

"My Mandate Has Not Changed!"

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STOP THAT LEAK!



MASSES HAVE STOOD BY GOVT.

Its Own Weaknesses led to By-election Losses

(By Our Political Correspondent)

The most eloquent fact about the four by-elections that were held on October 9th is that 39% of the voters cast their ballots for the candidates of the United Front Government, as against 44% of voters who sided with the United National Party. If the voting in Kesbewa is interpreted to mean that there were two candidates who sought to present themselves to the electorate on the side of the Government—one legitimately and the other pretentiously—and the votes of Mr. Subash Chandrasiri are recorded as part of the United Front votes in that electorate that were split between him and the official candidate, Mr. Dixon Perera, 53% of the voters at the four by-elections cast their ballots on the side of the Government and, in any case, rejected the candidates of the United National Party.

The eloquence of this fact derives from the unmistakable background against which the by-elections took place, viz. the context of rising prices of consumer goods and palpable scarcities which have been the cause of considerable criticism of the Government and grumbling on the part of its opponents and supporters. This situation, when considered side by side with the undeniable high expectations generally manifested in the country after the May 1970 General Elections of increased welfare among the poorer sections of the people, was bound to lead to the disaffection of some strata among those who supported the United Front until 1970.

Most observers, therefore, expected a considerable slide in the popularity of the Government to be demonstrated at the polls which took place this week. Many of them did not expect that the overwhelming mass of Government supporters of 2½ years ago would stand resolutely by the Government that they supported.

Of the four constituencies in which elections were held this week, the importance of two should not be overestimated. Nuwara Eliya is one of those few constituencies which possesses a majority of voters from the plantations, while Puttalam has the peculiarity of a Muslim majority with a considerable sprinkling of Catholic and

Tamil minority voters. Voting trends in these two constituencies cannot, therefore, be regarded as typical of the general trend in the country. Indeed, what the by-elections have demonstrated is the relatively small variation in the voting patterns that has taken place in Nuwara Eliya and Puttalam, even if one of them returned a different party from that of May 1970.

The other two constituencies, viz. Ratnapura and Kesbewa, are more important for interpreting current trends in the country. Both of them point to the same phenomenon, viz. a considerable slide down of the Government vote. In the case of Ratnapura, the reduction of the Government majority by almost 50% has to be regarded as important. Various explanations have been offered and, perhaps some of them are even valid. But nothing can explain away the fall in the Government's majority of more than 5,000 votes.

In the case of Kesbewa, what has been a Left-wing electorate from the year 1947 was lost to the Right-wing. But this is not as significant as it sounds. What is more significant is

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P.M. on By-elections

"The confidence and the mandate placed by the people in me in May 1970, has not changed substantially.

"I shall take account of the people's views as expressed at the by-elections, and I shall try to solve problems in such a way as to increase their confidence as time goes by".

These observations are made by the Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, in a statement issued by her yesterday on the four by-elections.

The following is the text of the Prime Minister's statement:—

"Mr Dudley Senanayake, apparently elated by the results of the by-elections, has issued a statement reflecting what he would like to believe rather than the reality. He says that "in so widely disparate areas as Kesbewa, Puttalam, Nuwara Eliya and Ratnapura, the verdict of the people is uncompromisingly clear against the performance and policies of the Government".

Two SLFP Men

"In Kesbewa the hard fact remains that the totality of the anti-UNP votes polled by two SLFP men Mr. Subash Chandrasiri and our candidate is not substantially different from the votes polled for the late Mr. Somaweera Chandrasiri MP. A single candidate for the United Front would undoubtedly have won with a majority as great as Mr. Somaweera's majority in May 1970 over the UNP candidate.

In Nuwara Eliya, the by-election results show the exact opposite of what Mr. Senanayake has claimed. The SLFP increased its voting strength, reduced the UNP majority and created an interest that led to a record poll of 85 per cent. On Mr. Senanayake's own argument, the voters of Nuwara Eliya must have endorsed the performance and policies of the Government over the last two and a half years by an uncompromisingly clear verdict".

"With his unique experience of governing the country for the full term of a Parliament, and of using the whole weight of Governmental machinery in trying to win by-elections. Mr. Senanayake cannot surely have forgotten the by-elections he held in those days? Did he regard the defeat of the UNP at Bentara—Elpitiya by a majority of over 1000 votes as "an uncompromisingly clear verdict", against his Government in 1966?

Nattandiya 1969

"Did he react to the Nattandiya by-election result in 1969 when the late Sir Albert Pieris' majority of over 5,000 votes was reduced to a couple of hundred votes reduced to a couple of hundred votes in the hands of Mr. Hugh Fernando? Mr. Senanayake regarded this as such a great victory that he appointed Mr. Hugh Fernando to ministerial office immediately afterwards!

"Of course he was only fulfilling UNP promise made at the hustings, which had been calculated to influence the voters of Nattandiya that it

was more advantageous to be represented by a UNP Minister of a Government than a mere SLFP backbencher!

