

BISHOP DENOUNCES POLITICIANS

The
Nation

VOL. VII No. 2

FRIDAY 6th October 1972

Price 25 cts.

BOYS WILL BE BOYS!



Promoting Small Industry

New Joint Stock Company

The Government has authorised the Industrial Development Board to invest in the new Joint Stock Company that is to be set up under the Ministry of Industries for the purpose of developing the small scale industrial sector. The State Industrial Corporations Act will also be amended to enable profitably run State Corporations to invest in this Company.

The new Joint Stock Company is to be a state sponsored investment agency whose primary purpose will be the establishment of a large number of small and medium scale industries. These industries will be located largely in less developed areas and will be substantially based on indigenous materials utilising mainly locally fabricated equipment and producing commodities essential to the life of the community.

Investment in this undertaking would be open to the private sector so that the technical and commercial expertise and entrepreneurship

talent available in the Government, public corporations and the private sector could be collectively exploited to ensure the success of the project. This is also expected to help to draw the savings of a class of rural residents to industrial investment.

This Joint Stock Company would be required to operate strictly as a commercial enterprise and its Board of Directors would be given that independence of authority and action that is necessary to ensure its economic viability so that it would not at any time be a liability on the State but would provide a reasonable return on the investment.

The type of industries that are contemplated for development on this basis could include the manufacture of starch from manioc or maize; brown sugar from sugar cane or beetroot; glass products using local silica sand or broken glass; paper and cardboard from straw, waste paper and similar cellulose material; and bags from straw and banana fibre. Many more such industries could be identified.

These projects would also give a great impetus to the cultivation of manioc, sugar cane and other agricultural crops. It is envisaged that each unit would approximately require produce of 25 acres of manioc or sugar and it is proposed that the Members of the National Assembly be associated to a great extent in the cultivation of these crops for the industry. The capital cost of the projects would

Any Connection With By-Elections?

Mgr. Edmund Fernando, Auxiliary Bishop of Colombo, has been reported by the *Daily Mirror* in sprawling headlines across the front page, which cannot be beaten for their eloquence. "Once Dhammadeepa, now hot-bed of murder and robbery—Bishop lashes out at unprincipled politicians" screams the *Mirror*. The good Auxiliary Bishop was only speaking at a Kandana school prize-giving. But the *Daily Mirror* was not only able to make a record of this terribly important speech; it was also able to find in such excellent copy as to fill the most important area of its front page.

The connection between the auxiliary bishop and the *Mirror* is not difficult to explain. The group of newspapers to which the *Daily Mirror* belongs has been known to reflect the views of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in this country, at the same time as it promotes the cause of the Federal Party and other Tamil communalists. Indeed, it is well-known that between Federalist communalism and the Christian (even if not entirely Catholic) vested interest there is a considerable overlapping area. All respect to the Auxiliary Bishop for the publicity received for his views.

What is disturbing, however, is why a religious person, such as a Bishop is supposed to be, should blame politicians for the state of morals in the

country. The area of morals, we thought, was the special enclave of organised religion and the Church. The Bishops and other officials of the church are the self-proclaimed guardians of public morality. When did they abandon this territory to the politicians? And why did they do so when it is so well known, as the *Daily Mirror* unfailingly reminds them every morning, that the politicians have no morals at all and have never had any?

If that is disturbing, what is intriguing is why the good Auxiliary Bishop should deliver himself of his diatribe against politicians on the eve of the four by-elections. Was he speaking to the school children of De Mazenod College, Kandana, or to a larger audience?

range from Rs. 50,000/- to Rs. 500,000/-.

Fields for Foreign Investment

The Ministry of Planning and Employment has identified six major areas in which foreign investment is to be encouraged. All concessions contained in the government's policy statement on Private Foreign Investment will apply to investment in these fields. These broad fields for investment are derived from the government's Five Year Plan. The detailed groupings under each of these six areas are only an indicative listing and other items considered feasible are being added to these lists. Foreign investment proposals outside these lists are also being encouraged, if they are compatible with government policy.

Following are the broad areas and the detailed listing:

Industrial and Mineral Exports: Graphite; Ilmenite; Essential oils; Coir fibre bristle; Coconut shell charcoal.

New Industrial Exports: Beedies; Sauces, pickles, chutneys; Liquor; Wheat bran; Garments; Batik; Leather cloth; Glycerine and fatty acids; Vegetable fats; Paints and polishes; Soaps, detergents; Footwear; Tyres and tubes; Other rubber products (gloves, rubber mattresses, flooring toys, hose);

Plywood and sawn timber; Parquet flooring and other wood products; Ceramic ware and sanitary ware; Graphite products; Cement; Metal products (including implements and tools, fittings, foundry products); Tea and rubber machinery; Rice hullers, threshers, commodity grinders; Water pumps; Boats; Dry cell batteries, transistor batteries; Electrical cables, accessories, fittings; Rubberised fibre, costume jewellery, plastic goods.

New Agricultural Exports: Pineapple; Passion fruit; Cut flowers; Manioc chips and animal food; Bees honey; Mulberry; Lemon grass.

Agricultural Exports: Cinna-
mon; Cardamom; Pepper;
Cocoa; Tobacco.

Fishing Industry: Exports of shrimps; frozen prawns; lobsters; cray fish; speciality fish products; tinned fish; live fish; offshore and deep-sea fishing particularly for skipjack/tuna and shell fish for export as well as for processing of fish resulting in import substitution.

Tourist Industry: Hotel undertakings; Tourist recreational facilities; Tourist resorts and allied fields.

Taming the Yellow River

1st October 1972 was the 23rd anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China. On this occasion we present a report on China's achievements in taming the Yellow River since the liberation. During our Prime Minister's visit to China earlier this year, China offered Sri Lanka aid to effect a comprehensive flood-prevention scheme in this country.

—Ed.

People in the yellow river valley have checked floods and freed China's second biggest river of the danger of breaching which averaged twice every three years. They have built dykes and reservoirs and carried out water conservation so that the river now begins to serve the people and farm production.

Rising in the Bayan Kara mountains of Chinghai province, the yellow river flows 4,800 kilometres through Chinghai, Kansu, Ningsia, Inner Mongolia, Shensi, Shansi, Honan and Shantung to empty into Pohai Bay.

The largest loess plateau in the world, 430,000 square kilometres in area, is found in the upper and middle reaches of the river. The soil is loose, there are numerous gullies and ravines and a sparse vegetative cover. Rain washed huge quantities of soil and sand into the river, some 1,600 million tons being carried to the lower reaches every year. This raised the river-bed several metres above the land around. In the rainy seasons, the turbulent river breached the dykes easily and even changed its course.

Records show 1,500 breaches and 26 major changes of course in the 2,000 years before liberation. Floods covered 250,000 square kilometres and brought great loss of life and property. The reactionary rulers in the old society did virtually nothing to improve matters.

Since the founding of new China, the Communist Party and Chairman Mao have paid great attention to harnessing the yellow river. An overall plan for river control and use of the water was mapped out. Chairman Mao issued the call "work on the yellow river must be done well" during his inspection tour in 1952. This sparked off a gigantic struggle by the people along the river under the leadership of the Communist Party.

Honan and Shantung provinces in the lower reaches were the most vulnerable to disasters. A labour force nearly 400,000 strong, mostly peasants, worked at the 1,800-kilometre-long dykes in the two provinces every winter and spring over the past two decades and they have completed 350 million cubic metres of earth and stone work, equivalent to digging one Suez Canal or two Panama Canals. At the same time they built the enormous Tungpinghu reservoir and other flood detention and diversion projects and dredged the waterways. The river was unusually high in this section in 1958 but the areas on both banks remained safe. This was in striking contrast to 1933 when the flow was smaller, but it breached the dyke and flooded 67 counties in five provinces, affecting 3,600,000 people.

