhabited the villages of Sri Lanka. His real achievement was that he found the opening through which they could break into the arena of political self-activity from the pent-up areas of subsistence activity in which they had been confined for centuries. Many politicians who joined him for a multitude of considerations of their own found this discovery of Mr. Bandaranaike a matter of little or no interest.

What was the point of break-through that Mr. Bandaranaike found for the rural masses in 1956? It may be defined as a clear identification of the enemy and the working out of a programme that would consolidate the ranks of the people for the struggle against him. The urban upper classes, the majority of whom were connected with the institution of absentee land-owning which drained the wealth of the rural areas for the purpose of wasteful living in the towns, were identified as the oppressors of the people. They buttressed their power with a system of privilege based on the use of English, the language of the former rulers, as the language of administration and articulation of the elite groups. Mr. Bandaranaike aimed to fell this prop with a single blow.

The buttress was removed and the masses broke through

into the arena of self-activity. But self-activity is fraught with immense dangers where it involves several million heads. Not only has it to be coordinated and given direction, if it is not to end in chaos. Self-activity demands self-discipline and self-consciousness from the masses, or they become the playthings of common opportunists and adventurers. What the masses need is the discipline of Socialism. This was inherent in the strategy of mass action that Mr. Bandaranaike found within the limiting framework of Soulbury-Constitution-style parliamentary democracy.

Mr. Bandaranaike was not permitted to work out his plans. They first obstructed him from within and joined hands with the enemy outside to prevent him from going ahead. When that did not suffice, they killed him.



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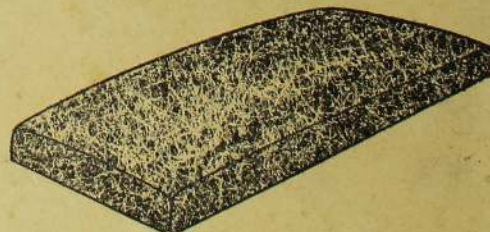


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