"When the 15,000 UNP majority in the Negombo electorate was reduced to 7,000 at the Negombo by-election in 1968 in what was considered to be a UNP strong hold, did Mr. Senanayake consider that it was an uncompromisingly clear verdict to his party?

"In election petition after election petition the UNP Government at that time, unseated our Members of Parliament on the grounds that false statements pertaining to character and conduct had been made on their behalf by others who were in law their agents, though they themselves were not at fault.

Balapitiya

"With the exception of Balapitiya, we won every single one of these by-elections, but Mr. Senanayake did not then consider these results as an "uncompromisingly clear verdict" against himself! In Balapitiya, his own successful candidate Mr. Lakshman de Silva explained afterwards on public platforms how he came to win at the by-election

Government power was used to mislead the people to believe that electricity would soon be supplied to various areas. The technique adopted by the UNP Government was to fix wires to coconut tree trunks along the road, saying that the electricity would soon come! Needless to say it never came! Mr. Senanayake will also not forget the manner in which Governmental power was used by the UNP at the Balangoda by-election.

"With false propaganda on Nindagam laws and the shameful way in which the wife of P.S.C. Member contested for the United National Party at the Pelmadulla Parliamentary by-election ultimately being given a seat as a defeated candidate in the Senate almost as soon as the election results were announced.

UF Enabled It

"Mr Senanayake should remember that it was the United Front Government that restored to Mr. Gamini Dissanayake MP his civic rights by changing the Constitution against which his own Party voted. It was the voters of Nuwara Eliya however that reduced his majority, and expressed increased confidence in the SLFP.

"Before the by-elections were held, Mr Senanayake kept on

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CIA IN THE NEWS AGAIN!

"We categorically deny it" it was haughtily declared at the US Embassy in Delhi. The charges are groundless! Such was the response to the press-conference of S.D. Sharma, Chairman of the Indian National Congress ruling party where the veil of secrecy was lifted over the recent operations undertaken by the US Central Intelligence Agency in the South-Asian subcontinent.

The evidence was very precise. The investigation found out for instance that American "diplomats" were roaming in a car about the state of Madhya Pradesh right before the elections to the local legislative assembly. Their efforts were not wasted: in the quiet of provincial towns far from innocent meetings were held with the leaders of the ultra-Right opposition. Along the route of the visitors the authorities found piles of anti-Government booklets printed overseas. The circle closed when the instigators of the recent rebellion in Shahadara near Delhi suddenly revealed a striking knowledge of the professional fighting methods of the Pentagon "Green Berets".

As soon as this semblance with the "Green Berets" became evidence against US agents, messengers rushed out of the US Embassy with an official refutation for the press. It included references to "groundless charges" and injured innocence. But as was aptly remarked by Unnikrishnan, an MP of the Indian National Congress, it contained no concrete answers to the disclosures of S. D. Sharma. US missions in Asian capitals have got used to pretend that

that the CIA is a sort of a temple of a pure research science in Washington and its associates never set foot on the Asian continent. If this were true, more than one chapter with a record of Government crises, Coups, underhanded political assassinations and mass bloody reprisals, would be absent in the recent history of Asia.

In a fairy-tale Asia without the CIA, thousands of people shot by the punitive forces of Yahya Khan would have risen from the dead in Bangladesh. It is known that the black lists, according to which the cream of Bengali intellectuals were murdered, had been edited in the CIA. The lists were discovered afterwards in the desk of Gen. Farman Ali, second-in-command of the Pakistani army in Dacca. His files also contained secret papers which showed that, back in October 1971, certain Hight and Dwespick, both US citizens, had arrived in East Bengal on a special mission.

There is no need to introduce 43-year old Hight to the corresponding services in Asian countries: they have a thick dossier on him. The routes of Hight's secret missions ran across Dacca, Cairo

and Calcutta, where he had left too many traces over so many years. The data collected by the Bangladesh newspaper, *Dainik Bangla*, clearly indicate that the CIA team sent to Dacca directly supervised the operations of terrorists from the chauvinistic Al-Badr and Jamaat-e-Islami organisations. After the fall of Dacca, Hight and Dwespick escaped to Bangkok in January.

The agents found an address of a hiding place with professional exactness. The men of CIA Chief, Richard Helms, have long been feeling quite at home in Thailand. The US air base Udon, in Thailand, has become a foreign Langley of Washington. At those testing grounds the "quiet Americans" instruct army units which later are sent to wage a "special war" in Laos. The routes of Air American, the air company serving the CIA court, link Udon with another estate of US intelligence—the Yokata base near Tokyo, which is in the general network of the intelligence centres that have entangled the Asian continent.

The huge computer, humming behind the Udon fences, services the system of sensors scattered over the Vietnamese jungles. Upon their signals, bomber squadrons take off into the air. The electronic brain is leased jointly by the Pentagon and the CIA. This collaboration reminds, to those fond of statistics, that a couple of zeros should be added to



the figures indicating US military presence in Vietnam, taking into account the secretly operating army of regular officers and US intelligence agents.