There has not been a single breach since liberation. The Yellow River valley, known for its low output in the past, is now an important grain and cotton producer with a population of 100 million and 50 million acres of farmland. Sluice-gates have been built in the lower reaches to irrigate the land. The "People's Victory canal" built in the Hsinhsiang region in 1951-1952 has been expanded. It is now



a large irrigation system with 7,500 kilometres of drainage and irrigation ditches and 2,500 pump wells, which serve 100,000 acres of farmland. This area is a dried river course. Grain yield was as low as 1.5 tons and cotton 0.4 tons per acre before liberation owing to aridity, waterlogging, alkalinity and sandstorms. Now grain yield reaches 11.5 tons and cotton 1.9 tons.

The builders of the "People's Victory Canal" have diverted the silt-laden water onto low-lying sandy land and after the silt was deposited, used the clear water to irrigate the farmland. This turns sandy land into fertile fields and protects ditches from silting. There are now 50 culverts and 100 siphon stations along the Yellow River, irrigating more than 1.3 million acres. Relying on the collective economy of the People's Communes, the peasants have terraced slopes in many places on the loess highlands and expanded farmland.

Kansu, Shensi and Shansi provinces where erosion was once very serious, have set up conservation stations. Leading bodies at various levels and water conservancy departments organized large numbers of scientific and technical personnel and cadres to make incomputable mapping, grasp the laws governing erosion and work out methods to control it, and sum up experience.

There was neither reservoir nor power station on the river and its tributaries before liberation. There are now five key irrigation systems on the river and its tributaries, and more than 1,000 big, medium and small water conservancy projects and power stations on the tributaries. These supply electricity to cities and countryside and irrigate 9.5 million acres of farmland. Grain output in the yellow river valley in 1971 was 79 per cent, and cotton, 137 per cent above that of 1949.

—Hsinhua

Arms Limitation in the Dumps

The piece-de-triump of Nixon's supposedly historic Moscow trip was the agreement on SALT (Strategic Arms Limitation). It now appears that thanks to the untiring efforts of the Hawks in the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives, the Pentagon and the Military Industries, this much publicised agreement has become a damp squib.

From the U.S. point of view some spectacular result had to be produced from the trip to the USSR by its President. Something to splash in all the T.V. and Newspaper networks that hold men's minds in subjection and condition their thinking and attitudes to fit the needs of the modern Western bourgeois state—a talking point in high places, a subject for 'analysis' in Newsweek and Time, and a general gimmick for election year. From the Soviet point of view the arms race within the context of a planned socialist economy is pure waste. The Soviet Union has always desired the minimisation of armament expenditure to levels just adequate to serve its defence needs. Hence in a planned Socialist economy the level of arms expenditure is essentially a political decision and can be implemented at the discretion of the political leadership.

In the great citadel of Capitalism, the U.S.A., this is not so. The arms expenditure is an economically necessary component of the economy. Though in human terms this is pure waste, and if even in strategic terms these weapons are unnecessary, in purely economic terms such wasteful expenditure is a necessary means of stabilising the economy. This method of stabi-

lisation of a decadent capitalist economy in the advanced monopoly-imperialist stage has earned the name 'Permanent Arms Economy'. This technique of stabilisation of decaying capitalism by huge state expenditure is not new; it has been discussed from the 1930's—remember the discussion of the economic usefulness, of the socially futile exercise, of paying a man for digging a hole and filling it up again! We shall not discuss further the social contradictions of decadent capitalism.

Now had the permanent arms economy stabilised the capitalist-monopoly-imperialist mode of production permanently, we would not have had Arms-Limitation. For reasons that cannot be dealt with adequately here, there has gradually evolved a condition of inflation at home, balance of trade deficits, and international monetary imbalance.

Crisis of Monopoly

The contradictions within the economy itself have finally surfaced and the U.S. economy is going through hard times of near-crisis proportions. The huge military budget has expanded to proportions where it is now a contributory factor to the crisis of the Monopoly-Imperialist economy which at a previous stage it had helped

to stabilise. Such are the contradictions of capitalism at each stage of its growth, such the mechanisms of its existence.

If the matter ended here, Nixon's efforts would have been more fruitful. Since the stabilisation of the U.S. economy and the improvement of its balance of trade problems require a cut-back of military expenditure, Nixon could merely have struck some bargain that gave him a reduction in military expenditure of the required proportions and come back home, all would then have been well. However, there now stands over and against this solution, a monster, a monster created by the arms economy itself and now a powerful section of the U.S. ruling class. The so-called Military-Industrial Complex.

When any section of a bourgeois economy booms and expands there is created simultaneously a section of vested interests which fattens on this boom. Thus the growth of the arms economy over the last twenty-five years to multi-billion dollar proportions has spawned a vast class of Industrial Magnates, Chieftains of Finance, Great Bureaucrats in the Pentagon and a full complement of hired, bribed or self-interested Politicians. This group has been created and now exists, it will fight to protect its vested interests. Although the interests of the U.S. bourgeoisie as a whole dictate a reduction in arms expenditure, such measures will be against the sectional

advantage of these elements of the bourgeoisie. Hence a contradiction within the bourgeoisie itself now appears. What a life for Nixon, the high-priest of American Capitalism, who has to mediate between these various powerful interests!

It is this same powerful lobby, the Defence Department, Army top brass, Military Industries and their men in the Senate and House who are attempting to reduce to naught Nixon's Arms Limitations agreements. They are pursuing three lines of attack to undermine the agreement and protect their sectional advantages. The political platform is handled by Defence Secretary Melvin Laird, Senator Henry M. Jackson and others. Their argument may be summarised as follows:—

The favourable outcome of the talks was due solely to the U.S. having negotiated

from a position of military superiority throughout and it must continue to negotiate from a position of such advantage in future talks. The technical and strategic superiority of the U.S. must be sustained.

Even a pea-brain can see that this amounts to undercutting the very concept and foundation of Strategic Arms Limitation.

The second line of attack used to nullify the Agreement is to use the loopholes in the treaty. The Agreement merely restricts the number of ICBM's and anti-missile systems, hence huge sums of money (20,900 million dollars) has been voted for the improvement and modernisation of strategic forces as this aspect is not covered by the formal treaty. The third method of sustaining military expenditure is to put up entirely new weapons systems such as the Trident submarine missile system which the Senate has now endorsed.

—Akbar

Photo Exhibition

A Photo Exhibition entitled "Today's Tibet" organised by the Sri Lanka - China Friendship Association to celebrate the 23rd anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China, will be declared open by Mr. T. B. Subasinghe, Minister of Industries and Scientific Affairs on Wednesday, the 11th at 5 p.m. at Jubilee Hall (Y.W.C.A.) Union Place, Colombo 2.

The Exhibition will be open on the 12th too from 9 a.m. to 6 p.m. Admission free.

MAHATMA GANDHI BIRTH ANNIVERSARY

The Conscience of Mankind

By Jayantha Somasundaram

It has been widely reported that the Ilankai Tamil Arasu Kadchi led Tamil United Front plans to embark on a Haratal today, October 2nd, the 103rd birth anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi. It would thus be pertinent for us to study with some degree of detail the life and teachings of the Mahatma, in order that we may discern any similarities in the philosophy of Gandhiji and the cynical leaders of the TUF. A cursory glance at Mahatma Gandhi's life, which unlike in the case of the pseudo-disciples of his in northern Lanka, is a perfect reflection of his teachings, will show us that never was a greater name used for a fouler cause!

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was born in 1869 at Porbandar in the Kathiawar Peninsula, Western India. His native town was off the beaten track and, as such, Gandhi and his family suffered the disadvantages of European influences only in moderation.