Indeed in a fairy-tale Asia without the CIA, the fate of Vietnam could have been different. The guys from Langley midwived the American adventure of Washington—back in 1954 President Eisenhower instructed them to pick out a candidate to head a puppet regime. The declassified CIA archives show that it was a hard job to do. Even having discovered Ngo Dinh Diem after a long effort, intelligence reported prophetically: "It would hardly make a strong Government...."

From Saigon the CIA stretched out its hands to other countries of Indochina. Not so long ago Cambodian premier, Son Ngok Thanh, admitted that the March 1970 coup was effected after the script written by American intelligence. CIA agents were attached to Thanh's headquarters for permanent service and, after the coup, started to train the "Khmer-Serei" commandos.

Simultaneously, Richard Helms remained to be the chief adviser of Washington on problems of the Vietnamese aggression. It is the brain trust of the CIA that produced the sensational NSSM-1 memorandum of national security in which the atrocities of the American and Saigon military, millions of tons of explosives

and hundreds of mines blocking Haiphong were thrown on the scales of unbiased analysis.

And last but not least, the CIA shadow was cast on the problem of US war prisoners in Vietnam, the problem which has become a sacred one for every American man in the street due to propaganda efforts. While Washington diplomats ostensibly worked for their release, the CIA men prayed that they would be detained there as long as possible. They did not want to part with a source of information. Electronic devices ticked and emitted radio signals in soap bars, toothpaste tubes and even in chewing gum wrappers delivered to the prisoners by international mail. Meanwhile CIA experts with earphones were marking military targets on the DRV map. In a fairy-tale Asia without the CIA the Philippines would breathe with more ease. There a major printing shop of US intelligence, functioning under the name of Regional Service Centre, supplies to the book market subversive literature and psychological war instructions in 11 languages of the Pacific zone. The air would become cleaner on the whole of the Asian continent.

But in that case the Washington strategists would find themselves in a deadlock. It was a President Harry Truman who said: each time when we consider a concrete political course with regard to Asia we immediately turn to the CIA.

—APN.

Israel: Crisis of Education System

By Boris Antonov

The Israeli Ministry of Education is trying to railroad a law on a new rise of students' payment for training at Israeli establishments of higher learning. The other day the national students' union in Israel came out against the ministry's demand to increase tuition fees by 200 to 300 per cent. The students applied to all groups of the Knesset and the public for support.

Gideon Spiro one of prominent student leaders, editor of the University paper at Haifa, said that "the planned further increase in university tuition fees would totally prevent even middle class parents sending their children to study, and university education is being turned into a privilege of the super-rich only. The entire Israeli social economic structure is not directed towards solving basic educational problems and the plight of many hundreds of thousands of Israelis."

The student leader's pessimism can be understood. Israeli authorities are not prone to heed students' demands. Students recalled that tuition fees could be even higher since Israeli students essentially depend on subsidies by Jewish communities of the west, mainly the United States. Therefore representatives of Israeli authorities do not miss the opportunity to remind the rebellious student that his tuition fee is lower than "international standards." In the United States for instance the university tuition fee costs the student's family 4,000 to 5,000 dollars a year. Had it not been for Israeli lobbyists in the United States who wrest from the US budget considerable sums for Tel Aviv and collect

donations among citizens of the American "gold ghetto", Israeli students would have had to shoulder a greater financial burden. This was what was meant by Prime Minister Golda Meir when she said to discontented students of the Bar-Sheba University: "You all study here in Israel and live at the expense of those western and US Jewry who are not in this country!"

Meagre subsidies given by the Israeli government to universities are far from being sufficient for normal research and training. It is reported from Israel that for example the Tel Aviv University is facing closure due to the deficit equal to 35 million Israeli pounds. Students and the administration are desperately fighting for existence. Universities themselves collect money abroad for training and research. Students go on strikes demanding a decrease in tuition fees and an increase in scholarships. Israel also tries to solve the problem of training specialists by sending young Israelis to advanced western countries for higher education. But this yields very insignificant results.

Besides the quality of training in Israeli High Schools leaves much to be desired and does not correspond to the

present level of science and industry. Professor Andre de Vrie former rector of the Tel Aviv University has recently stated in one of his articles that "while students in all parts of the world now mainly tend to develop general human universal values and problems, Israeli students are still made to concentrate on Israeli nationalism and Jewish history and clericalism in a narrow sense. They are also inclined to be conformist careerist passively accepting lectures without criticism!"

Meeting with the necessity of great expenses for the higher education system which so far has given very modest results, Israeli authorities have chosen another way to satisfy the needs of their economy for specialists. They have decided to import specialists with higher education from foreign countries. Theoretically substantiating this "new course" in *Haarets Daily* Professor Dov Fridlaender wrote that: "It was worthwhile for Israel not to invest but to concentrate all resources on lucrative elective immigration of young and skilled experts." Special importance is attached to enticing skilled specialists from the USSR who acquired their knowledge at the expense of socialist society.