Gandhi was never a bright student, nor did he in later years attach much importance to academic learning or to intellectualism. Gandhi was no theoretician, but yet he was a man of great principles. "My intellect must have been sluggish and my memory raw", writes Gandhi of his early childhood. As a boy Gandhi was shy and reserved. He lacked the poise and confidence to make friends or be conspicuous. This boy, who was so withdrawn, was to be the man who could influence and communicate with millions.

Gandhi was no saint, not in his youth at any rate. We are told that he secretly smoked at a young age and broke the caste taboos and ate meat. He even unsuccessfully tried to commit suicide. At thirteen he married Kasturbai, his life long companion and everlasting inspiration. Despite his happy married life, Gandhi later grew into a bitter opponent of India's child-marriage custom.

Gandhi like Gautama Buddha centuries earlier revolted against orthodox Hinduism. He abhorred the "glitter and pomp" of the temples and confessed that he had no "living faith in God". He admitted in later years that he was "somewhat inclined towards atheism". Prof. Gora, a disciple of Gandhi's, claims that the Mahatma was moving from religious unorthodoxy to atheism.

Sermon on the Mount

On September 4th, 1888 Gandhi sailed for Southampton to begin his law studies. In England he was persuaded to read the Bible. It is said that he found great inspiration in the Sermon on the Mount. "Resist not evil, but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the left also.... Blessed are the meek.... Forgive men their trespasses.... Lay not up for yourself treasures upon earth". Gandhi in later years was to live a more truly Christian life than ever thought possible. Yet he was never a converted Christian. It is said that Gandhi would have become a Christian if it were not for the Christians themselves. He had seen too much of destructive Christianity in India.

In 1891 he returned to India. There he had his first experience of colonial brutality when he was thrown out of a white man's office by the peon! In South Africa he would be thrown out of a first class carriage because no 'natives'

were permitted to ride first class.

"These two episodes made the man, yet it is equally true that the man made the episodes. Other Indians had been expelled from a compartment", writes a commentator. But in Gandhi it awakened the hidden flames of defiance and rebellion. The Mahatma was born. Gandhi was to become the greatest revolutionary in British India. He was a true revolutionary because he never lost sight of his goal, Swaraj— independence. But more important he never bore any kind of malice against the men whom he fought and broke. He fought the British Raj, not the Britisher. Fifty years later the great Latin American revolutionary Fidel Castro was to say: "We fight systems not men."

He began his crusade as an opponent of colonialism, as a fighter for freedom and as an apostle of peace, in South Africa. Here he encountered the most vicious colour prejudice to be found anywhere in the Empire. It was here that Gandhi began a life time of struggle; struggle for the oppressed and the humiliated. It was in Africa that he shed his European dress and began to wear the traditional loincloth. It was here that he perfected his doctrine of non-cooperation and non-violent rebellion.

Satyagraha

Many have misunderstood and misinterpreted Gandhi's weapon of Satyagraha. He described it as "the vindication of truth not by inflicting suffering on the opponent but on one's self". Yet Satyagraha was principally a political weapon. "Men say I am a saint losing myself in politics. The fact is I am a politician trying my hardest to be a saint." Thus Gandhi was first and foremost a social reformer. It was only his approach to the social problems that was original. "Gandhi never sought to humiliate or defeat the Whites in South Africa or India. He wished to convert them. He hoped that, if he practised the Sermon on the Mount, General Smuts would remember that he was a Christian!" In South Africa Gandhi used Satyagraha effectively, and obtained lasting concessions for the Asian communities in Africa.

In 1915 Gandhi returned to India. Here he began the crusade that resulted in freedom for the Colonial peoples. Here he set the pace for the cultural regeneration of Asia and the victory of the Indian people over their white rulers. A cultural resurgence was more important than constitutional freedom. Gurudev Rabindranath Tagore "wept at seeing India the eternal ragpicker at other peoples dust bins!" To

Gandhi true freedom meant the emergence of a new, free, Indian individual.

Some Indians were beginning to ape militarist Japan. Gandhi wanted none of it, because it would be "English rule without the Englishman.... This is not the Swaraj I want," he said. Gandhi was interested in not just who ruled India but how India was ruled. He did not believe, he said "that an Indian Rockefeller would be better than an American Rockefeller".

Indian Congress leaders were puzzled by Gandhi's teachings, by his dress and his overtures to the peasantry. They donned black cutaways and striped pants and read petitions in impeccable English to polite English bureaucrats. "Our salvation can come only through the farmer. Neither the lawyer, nor doctors, nor the rich landlords are going to secure it" Gandhi pointed out.

At Sabarmati Ashram Gandhi began his quest for Indian renewal. When he left the Ashram it was to preach to the peasantry or to fight for their rights. At Champaran he championed the cause of the indigo growers who were suffering at the hands of the British landlords. When he was ordered to leave Champaran, he defied the order. "I declared," he said, "that the British would not order me around in my own country".

General Hartal

After World War One, Indians expected Colonial rule to relax. When he found that no reforms worth their name were forthcoming, Gandhi called upon the country to observe a "General Hartal"—a suspension of economic activity to demonstrate unity, discipline and force. The Hartal was very successful. Gandhi called it "a most wonderful spectacle". But it was not everyone who believed in the bloodless revolution. In certain parts of India violence erupted. The British called out troops to suppress the Hartal with violence and to crush Indian initiatives. In the Punjab General Dyer opened fire on a trapped group of demonstrators killing nearly 400.

Gandhi's reply to this brutality was non-co-operation, a message he carried to the people. Hundreds of Indian lawyers quit the British Courts, University youth abandoned their class-rooms and teachers and students alike went to the villagers calling for the non-payment of taxes and non-consumption of liquor. When Gandhi addressed crowds they would shed their western attire and Gandhi would set fire to the pile of Western clothes. He asked the people to spin, Gandhi himself became a most enthusiastic spinner. Yet the reforms did not come. The young radicals of India now called for violence. But Gandhi would have none of it. "If India takes up the doctrine of the sword" he said, "she may gain momentary victory, but then India will cease to be the pride of my heart." Meanwhile 10,000 Indians went to prison for non-co-operation. India was now in an ugly mood.

Gandhi still had faith in the British reforms. Another of his civil disobedience demonstrations at Bardoli ended in violence. But Gandhi would not return violence with violence. A free India born in murder would bear the mark on her forehead for decades. And Gandhi knew it.

In March 1922 Gandhi was arrested. He was charged with sedition. He had said "It is sinful for anyone to serve this Government. Non co-operation aims at the overthrow of the Government." At his trial he reiterated his past belief in British justice and his subsequent disillusionment. He said that he had believed it "possible to gain a status of full equality in the empire through co-operation". In his judgement Justice Broomfield said "... in the eyes of millions of your countrymen you are a great patriot and a great leader. Even those who differ from you in politics look upon you as a man of high ideals and of noble even saintly life." Rare words to be uttered from the bench!

Privilege and Monopoly

Gandhi was more than a friend of the poor, he understood the poor. "To a people famished and idle, the only acceptable form in which God dare appear is work and the promise of food as wages," he said. "Poverty has led to the moral degradation of India." Yet he often quoted Jesus: "It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the Kingdom of God." He told the rich to make themselves poor by giving to the poor. "I hate privilege and monopoly. Whatever cannot be shared with the masses is taboo to me." Thus he opposed mechanised industrialisation. "I object to the craze

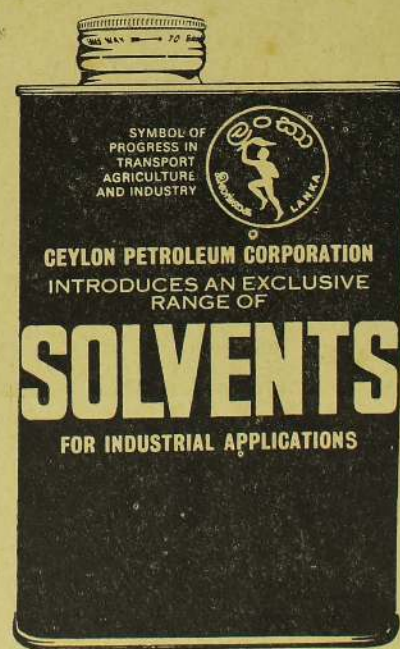
for machinery, not machinery as such," he said "machinery merely helps a few to ride on the backs of the millions."

Among Gandhi's most famous actions was his 'Salt March'. The British had instituted a State monopoly on the collection of salt. Gandhi decided to defy the ban. On March 12th, 1930, he began his march to the sea. On April 5th he reached the sea; trailing behind him was a non-violent army—the future of India. As Gandhi stepped into the sea and picked up a piece of salt, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu cried: "Hail Deliverer!" Gandhi had walked the 240 miles in the full glare of publicity. Subhas Chandra Bose has compared the Salt March to Napoleon's march to Paris after his return from Elba.

All over India Gandhi's example was followed as men, women and children defied the British Raj and collected salt. The British retaliated with arrests and censorship. When these measures proved inadequate, the British resorted to terrorism and brutality. Gandhi's son Manilal and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu led the march on the Darsana Salt Works near Bombay. Gandhi himself being in custody by then. The British broke up this march with unspeakable brutality. Wave after wave of marchers were assaulted by the police. But they did not flinch, they did not pause, they did not fight back. Gandhi had made it. India was now morally free! The pride and spirit of India was finally restored. When a British Officer grasped Mrs. Naidu by the arm and said: "Sarojini Naidu, you are under arrest". She shook off his hand and said majestically, "I will come, but don't touch me!"

Tagore summed up the consequences of the march thus: "Europe has completely lost her moral prestige in Asia. She is no longer regarded as a

(Continued on page 6)



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WORKER PARTICIPATION IN MANAGEMENT — IV

Manager's Propensity to Participate

The decision of the cabinet to establish Employees Councils was on the basis of the U.F. Election Manifesto, which has been endorsed by an overwhelming majority of the voters. The implementation of this decision, however, had to be the responsibility of the administrators, who can be referred to as Managers in the context of Corporations. The Managers themselves were not going to implement it unilaterally, for the operation and success of these Councils had to depend basically on the prosperity of the two parties concerned to participate, i.e. the Manager and the Worker. Of the two, the Manager's propensity to participate deserves to be emphasised first, for a number of reasons.

Firstly, it is common knowledge that a decision of the Government needs for its fulfilment the active cooperation of the bureaucracy, who are capable of thwarting any move which may not be to their liking. Secondly, the Managers who were responsible for the running of State Corporations were not in a mood to abdicate their authority, which is the ultimate result many of them saw in this new venture. Thirdly, the machinery of Employees' Councils itself had to be put into action in the various places by the Managers themselves.

The propensity to participate, whether it is of the workers or of the Manager, is dependent upon two factors—willingness to participate and ability to participate.

Willingness on the part of the Manager to participate is of vital importance in this operation. Legislation, compulsion or persuasion will not transform the unwilling manager into a willing partner in management. In the first place, how many individuals in the management of State Corporations did really appreciate the need for, or the significance of, the political decision taken on worker participation? How many of them were convinced that the worker would respond better once he is given a share in management?

Is our Worker advanced enough to participate in management? This is a question that was (and is even now) on the lips of most Managers. Rather than attempting to answer this question, it would be interesting to pose a counter-question. Is our Manager advanced enough to participate in management? (The word Manager is used to mean an individual in the broad management team in a Corporation—from Chairman downwards to the Supervisors). The answer to this question should show how far the Manager is willing to participate.

The management of Corporations used to draw its personnel mainly from the upper classes of society. Even though this exclusiveness has been shattered a little, the outsiders also qualify themselves gradually to fit into this. Thus it becomes a question not so much of a particular social class, but that of a class of men born (made) to manage. Fossils of feudal and colonial times are also found occasionally among the Managers. That is the reason why we come across a Manager who wants a Worker to remove his slippers before entering his room (his office—not shrine room!) or decides to dismiss a peon who fails to get up from his seat on his appearance.

The presence of this type of Manager in the industrial sector of the Corporations, in particular, was mainly the result of management personnel without any background or experience in industry being foisted on such Corporations. The typical public servant who does not commit himself too much to any policy or principle, will also not interest himself in carrying out a drastic change in management as envisaged in the operation of Employees' Councils. Both these categories are common in the Corporation sector as it is constituted at present.

We have been entrusted with the running of the Corporations, and it is we who will be held responsible for any commission or omission; not the Workers. Why should we then be obliged to take the advice of the Workers? This is another aspect of the reaction of Managers to the idea of worker participation. In the corporation of Employees' Councils they would see more of inroads made by the workers into their own exclusive area of management, rather than creating an atmosphere of cordiality, goodwill and cooperation between the managers and the worker. It must also be stressed that the present set-up of Employees' Councils (including the revised set-up in the C.T.B. and in the Ministry of Industries) makes no provision for the Employees' Councils to hold a whip-hand over the management in any of the decisions to be made on matters connected with the running of the Corporations. The only provision that may not be welcome by some Managers is that, in regard to proposed changes, the management is obliged not to implement such changes if the

Employees' Council does not agree, till a decision is given by the Minister.

The present structure of Employees' Councils has been so designed as to ensure that the workers are consulted through their representatives in the Employees' Council on as many matters as possible in respect of the working of the organisation. Here again one notices Managers, who are experts in their particular fields, raising their eyebrows at the new class of advisers who volunteer their services and cooperation without possessing any expertise in the field concerned. "We have not only learned these techniques or technologies, but have practised them for so many years; how can a layman give us any advice or opinion on these matters? How can such audacity be tolerated?" Certainly the Worker who wishes to participate is often not equipped with the managerial skill or the technological background. But he claims, perhaps, longer years of experience and on-the-job skill which sometimes come in more useful than theory or book knowledge.

An argument is sometimes advanced to the effect that Worker participation should not be forced down on any Manager (or management), who should take to it voluntarily. The question that arises then is simple: how many of the managements in Corporations would have volunteered to launch the experiment in their respective organisations? Having originally volunteered to do so, how many of them would have actually continued the practice? True, present experience tells us that one or two Corpora-

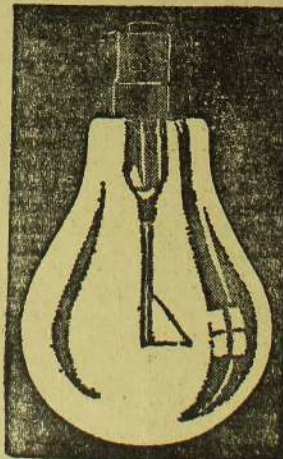
tions would have certainly done so. But, on the whole, the results would not have been far different from the Joint Management Councils introduced as voluntary experiment in India, where it is said that of 53 units initially selected for the experiment, only 30 showed willingness to try out the J.M.C., and of these only 11 had set up the Councils towards the end of 1958 (after the lapse of nearly one year).

Another question now being asked is how many of the top-most Managers in Corporations thought it fit to apprise their managerial team of the Government's policy in this regard and of the necessity for them to extend their cooperation to this experiment. It is interesting to record that, in a very important plant in a leading Corporation, this type of advice went out to the staff in the form of a circular from the Manager who incidentally happened to belong to an erstwhile imperialist race that ruled over a part of our island.

Is the foreigner placed in a more favourable position as far as his willingness to participate is concerned? The local Manager walks into the workplace burdened with prejudices and complexes, which he has inherited from the society around him, whereas the foreigner comes into the workplace only being concerned with the work he is called upon to do. The local Manager is again drawn away from the ordinary worker by the social distance which exists between the two parties; and which some Managers are anxious to widen and preserve in the interests of "discipline and good management."