In the light of this policy of Tel Aviv, one should regard the hysterical campaign launched in many countries by Zionists in connection with the new Soviet law.

—APN.

Paddy Field Machinery In South China

Peking

Rice-producing areas in South China are making and using more machines in paddy field farming.

In line with Chairman Mao's teaching "the fundamental way out for agriculture lies in mechanization", Kiangsu, Shanghai, Chekiang, Hunan, Hupeh, Kwangtung and Szechwan are mechanizing or semi-mechanizing drainage and irrigation, ploughing, plant-protection, threshing and transport. Over 50 per cent of rice-husking is mechanized or semi-mechanized. Rice-harvesters are being tried in some places in Kwangtung, Shanghai and Kiangsu.

One-third of China's total crop area is grown to rice. Mechanization in Southern China's rice-growing areas has been stressed in recent years. Many counties have set up agricultural machinery administration bureaus.

Situated on the Pearl River delta, Tungkuan County in Kwangtung grows grain and industrial crops. The county has 28,000 threshers of various kinds and rice-threshing is mechanized or semi-mechanized.

nized. The people have also put up more than 230 turbo-pumping stations, availing of the ebb and flow of the tides. Over 2,300 hectares of irrigated land were added. The county has by and large mechanized or semi-mechanized its drainage and irrigation, threshing, transport, plant-protection, farm and side-line produce processing. Thirty per cent of the farmland is ploughed by tractors. Grain output surpassed 7.5 tons per hectare five years running, starting in 1967. Production of sugar-cane and other industrial crops has also grown.

—Hsinhua

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Socialism Needs People by Aquarius

It is clearer than ever that we face a relentless struggle in every corner of this Island—a struggle that goes far beyond the clash of political parties. The political movements are there, and in large numbers. But they serve primarily as a shield behind which subversion, infiltration and a whole host of other tactics steadily advance, picking off vulnerable areas one by one in situations which do not permit intervention. "Power is the hallmark of this offensive—power and discipline and deceit," as President Kennedy has said.

The bank strike, though important, is no longer the critical issue in itself. It has long since ceased to be the central component of the offensive. On the other hand, it has served as an issue behind which the big battalions of reaction have been able to arm themselves and mobilise themselves in order to crush this Government.

When the political history of this era is recorded, it will undoubtedly transpire that the first half of *Samagi Peramuna* rule can be divided into two identical periods. Whoever said that history repeats itself must well have had Sri Lanka in mind!

The insurgency was the culmination of the first year of reactionary intrigue. Today we are witnessing the culmination of the second period of intrigue. One of the paralysing effects of this kind of opposition is the fact that it emanates and operates from both ultra-Right and ultra-Left recesses.

It is, of course, easy to understand the motivations of the ultra-Right. By the time they had got over the shock and stupor which the May 1970 Election had thrown them into, they awoke to find in the JVP a going concern of political adventurism. Thus they jumped the JVP bandwagon, little realising that they had hitched a lift to a falling star. When the April Insurgency failed, its instigators, cheer leaders and apologists consoled themselves with a round of frisky curfew parties, while their less fortunate comrades-in-arms in the JVP took a pretty bad pasting.

The Government's initial mistake, of course, was to relax the curfew hours, thus putting an end to all those delightful curfew parties. Consequently, the Ladies and Gentlemen of Colombo found themselves at a very very loose end. But never fear, there is a fool born every minute. In Lanka it looks as if there is one born every second!

The JVP had served its purpose to all, excepting of course the revolutionary genius who is having a whale of a time enacting a one-man comic strip at Baudhaloka Mawatha. Well, well, let the little chap have his fun!

When things were getting so bored that the *Ceylon Daily Mirror* was obliged to dish out half, quarter and some times even empty editorials, along came the Press Council Bill. Dear, dear, time to rally the great defenders of the Press, Democracy and the Mudalalis. Pity though no Hemas, nor Esmonds—anyway this time they have got Reggie and Ameradasa, nothing like a few renegades to dangle in front of the Sama Samajists!

Robes and Cassocks

Of course, the press campaign of today like everything else in this damned country is not a patch on the 1964 campaign. Nothing like the good old days! See what a difference a million rupees can make. In a country where money talks, money wrapped itself up in a variety of robes and cassocks, mounted platforms and pulpits and brought down fire and brimstone on the cursed non-believers in the *Samagi Peramuna*!

Going back to the fools and suckers, the reactionaries found seven thousand of them just waiting to be picked up. Their's for the asking, as we Ceylonese would say.

Three deliberate lies were concocted by the Right, the Associated Newspapers of Ceylon Limited, the Times Limited and Independent Newspapers Limited and then fed to the bank employees. First of all they tried to make out that other Unions would come out in sympathetic strike.

The now dismissed bank employees switch on their lights each evening with mixed feelings. They are still waiting for the Electricity Board to strike!

A second lie dished out to them, in order to prevent their returning to work, was the story that the Banks will not recruit new staff. Today there can be no doubt that several hundred new hands have been recruited.