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Facts and Figures

by Sagitarius

Some findings of the 9th October 1971 Census of Population have been released in June 1972 as Preliminary Release No. 1. Facts that are likely to be of interest to *Nation* readers are highlighted here.

Out of our total population of 12.7 million, 22.4% are Urban, 68.5% Rural and 9.1% Estate dwellers. The Rural sector is small compared to most under developed South-East Asian countries, where the figure runs at 80 to 90%. The small size of our country further facilitates the intermingling of Rural and Urban cultures. Hence there is a greater tendency towards modernism, especially among youth, than elsewhere in the Third World and this is a very significant political fact.

The distribution of population by age is another significant fact. 46% of our population is under 18 years of age and only 54% over 18 years. This means that the ratio of dependents to working people is very high and hence imposes a terrible burden on both the National Economy and on people's personal budgets. It is also understood that about 75% of our population is below 35 years of age (this figure is not obtained from the Preliminary Release). However, we are all aware that Political, Administrative, Economic and Business power in

Ceylon is almost totally and exclusively concentrated in the hands of people over 40 to 50 years of age. To the intelligent reader this fact will speak volumes.

The distribution of the population of Ceylon Tamils is also most illuminating. There are 1.42 million Ceylon Tamils and they constitute 11.1% of the total population. Of the 22 Districts that the country is divided into, in only four districts, Jaffna, Mannar, Vavuniya and Batticaloa, does this group constitute more than half the population. The number of Tamils in these four districts add up to 0.92 million, that is 65% of all Ceylon Tamils. Hence we note that some 35% of the Ceylon Tamil population lives in areas where they form less than half the population.

Alternatively, we may consider the question from the point of view of districts in which the Ceylon Tamils are a majority—not necessarily more than half the population. We now have to add Trincomalee District to the above list of four Districts. The Tamil population in these five Dis-

tricts now sums to 0.99 million that is 70% of all Ceylon Tamils. Hence some 30% of the Ceylon Tamil population lives in areas where they are not the largest single ethnic group.

Federalism

Colombo District contains 167 thousand Ceylon Tamils, 12% of the Ceylon Tamil population; Amparai District 60 thousand, 4.3%; Kandy 50 thousand, 3.5%. Puttalam, Nuwara-Eliya and Badulla are the other Districts with significant Ceylon Tamil populations, all over 20 thousand.

It is well known that the 35% of Ceylon Tamils living in non-Tamil areas contains a much higher proportion of earning people than the other 65% living in Tamil areas; the latter segment containing many children, dependants and old people. The complete integration of the Tamil population into the National Economy is clearly reflected in these figures. So much for Federalism and the politics of the T.U.F.!

The second interesting ethnic group distribution relates to the Ceylon Moors. They are a majority group in only one District, Amparai, with 124 thousand Moors, that is 45% of the population of the district. The most striking

feature is how these people are so well distributed in almost every town and District of Ceylon. Given below in thousands are the most significant District-wise distributions of the Moor population, whose national total is 0.82 million or 6.5% of the national population.

Colombo-148 (18%), Amparai-124 (15%), Kandy-97 (12%), Batticaloa-61 (7.5%), Trincomalee-61 (7.5%), Kalutara-48 (6%), Kurunegala-46 (5.5%), Puttalam-37 (4.5%), Kegalle-29 (3.5%), A'pura-25 (3%), Galle-22 (2.5%), Badulla-21 (2.5%), Matale-20 (2.5%).

The figures in brackets refer to the population of Moors in that district as a percentage of all Moors in Ceylon.

It has been customary to think of areas like Puttalam, Trincomalee, Batticaloa as important Moor areas and this has been fostered by the fact that Moors form a large proportion of the sparse population of these areas. From the point of view of the national distribution of the Moors, however, it is more important to note that the majority of Moors live outside these areas, in so-called Sinhalese areas. Their complete integration into the nation and the national economy is a fact of overwhelming political import.

Highly Integrated

The Preliminary Release uses the term, 'Indian Tamil', for that group whose preponderant component is the estate worker. They account for 1.2 million, or 9.4% of the total population. We summarise below those districts which contain not less than 20 thousand Indian Tamils, the figures are in thousands and the percentages in this case are given as the percentage of Indian Tamils as a part of the total population of each district.

Kandy-291 (25%), N-Eliya-236 (52%), Badulla-206 (34%), Ratnapura-112 (17%), Kegalle-62 (10%), Colombo-61 (2%), Matale-48 (15%), Kalutara-38 (5%), Jaffna-25 (3%).

Colombo, the capital city of Sri Lanka, contains, within its Municipal Limits, 562 thousand souls. Their distribution by ethnic group is as follows, Sinhalese-50%, Ceylon Tamil-18%, Ceylon Moors-18%, Indian Tamils-6%, the rest being mainly Burghers, Malays and so on.

The moral of all this appears to be that, though in customs, religions, prejudices and superstitions, our various peoples are still much diversified, in geographic and economic terms they are highly integrated. A good materialist will say, "Let's see what counts in the long run!" and thumb his nose at all the purveyors of sectional interests.



ARALU AND ARALIYA

Bhutto Rapped

In the cause of modernity the Colombo Municipal Council has decided to ban Rickshaws. The Muslims of our country have counselled Ali Bhutto that his countrymen should not engage in a cricket match with Ceylon during the period of Ramazan and hence the 4-day 'Test' is off. No one can seriously suggest that the Pakistan Cricket Association had been unmindful that the Ramazan period recurred in 1972, nor that they were waiting to be reminded of the fact by their erstwhile brethren in Ceylon. For them it was simply a case of expediency and a match with Ceylon enroute to Australia for their tour there was an ideal preparation and so justified the small religious compromise involved. For a theocratic state such as Pakistan to think on those modern lines is perhaps heresy to the Ceylon Muslims and for that reason it was necessary to put Bhutto and his boys in their place. For Ceylon the damage is incalculable and if Pakistan ever plays Ceylon again no doubt the Muslim calendar will be consulted. It won't be a bad idea to send one to Moshe Dayan too.

East Germany

The East German Newspaper 'Neue Zeit' had this very revealing editorial comment to make about its country's sporting achievement—"Sports Experts in Capitalist Countries have recurrently re-

ferred to the sport wonder G.D.R. They have overlooked that this wonder is the result of systematic development inherent in the Socialist society, whose principles are that all development have to centre around man, his health, his efficiency and his joy of living". The Ceylon Government is also committed to creating a Socialist society for its people and distant though that goal may yet be the East German ideals are certainly worth bearing constantly in mind.

Stars and Stripes

The President of the United States Olympic Committee Clifford H. Buck in reviewing his country's worst showing in any Olympics had this to say—"I am disappointed but not critical. Medals aren't everything but I must confess that I thought we would do better. I thought we would at least be even with the Russians in winning medals. Of course we have been warning every one that the rest of the world is catching up with us especially East Germany which was very strong here. When we get home we will have a meeting to evaluate our performance. We spent more money during the past four years than ever before to field world class teams. We must decide if we are spending it properly, putting the right emphasis in the right area." Quite a contrasting view by a Member of the U.S. Olympic Team George Frenn,

a Hammer Thrower—"we were a big bust. We must go to Congress and have the entire U.S. Olympic Committee reconstructed. A thing as important as this to our international prestige must be given to more efficient hands and better brains".

Judicial Pronouncement

The old Copybook used to remind us that patience is a virtue, but in recent times patience has become the badge of the lazy. It was thus all the more surprising to read that a newly appointed Judge had exhorted youth to take to sport because it teaches patience. I have no doubt that this respected gentleman does not approach his judicial functions in this pedagogic fashion for otherwise one can well imagine miscreants being told that a rest in prison is ideal to develop patience. He is reported as having further said that defeat in particular breeds patience. How on earth this happens heaven only knows, especially when today all the world is impatient with failure. If there be another occasion when this gentleman is pressed to speak, I am sure he will be able to get around to saying that the best reason why sports should be indulged in is for the simple joy of doing so.

Welsh

The B.C.C. enjoyed saying that the all conquering London Welsh Rugby Team, which returned from its Ceylon tour with an incredible total of 500 points, lost their opening match by 31 Points to Nil. What says you, Mr. Banks?

—The Actor

Astro-Politics

Whenever reaction wishes to launch an offensive against an SLFP or United Front Government in Ceylon it, first carefully prepares the ground. The preparation is carried out on many fronts and is aimed at creating the greatest possible public dissatisfaction, economic disruption and panic. If something on the lines of a coup is in their minds, the captains of reaction attempt to create conditions in which the organs of the working class are intimidated and silenced in advance as far as possible.

The wave of artificial shortages of essential and consumer goods created by the UNP-oriented mudalali class and the spread from mouth to mouth of stories of the imminent fall of the Government that preceded the April 1971 outbreak are still fresh in our minds. If we take our minds back to the period just preceding the fall of the Coalition Government in 1964, the attempted 1962 coup and the murder of Mr. Bandaranaike, we will once again remember the role of various organs of reaction in preparing the political ground. The press especially played a prominent role.

While the bank strike and the merciless attack of the capitalist press on the Government gives one side of the build-up, there is another interesting set of rascals who are systematically doing their bit. We refer to the paid astrologers of reaction who at the appropriate moment come out with suitably garnished predictions. Their misdeeds over the last twenty years in causing panic, fear and disorder among the public is well known. They make the best use of the re-

mnents of superstition among our people.

They are at their game again. This time the story is that Oct. 8th - Oct. 18th is a real bad period. Hell-fire and brimstone shall fall on Sri Lanka. See how well it fits the UNP bye-election plans, the TUF disruption plans, the Press lords and the foolish Bala Tampoes of this world. So it appears that reaction is preparing the ground on every front, perhaps another onslaught is on the way, the working class must mobilise.

—Rationalist

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Propaganda for the Tamil Cause

Peaceful persuasion by any section of the people of a country of other sections to any particular view is a democratic and civilised method of conduct. It is statecraft per excellence. It also contains ethical and spiritual virtues.

Propaganda by the Tamils among non-Tamils is a very heavy and arduous task but it has got to be done. It is indispensable not only for purposes of Tamil welfare and national unity but also in the cause of peace and goodwill in Sri Lanka.

The dissemination of sentiments and thoughts and the advocacy of the Tamil cause which is inextricably bound up with the cause of Sri Lanka falls under many heads. Some of them are as follows:

1. Suitable propaganda in English, Sinhalese and Tamil.
2. Conferences and meetings in all parts of the island. To begin with there could be at least fifty important provincial centres in the Sinhalese-speaking areas where meetings and conferences could be held.
3. The above step has to be followed by meetings and conferences in all the villages in the Sinhalese-speaking areas.
4. Representations to important organisations and personalities.

The energy, industry, and wealth spent by candidates for Parliamentary Elections could be considered a standard or measure which could be striven

for in the pursuit of wholesome propaganda on behalf of the Tamils among non-Tamils. In fact, however worthy they might be considered, electioneering campaigns for individual and party causes, assume a lower proportion in the fact of this paramount need of propaganda regarding Tamil requirements and thoughts among non-Tamils—so very vital to the Tamils of Sri Lanka during this crucial period of our history.

By coming into contact with non-Tamil people, the Tamils will in turn know something about the thoughts and requirements of the non-Tamil people which knowledge is equally important. There must be an exchange of views and where-ever necessary or desirable, adjustments in the light of such exchange of views, could well be made. Compromise and reconciliation are preferable to dogmatism.

—S. Sivasubramaniam.

Communications

Up-Country Tamils and Jaffna Train

Before the April Insurgency of 1971, a train traveller from the Up-Country to Jaffna could finish his journey during the day time itself, without breaking rest at nights. During this period, there was a connecting train that met the Morning Express train from the Up-Country at Polgahawela. This express train left Colombo Fort Station at 2.05 p.m. and reached K.K.S. at 9.30 p.m.

As a result of the Insurgency, this train had to reach Jaffna before the curfew hours. The train from Colombo Fort departed at 11.45 a.m. and reached K.K.S. at 8.00 p.m.

or so. Invariably the connection at Polgahawela was not facilitated and Up-Country travellers to Jaffna had to put up with the inconvenience of staying the night at Polgahawela Station, bearing in mind the Insurgency and the curfew hours.

Then, things returned to normalcy and the curfew was lifted. But the strangest thing was that the previous time schedule in respect of this train has not been restored. We are forced to come to the conclusion that the bureaucrats, with whom our communications regarding this has been

in vain, are unsympathetic to the problems of Up-Country Tamils who cannot finish their journey on the same day.

Everything that was altered because of the April upheaval has been restored to normal except this arrangement which has become permanent in the Railway time table. May I ask the Minister, on behalf of Up-country travellers, to intervene and enable us to travel during the day time itself as before.

—Pundit Kanagasabapathy

Murder at Munich

A monstrous crime, a bloody massacre,
The flower of a Nation's youth shot down,
When unsuspecting and unarmed they lay,
Encamped in Munich, far from kith and kin,
To vie with chosen youth from distant clime,
In fair and open contest for the crown;
The laurel wreath of peaceful sport to wear,
And decked with honour to their homes return.

Alas, what have we here? a ghastly sight
Of cold and lifeless corpses, air-borne,
Received by wailing, horror-stricken crowds
Of anguished kinsfolk and demented friends.
What was their crime, the victims of this death?
What vile offence provoked the killer's hand?
None, none at all; but that as homeless Jews
They had been planted on pure Arab soil.

So, here's the cause. The roots of this foul deed
Lie in that wicked deal which Balfour made,
Who carved a home in Palestine for Jews,
The refugees from Nazi crimes fled there.
The shades of Adolf Hitler must arise
And be arraigned with Balfour in the dock
For sowing here the seeds of hate and strife
To reap the bloody harvest that offends.

Backed by the mighty dollar of the Yanks
Who sought an outpost in the Middle East,
The U.N. to this scheme its blessings gave,
To seal this horse deal, recking not the cost—
The cost in human lives in misery.
So now a desperate, determined race
Uprooted from their homes, seek vengeance,
Defying death and human sentiment—

With dedication to the single cause
Of winning with their blood their native soil,
They roam the earth in restless hooded bands
To strike the savage blow which will arrest
Attention to their cause. Lest we forget,
Ere we condemn these men, remember that
They share their guilt, both nations great and small
Who idly watch the rape of Palestine.

—Mervyn Casie Chetty.

The Conscience of Mankind

(Continued from page 3)

champion.... but as the upholder of Western race supremacy and the exploiter of those outside her own borders. Asia is physically weak.... nevertheless she can afford to look down on Europe where before she looked up". When the Indians allowed themselves to be beaten with batons and rifle butts and did not cringe, they showed that England was powerless and India invincible!

Delhi Pact

In February 1931 the British released Gandhi and the other Congress leaders and arranged for an interview at the Viceroy's Palace. India held the whip-hand now and the British knew it. Winston Churchill was revolted by "the nauseating and humiliating spectacle of this seditious fakir, striding half-naked up the steps of the Palace, to negotiate and parley on equal terms with the representative of the King-Emperor". On March 5 the "Delhi Pact" was signed. Seventeen years later, a minute in the life of an ancient people, India would be free.

In October 1931 a Conservative dominated coalition Government came to power in London. Soon Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, 'Sardar' Patel and Mahadev Desai among others would be in jail. In 1932 constitutional reforms

tended to isolate the untouchables of India by separate representation. Gandhi opposed these steps, in order to press his point he began a fast. Tagore the great Bengali supported the Mahatma. "It is worth sacrificing precious life for the sake of India's unity and her social integrity", he counselled.