And finally there was the lie linked with an oh-so-touching faith in the Prime Minister. That sonovabitch of a Sama-samajist, N. M. Perera went abroad, but Madam, the Prime Minister, has not given them the opening they wanted.

The choice before the people of this country is not between this Government and a better one—but between this and a reactionary one. Whatever the faults and failings of this Government may be, it is yet the only Government that can rule this country in a manner that is in the ultimate beneficial to all our people.

This, of course, is something that the so-called ultra-leftists are either incapable of seeing or unable to appreciate. On issues like the CJC Act, the Press Bill and the Bank Strike they have tended to sit on their Marxist conscience and deliver puritanical sermons on how to

rule and how not to rule. All that we can entreat the Peradeniya *Prima Donnas* is that they come down from that cross of theirs, stop playing God-almighty and grapple with the realities of today.

'Ultra-Leftists'

A number of these disillusioned ultra-Leftists expected far too much from the Front, in the first place. This is because they have made the initial mistake of confusing both the class composition and the class relationships in the Front. Those who do not get over their illusious now will end up like the JVP as permanent lackeys of the reactionaries.

The absurd pace of things has already had its consequences. The by-election results bear ample testimony to it.

It is true that the Government is moving far too slowly, but surely don't you realise that you are contributing to this retardation. You have become fodder for reactionary cannon. There is an intrinsic difference between throwing oneself behind a Government and throwing oneself against a Government. In this day and age we know that it is fashionable to run down the Government—even the *Week-end* has dressed itself in this pseudo-intellectual garb, and talks

about 'lackeys of the establishment'. No doubt *Dawasa* and Peradeniya find common ground in petit bourgeois pseudo radicalism!

We are now prepared to 'receive cavalry', as they used to say in the old days. We seem to have come into our friend, Kumar David's line of fire. He takes us to task for being so 'docile'; he all but calls us 'lackeys of the establishment'—shades of the *Week-end*.

Incidentally, we must correct a misconception that pops up in Kumar David's letter, namely that we derived our pseudonym from the water-carrier. *Aquarius* as we interpret it is the water beaver, an animal proverbially noted for its industry, perseverance, determination, constructive outlook and, most important, its practicality and realism.

We are not trying to be more radical than thou when we assure our friend, Kumar David, that we too stand for the nationalisation of the economic complex in our country. But while we support such measures, we do so with the calculated reservation that it would be all but impossible to find the people needed at the higher levels of commerce and industry who will successfully implement a programme of nationalisation.

WORKER PARTICIPATION IN MANAGEMENT — V

Problems of Identity

by
D. B. Kuruppu

Willingness though expressed by some managers, may not be genuine as in the case of those who showed willingness to set up SMC's in India. Such a manager would attempt to hoodwink not only the worker, but also the person or persons who direct him to do so. Whether his efforts succeed with the latter or not, the former is sure to see through their manager and his intentions when it comes to the actual operation of Employees' Councils. The spirit of participation on the worker's side will fluctuate according to the *bona fides* of the manager who sits across the table.

Speaking of the manager and his willingness to participate, an important section that should not be over looked is the middle management, who are responsible for the execution of most of the management decisions and, in this process, come in closer contact with the worker than the higher management. More or often than not, the tendency for the middle manager is to resist pressure from the two sides; he succeeds more with those below him than with those above him. He cannot be taken out of this particular context in the exercise of Employees' Councils. It is they who would want, more than the higher management, to see that Employees' Councils members are not given any preferential treatment: "They should be treated as other workers."

It is commonly felt that, if the manager is willing, there is no question about his ability to participate. This is not necessarily so. Has he got the patience to deal with the representatives of the workers? Is he tolerant enough for this experiment? This presupposes a qualification on the part of

the manager, which combines both willingness and ability to participate. The worker would be enthusiastic, anxious to co-operate; but he may lack the precision, finesse and refinement which the manager is usually fortified with. He may have to be educated not only in the process of participation, but also in the elements of management techniques. Is the manager prepared to go to that extent?

Does the manager speak the same language as that of the worker? This has two aspects in the local context. On the one hand, the managers (particularly those of the middle and higher rungs) use a language alien to the mass of workers. It is a case of English as against Sinhala or Tamil. On the other hand, when he does decide to speak in one or the other vernacular for the benefit of the workers, does he really speak the language of the worker?

Is the manager able to grapple with the problems arising out of the introduction of worker participation? Firstly, it is the problem of

human relations. The response and reaction to individuals and to the experiment vary from person to person; and the same person would react differently in different circumstances. This aspect of human behaviour which holds good both in respect of the manager and the worker, is likely to bring about a host of human relations problems which would really put the manager to test. The ability of managers to cope with this problem would to a great degree depend on the degree to which the sphere of personnel management has been developed in a particular corporation. It must be mentioned, in this connection, that sufficient attention and emphasis has not been given to this aspect of management, in quite a number of corporations. Lack of available skill is one reason, while a more important reason would be the lack of appreciation of this speciality in management which is very often taken for granted.