In Bombay Indian leaders met to prepare a solution that would be acceptable to the Mahatma. The leader of the Harijans, Dr. Ranji Ambedkar, wanted separate representations in order to perpetrate Hindu-Harijan enmity and his own rule over the Harijans. In order to find common ground for all the negotiators Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru introduced primaries, for the first time in India. When the Hindu-Harijan leaders had agreed on a solution after hard bargaining, a team of them left for Yervada Prison where Gandhi was confined. Sapru, Rajagopalachari and Rajendra Prasad begged the Mahatma to accept the new reforms and call off the fast.

After seven days of fasting Gandhi agreed to the proposals of the other Indian leaders and called off his fast. But the Mahatma's week long fast achieved much more than constitutional rectification, it altered the outlook of Hindus throughout India. Kalighat

Temple, Calcutta, and Ram Mandir, Benares, were two of the more famous temples that opened their doors to Harijans. It is indeed a tragedy that 40 years later political opportunists in Northern Lanka persist in the reactionary practice of preventing Harijans from entering temples.

At the Hindu Benares University orthodox Brahmans dined publicly with low castes. Mrs. Rani Nehru, Jawaharlal's mother, let it be known that she had accepted food from the hand of a Harijan. During his epic fast weddings in India were postponed, Hindus refrained from going to cinemas, theatres and restaurants. Legislation followed later, a change of heart was a more essential prerequisite. This was Gandhi's way. To the Mahatma it was the individual's responsiveness to his revolutionary concepts that mattered. His was a revolution of the human mind?

Liquidation of the Empire

When the war came in 1939 the younger Indian leaders believed that the time for Swaraj had come. But Churchill had no intention of giving it. "I have not become the King's first Minister in order to preside at the liquidation of the Empire. Gandhism and all it stands for must ultimately be grappled with and finally crushed!" But men who had

their wits about them knew otherwise. Sir Reginold Maxwell of the Viceroy's Council predicted in 1942 that Britain "will be out of here two years after the war ends."

In 1942 India seethed with rebellion. All the prominent leaders were locked up. The moment the doors closed behind Gandhi violence erupted. The British blamed the imprisoned Gandhi for it. Stung by the accusation Gandhi commenced a fast. This was a most terrible period for the Mahatma, he lost both Mahadev Desai and Kasturbai. Ultimately, to prevent total chaos and the collapse of British rule, Gandhi was released.

The Independence that Gandhi had lived for, fought for, and would gladly have died for turned sour. With the close of the war Jinnah called for 'Pakistan', a call that gave rise to religious riots. Gandhi was overcome by a sinking feeling at the mass madness that can turn men into less than a brute. To Gandhi partition was tantamount to treason, but ultimately he and every other Hindu leader had to give in to 'Pakistan'. Kripalani, the Congress President, explained why. "I have seen a well where women and their children, 107 in all, threw themselves to save their honour. In another place a place of worship, 50 young women were

killed by their men-folk for the same reason. These experiences have affected my approach to the question.... We have been accused of taking this decision out of fear. I must admit to the charge, but not in the sense in which it was made. The fear is not for the lives lost or the widows' wail or the orphan's cry. The fear is that if we go on like this, we shall progressively reduce ourselves to a state of cannibalism or worse." Gandhi himself said "thirty-two years of work have come to an inglorious end!"

It would be futile here to go into the violence that served as a mid-wife to the birth of Pakistan. It was a series of violence that culminated in the assassination of the Mahatma by a Hindu fanatic on January 25 1948. In the words of Tagore:

"A shadow is darkening over India like a shadow cast by an eclipsed sun. Mahatma through his life of dedication has made India his own in Truth. Each country has its own geography where the spirit dwells and where physical force can never conquer. The Great Soul continues his dominion even when he is physically no longer present. The penance which Mahatma has taken upon himself is not a ritual, but a message to all India and the World."

McNamara Calls For Reducing Inequalities

Address to Annual Session of World Bank

Speaking to the Board of Governors of the World Bank at Washington last week, WB President Robert McNamara made the gloomy prediction that by 1975, the end of the first half of the Second Development Decade, official assistance to the developing countries would not exceed 0.37 per cent of the GNP of the developed countries, which is half the original targetted figure of 0.7 per cent of GNP. This would mean that in the poor countries, where per capita incomes range between \$100 and \$200 per year, incomes would rise by only \$2 per year. This serious situation, he said, should impel the international community to adopt new approaches to narrow the gap not only between the developed and developing countries, but also between the relatively few rich and the 40 per cent who are desperately poor in the developing countries themselves.

Mr. McNamara said that, by the end of this century, people in the developed countries would be enjoying annual per capita incomes of more than \$8,000. As against this, the masses of the poor countries, who would by then total more than 2,250 millions, would receive on an average less than \$200 per capita, while some 800 million of them would receive even less than \$100 per capita.

Assessing the effect of the massive shortfall in concessory aid (Official Development

Assistance), Mr. McNamara said: "The first and least tolerable of the effects is that the poorer of our member-countries—those with per capita GNP of less than \$200—will be penalised the most. Their needs for ODA are the greatest, and their chances for finding feasible alternatives are the least. What is more, these countries collectively contain 1,100 million people, 64 per cent of the aggregate population of our entire developing country membership. They are the very countries which have suffered the greatest

burdens of poverty during the past decade. Their GNP grew annually at an average rate of only 4.1 per cent and their per capita income at a minuscule of 1.7 per cent."

Mr. McNamara referred to the mounting debt problem of

the developing countries and said publicly guaranteed debt in these countries now stood at about \$75,000 millions, with an annual debt service of approximately \$7,000 millions. Debt service payments rose by 18 per cent in 1970 and by 20 per cent in 1971, representing twice the average rate of increase over the 1960's and reflecting a hardening of the

terms of debt as the proportion of concessory aid in the total flow of external assistance to developing countries declined.

Announcing an expanded role for the Bank group countries, he said that, in the five-year period 1974-1978, they would provide financial and Technical assistance to some \$50 billions as against

(Continued on page 8)

Advertising and the Consumer

Break for Commercials by E. Rudinger and V. Kelly, Penguin Books, 1970, 48 pp., Rs 6.60.

The advertising industry in Sri Lanka recently held a seminar to discuss the role of advertising in relation to development. However there has been little or no study carried out on advertising methods and the effect advertising has on the consumer in Sri Lanka. Unlike in Britain, the consumer here is at the mercy of uncontrolled forms of advertising. False claims are tolerated and indeed expected in advertisements by the consumer.

Penguin Education have been bringing out a series of well-produced booklets under the general title 'Connexions' for students in schools and colleges of further education on important aspects of modern society. 'Break for Commercials' in this series examines advertising techniques in Britain today.

Advertising has always been a source of argument. Advertisers have been accused of exaggeration and deception, of

encouraging people to want goods they don't need. Advertising has a strong influence on shoppers and this realisation no doubt has prompted the high expenditure of over Rs 150 per person annually on advertising in Britain today. Is this money well spent? Does the shopper receive useful information which will enable him to choose wisely? Or do advertisements try to persuade through deception.

The book exposes the techniques used by advertisers and an awareness of these techniques enables the vigilant reader to protect himself from subtle advertising methods. The brand name and words used in advertisements are associated with an aristocratic and perhaps unattainable way of life; it is suggested that a family is not really a happy one without the product; the 'before and after' method; and recommendation by a famous personality or the using of science and pseudoscientific terms to overwhelm the consumer.

BOOK REVIEW

Protection Needed

In Sri Lanka too several of these techniques are used but downright deception is more common than in Britain. There are several reasons for this. The producer is often a monopoly producer and the consumer is faced with a 'take it or leave it' attitude. Consumer resistance is not as developed. Government control over deceptive advertising which takes the form of a Trade Description Act in Britain has not yet been introduced in Ceylon.