The second problem is that of organisation. Is the manager capable of meeting the organisational demands that go hand in hand with an experiment of this nature? The Employees' Councils were to be set up in corporations to function under the same organisational set-up in which no participation was provided for. It depended on the flexibility and ingenuity of willing managers to fit them into the existing set-up. Hitherto recognised and established

channels of communication (as far as was in existence) had to give way at times to a completely new pattern. Facts and figures, and occasionally whole schemes of work, which were earlier passed up or down without a murmur being heard against them, were now likely to be disputed and challenged by persons directly involved in the work. A new "police squad" was coming into being who would go into undue delays, wastage, corruption, etc. in the working of the organisation. It is true that all these functional areas were not going to be covered by the newly treated Employees' Councils. But certainly the likelihood was there of "disturbances" in practically all these areas. The manager who was not able to face these disturbances was sure to make them worse and ultimately be a nuisance to the whole organisation.

There was another nuisance which the manager had to put up with. Worker participation with the basic requirement of consultation had naturally to take a good part of the time of the manager as well as the Council members. Is the manager capable of reckoning the time spent in consultation as man-hours gainfully used? Or does he merely add to the volume of paper work he is called upon to attend to?

The highly competent manager by himself, may not always prove his competence in participatory management.

Don Quixote of the North

by
Puluni

The antics of the leader of the F.P. now masquerading as the Tamil United Front are indeed as amusing as those of the medieval knight who tilted at the wind-mill. The F.P. which even at the height of the satyagraha movement refused to consider the formation of a United Front to espouse the cause of the Tamils has (now that it has realised that the Tamil people cannot be fooled any more by its bankrupt policies) decided to form a so-called Tamil United Front with all the reactionary elements of the Tamil parties in the North and the representative of the U.N.P. in the Eastern Province—the U.N.P. which according to the F.P. betrayed them and which voted against its amendments to the language provisions in the Constitution.

The T.U.F. decided at first that the T.U.F. M.P.s should refrain from taking their oaths of allegiance under the new constitution and boycott the National State Assembly. However the love of the T.U.F. M.P.s for their seats being greater than their love of the Tamils, they decided to take their oaths (and their cars) under the new constitution and remain in the National State Assembly. The misguided youths inexperienced in the ways of the F.P. politicians had in their youthful earnestness and truthfulness fervently believed in the F.P. leadership and

were now horrified and infuriated at the "betrayal". It was no wonder that a hand-bomb was aimed at the house of a leader of the T.U.F.

The T.U.F. leader then promised that if the Government did not accede to the demands of the T.U.F. within three months, then the T.U.F. M.P.s would all resign their seats. The three months' period expired without any concession being granted by the Government and the M.P.s love of their seats being stronger than ever, they decided on a new stunt—to say

prayers and hoist T.U.F. flags on the 2nd of October. However they trotted out the lame excuse of the Bank Strike and by elections to abandon this cause as it would have exposed their lack of support and decided on a hartal as this negative form of protest could be enforced through a few judiciously thrown hand bombs in case the people had the temerity to oppose it and open their shops or attend schools—the Tamils had a taste of "the peaceful hartal" on the 22nd of May.

In addition the T.U.F. leader announced his decision to resign from his seat in the National State Assembly and to recontest the seat (what love of seat!) to prove that the Tamils supported the T.U.F. policies. The learned Q.C. knows, as indeed any tyro in politics does, that the ver-

dict of the constituents at the by-election even if they voted, on the basis of the policies of the candidates, cannot be said to be the verdict of all the Tamils. A closer approximation to the verdict of the Tamils would be the verdict of the constituents of the T.U.F. M.P.s. But the T.U.F. M.P.s stick to their seats—not that they love the Tamils less but they love their seats (and cars) more.

Unlike his medieval counterpart whose faults did not include deliberate perversion of truth, our modern knight distorts truth to suit his own purposes. In his statement to the National State Assembly announcing his resignation, he said that "as soon as Ceylon became independent, the first thing the Sinhalese Government did was to deprive the Tamil Worker in the estates of the vote—through a citizenship law". The so-called "Sinhalese Government" was indeed a Government of the U.N.P. and Tamil Congress—

the Tamil Congress of which the T.U.F. leader was a member and which (like the F.P. in 1965) was the deciding factor in the formation of the Government. The F.P. of which the modern knight was the leader, in 1965 propped up with its support the U.N.P.-F.P. Government which implemented the Sirimavo-Sastri Pact under the same citizenship act and which passed the regulations under the Tamil Language (Special Provisions) Act without prejudice to the Sinhala Only Act—which regulations are now part of the law of the land under the new constitution. The F.P. which claimed in its manifesto that they had succeeded in obtaining the language rights for the Tamils by passing these regulations now pretend that Tamils have lost their rights under the new constitution.

These antics of our modern Don Quixote amusing as they are, are costing the country and the Tamils heavily and it is time the Tamils—particularly the constituents of the Kankesanthurai seat—showed this knight by rejecting him at the polls that he cannot go on fooling the Tamils any more.