With the passage of the Trade Description Act in Britain, it is illegal to misrepresent goods offered for sale in advertisements. The book reprints an article from the Guardian by Noel Ratcliffe detailing his experiences with a pie manufacturing firm and how only after the Trade Description Act became law was it possible for him to force the firm to bring about a closer correspondence between the actual pie and the picture on the Carton.

The need for similar protection of our society from over-enthusiastic advertisers becomes clear on reading this booklet. Cloth that is claimed to be 'unshrinkable' shrinks in the first wash, stout is claimed to be 'nourishing' on no scientific basis and cigarettes which are known to be harmful are allowed to be freely advertised. But any attempt at controlling advertisements must form part of a larger strategy of consumer protection including guarantees inspection and price control.

-R.

THE ROAD
TO
PROSPERITY

SAVE

today
to ensure prosperity
tomorrow



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with its large network of
Branches and a banking
experience of 32 years can
show you the way.

BANK OF CEYLON

the Nation's Bank with the
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Notes & Comments

The reactionary press has built up the four by-elections that are due to take place on 9th October into a mini-General Election. The UNP does not conceal its wish that they be regarded as General Election, which means an opportunity to reverse the popular verdict of May 1970. The newspapers strain every nerve to interpret the by-elections as a debate on the performance of the United Front Government, in the course of which they hope the people will declare their lack of confidence in the United Front and its progressive policies and their wish to return to the UNP despite its reactionary record. Mr. J. R. Jayewardene even talks of the people not wanting "social revolution".

Despite the wishful thinking of the capitalist press, the UNP has carefully refrained from raising in issue the policies of the United Front Government. None of the major legislative Acts of the Government or its announced policies have been converted into election issues. The Land Reform, the Ceiling on Incomes, the Capital Levy, the Take-over of the Import Trade, the Education Reforms etc. have been virtually ignored. On the other hand, the UNP has done the obvious thing by concentrating on the rising cost of living and scarcity of consumers' goods. This has

been made the sole issue of the four by-elections.

The Government, any one can see is at a disadvantage on an issue of this nature. It has to admit that there has been a considerable increase in the cost of living and a perceptible scarcity of many consumers' necessities during the last two years and four months. A great part of the increased cost of living, in fact, reflects trends operating in the world market, while the scarcities have been forced on the Government by the proceeding decline in the terms of trade, made worse by the UNP Government's profligate spending of short-term foreign loans on purchases of consumer articles. But it is not easy to explain economic theory to the mass of voters. They are certain to be impressed by the fact that living has become more difficult under the United Front Government. It is natural for the UNP to seek to exploit this to its advantage at the polls.

The UNP, however, is not a new political party that has arrived on the election scene in Sri Lanka. It has had the longest term in office of all Governments in the country. What is more, it has had the blackest record of all Governments and has been widely regraded by the masses as the cause of all their miseries.

THE PEOPLE DO NOT FORGET!

Could two years and four months of United Front Government, even if it be admitted that it has been tardy and has vacillated in the midst of the severest economic crisis that the country has known—have turned recent history upside down in the minds of the people? To us, the four by-elections are more important as an answer to this question than as a pronouncement of judgement on increased prices and scarcities of goods.

We have always prided ourselves in the political wisdom of our people in Sri Lanka. Until now everybody has readily admitted that the masses in our villages and towns have shown a remarkable capacity to learn from experience and to use such knowledge in the making of political decisions. It is this capacity that has enabled them to change Governments on so many occasions by using their individual votes. One of the facts which the by-elections will demonstrate is whether our people in Sri Lanka have retained this political capacity, or whether they have lost it as the result of two years and four months of hard times under a Government of their choice.

For our part, we do not need to hedge our bet. We retain our full confidence in the political sagacity of our people. The future of democracy in Sri Lanka rests on the existence of such good political sense in the mass of voters.

We have never lost confidence in the ability of popular democracy to deliver the goods. We are not surprised, therefore, at reports from the four constituencies that appear to have bowled over many reactionary propagandists and pseudo-revolutionary prophets of doom. Prices and scarcities, it seems, are not the only factors that determine mass political choice. The people have not forgotten their oppressors and enemies or lost the capacity to recognise their friends.

The mischief and worse of the reactionary press has had the effect of distorting the memory of the events of the last two years and four months. To many people this period has not been punctuated by the tragic events of April last year. It is almost as though there was never an insurgency of the dimensions that actually took place. It is also forgotten that the insurgency was staged ten months after the United Front Government was set up. The proceedings of the trial of some insurgents that is now taking place have already revealed that preparations for the uprising commenced simultaneously with the formation of the new Government. The insurgency interrupted the Government's programme and set it back disastrously. Much worse, it interfered with the dia-

logue that the Government was used to conducting with the people through frequent mass meetings. The by-elections have had the important result of reviving this dialogue. The United Front parties must regard this as an important gain.

Sri Lanka must consider it a matter of pride that, almost eighteen months after the catastrophic insurgency of April 1971, it should be able to hold four by-elections of this nature, especially to a Parliament that has been renovated and reinvigorated by the new constitution. This is a further affirmation of confidence in democracy that is certain to be reflected in the voting trends at the by-election. Available reports from the four constituencies indicate that the newspapers have not succeeded in distorting the image of the United Front among the people. They grumble at the increasing hardships they have to face and are disappointed by the waverings and inconsistencies of the Government in working out solutions to the country's problems. But they have not permitted their difficulties and disappointments to obliterate their basic identification with this Government. They remember that the UNP, for all its tall talk today, is the party of their oppressors and enemies and can never reflect their own interests.

MaNamara Calls For Reducing Inequalities

(Continued from page 7)

the \$30 billions in the first five-year programme (1969—1973). He outlined a plan of action for developing countries involving a re-orientation of their social and economic policies to attack the problem of massive poverty. Listing "new approaches", he asked developing countries to summon political will and courage to carry out essential institutional reforms, specially in land, taxation and banking, to bring about a re-distribution of economic power. He said specific targets should be established within the development plans of individual countries for income growth among the poorest 40 per cent in the population. The increase in their income should be at least as fast as the national average in five years, and the goal should be to increase this growth faster in the longer run.

Refuting the general prejudice against more equitable income distribution on the ground that it would result in disincentives, Mr. MaNamara said: "It is often suggested that wide disparities in in-

come are necessary in order to provide entrepreneurial incentives. Without arguing whether such incentives are important stimuli to productivity, one can question the amount of incentive that is required to motivate the desired degree of effort. In a study of the income disparities of 39 developing countries in which the income of the wealthiest 5 per cent is measured as a multiple of the bottom 40 per cent, there is a wide range of differences among countries. There are 8 countries in which the per capita income of the top 5 per cent is more than 30 times greater than that of the lowest 40 per cent. There are 16 countries in which the ratio is less than 15 to 1.

"But the significant point is that, when one compares these two sets of countries on their per capita growth performance during the 1960's, there is no discernible relationship between the size of the incentives and the rapidity of the growth. The average rate of growth of the group of countries with the greatest disparities was not significantly different

from the group with the least. This indicates that there may well be substantial scope in the developing countries for moderating the highly skewed disparities in income without crippling the incentives to greater productivity."

Mr. MaNamara continued: "Similarly, flexibility in the relationship between income distribution and the volume of savings available for socially productive investment may, in fact, be far greater than is generally assumed. While it is true that higher incomes permit a higher rate of savings, the real question is what becomes of those savings. If they are used for production of luxury goods to meet a demand pattern distorted by a skewed income distribution, it is questionable whether the high savings rate is, in fact, promoting any crucial national interest. If, on the other hand, a more equitable distribution of income results in a somewhat lower gross rate of savings, but more investment in the production of essential commodities, the lower rate of growth in national income may be accompanied by an increase in the incomes of the bulk of the population."

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