Property Ownership Unmentioned Right!

By A. Thiagarajah, M. P. for Vaddukoddai

I would be failing in my duty by the Tamil Community and the Nation if I did not comment on the situation created by the so-called Tamil United Front and the resignation of the M.P. for K.K.S. May I ask if he will contest the Attanagalla seat to find out the opinion there, or if it is meant to test Tamil opinion as a whole why should not all the T.U.F. members resign to sound the community's opinion? Does it take anybody anywhere to know what K.K.S. alone thinks on a subject? Normally M.P.s resign when they fail to fulfil their obligations and not to re-contest. Nehru never allowed the same person to re-contest. This is the usual parliamentary practice. But this is the queer politics of our country. When the country had forgotten the pre-1970 politics and had settled down to reconstruct a new order, it is sad that the minorities like the Tamils should again plunge into it to their own disadvantage.

The M.P. for K.K.S. painfully narrated an irrelevant past but said nothing about the Constitution over which much ado about nothing is created. Every Tamil knows that his language has attained Constitutional Status in all spheres of operation even though official status for a language is not a fundamental right in the U.N. Charter. Fundamental rights pertain to individuals

and not to any community however significant it is. Not only status but its use in the Courts has been done in practice for the first time since the day of sangh. There are Tamil Typists and Stenographers in all Courts—even in Sinhala areas. The only fundamental right not mentioned is that of property ownership but that is meant to speed up development

without obstructionist tactics through Courts, but not to deprive anybody of a living. The Constitution has been designed to suit the needs of developing country and nobody is deprived of religion or culture or employment.

The Tamils must bear to understand the significance on the past. The Foreign Exchange difficulties, an inappropriate educational system, and an explosive population growth are three major causes that have compelled the Government to adopt a new economic policy of decentralised development through labour-intensive methods to conserve foreign exchange and promote equitable distribution of wealth while removing poverty and unemployment in the lower strata of society. This process has compelled the government to rationalise its distributive mechanism and foreign trade. The new policy has made the services, professions and the trade to shrink on an over-all basis and increase the percentage engaged in agricultural, industrial and fishery activities. This structural change of economy has somewhat affected the hitherto privileged groups, perhaps the Tamils more than others. But on the whole the neglected groups have definitely gained more than what a smaller fraction seemed to have lost. This is a necessary change for the better as it would make the economy more stable and viable than before. We cannot be battered by International Forces and be made to depend on their mercies which act like a downward spiral making the country more and more dependent and more and more poor. The present shake-up is essential for stability and progress for the nation as a whole. All parts of the country and all communities must live well. Perhaps vested interests will suffer. This is the significance of 1970 and the Tamils must look forward and not backward as is done now. How else can you account for the Jaffna Farmers' prosperity with total ban of many im-

ported items. Jaffna is getting about Rupees sixhundred million income annually, of which 75% by farm produce and only 5% by services. This is a pointer to the economic future of Jaffna in the productive sectors of the economy.

May I in all seriousness ask any critic to tell me what the aims and object of the T.U.F. are, and what means and methods they propose to adopt for the purpose. Is there a federal form of government in any part of the World. Nixon has the power to press the button that can trigger off any decision he wants. So with Kossygin or Mao or anybody in power. Where then is federalism existing in letter or spirit. What is happening to small states non-alignment. In the modern state economic viability is necessary for welfare and progress. Ceylon is Jaffna's market and the source of its economic strength. Any other thought is more mid-summer madness. The future of Jaffna lies in a well-integrated united country. And co-operation and not corporation is the solution for any minority. Politics should be realistic and not hysterical and tangential.

Let us remind ourselves of other relevant and immediate facts that concern us from day to day. Nearly twice the Tamils live outside the North and East in the South. The Indian Question has had the only solution possible through the S-S-Pact for it is impossible for a developing country to digest such a big fraction of Indians outside the shores of India. Practical and humanitarian considerations have gone to settle the problem. The Report by Professor Seers and others has posed the economic consequences of the present positions of the Indian population in relation to the rest of the country's economy. I have not seen more irresponsible statements on any question than this by the Tamils whatever the angle you see at it. It may sound strange

when I say that the lesser the percentage of population of Tamils in Ceylon the better it is for them from an economic point of view whatever the rate of growth is found in other communities. The significance of this will be noted as years roll by. Relative standards will rise for the Tamils as a consequence.

The Tamils must realise the Great Leap Forward this government has made in all directions. The abolition of the Senate created a government of the proletariat. The new Constitution and the many reforms have paved the way for rapid development and equitable distribution of the national product. The foreign exchange difficulties gave Jaffna a golden opportunity to appropriate a greater share of this increased production. Productive activity in all fields have been encouraged, and the Jaffna farmer will bear testimony to this. Religion and culture have been encouraged and talents recognised. Hindu Martyrs like Navalur and Vipulanandar have been focussed into public attention. They have been immortalised, though I should submit that dangers to Hinduism by intolerant adherents of other religions still are a real danger in the North and the East. Christian, (and not Catholic) influence does not desire the resurgence of Hinduism in the North or East.

The Hartal is no indication of the political views of the Tamils. It is easy to have shops closed or children kept away by political designers who wish to use them to prop up their political bankruptcy. This is helped by a group of youngsters who neither understand the national problems nor know the solutions for them. A mere glance at the proposals made by the insurgents is enough to indicate how well they are ill-equipped mentally and morally for the task they wish to undertake unilaterally. The new alignment, even in the North, will be interesting to observe, thanks to the resignation and

(Continued on page 7)

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Communications

For An Efficient Socialist Administration

The traditional peasant agriculture of the ancient and primitive type, with wooden plough in the paddy field and the scraping of the fine, virgin, burnt soil in the highland Chena, is slowly dying out—but not fast enough. Also dying out far too slowly are the patronising, lethargic and feudal attitudes of some of our top-notch administrators, entrusted with the vital job of implementing the U.F. Government policies.

The machinery of the Government and those who man the machine are not in tune with the social needs and aspirations of the real working farmer. The Government bureaucrat, unfamiliar with the real working conditions of the peasant, is more often concerned only about quick promotions, and making an impression as soon as possible on the politically very sensitive powers that be. He then becomes an easy victim of the smooth talk and opportunistic politics of the village rascal, and the equally-cunning and corrupt bribe-taking minor staff in the Public Service.

This is apparently more prevalent in Sinhala peasant areas, as opposed to the Tamil

peasantry in the North. That loans, assistance and the extension services of the Agricultural Department are being used up constructively, and real agricultural development is taking place in the North, is obvious to many an agriculturist. One has only to hear the hum of the water pump and sea water issuing out of it on to the parched up earth, irrigating the precious red onions, Bombay onions, chillies, potatoes, cabbage and even grapes etc. in the arid North; to know that Government agricultural plans are really workable.

It is high time that our Social Scientists in their ivory towers (and some of them drawing fat salaries abroad) and those manning the prestigious F.A.O. and U.N.D.P. Agrarian Research and Training Institute (until recently headed by an alleged J.V.P. political adventurer) get down and really probe, question, and work among the toiling peasants. It would be good for them to investigate and find out why, for example, there exists a somewhat dedicated peasant leadership, knowledgeable and interested in agricultural problems in the Co-ops, Cultivation Committees,

R. D. S. Societies in the North, and not so much in the Sinhala areas. Or let the P.M. send them to learn how to work from the Chinese peasant!

We have, after our "Cultural Revolution" of 1956, sent back to the North those Tamil officers who manned the important posts in the public service in the remote, outlandish, agricultural, "uncongenial stations" and replaced them with good Sinhala public servants. Yet the problems of our Sinhala peasants remain unknown to most of them, and the impact of an almost Sinhala only administration in the Provinces seems to have had little impact on the Sinhala peasant, and his agriculture.

The young staff officers are most often powerful platform speakers, continuing to practice the oratory they learnt on the campus on unsuspecting simple peasants. The older and frustrated seniors sent to these "uncongenial", undeveloped, and should be developed areas, are just killing time before they say farewell to government service and retire to that bungalow they are probably busy building in the suburbs of Colombo.

The intelligent, enlightened, hard working peasant youth interested in making a living, farming in the modern scientific way, are somewhat slowly realising that it is not empty shibboleths, but hard, intelligent, dedicated, work that really matters in these critical times.

Last June, at a tamasha organised to hand over 100 power tillers to young farmers in the Hambantota District, there took place a real confrontation of all these diverse elements. The officer who handled the subject at the Kach-

cheri had done his very best to make a good selection, and make the scheme a success, was a Tamil; familiar with the working peasant's life and problems (if not in Hambantota, at least in his home village in Jaffna). There was also present an official from the hills, and the audience was mainly young boys, their friends, and relations, happy because they had just received the power tiller they never even dreamt of owning. To the above official it was only another opportunity for rabble-rousing oratory regarding the hard work, brave deeds of the ancient Sinhalese of Ruhuna, not knowing of the hard work and dedicated Service of the Tamil officer who made all this possible. The result was a really spontaneous hoot and a jeer from an audience showing disapproval of such empty words and appreciation of honest, hard work, irrespective of what race to which one belonged.

The chauvinistic ultra-Left J.V.P. youth too have learnt the hard way that it is not to fire-eating, rabble-rousing communalists and careerists but to Tamil lawyers (some of them ultra-Left) they have to look to defend themselves and save their lives. The U.F. Government too must realise even now that it is not the careerist, opportunist, turncoat U.N.Pers and bogus nationalists, now turned Socialists, among the Government Servants, but the dedicated Socialists, or, if not, at least the socially conscious public servants, that can serve them loyally if they are to survive politically and solve the country's problems.

—SOUTHERN FARMER.

Cuties and the 'Observer'

Now we know why the "Observer" hates to see an attack on our middle class youth. It just adores them—especially those cuties in minis and bell bottoms. That's why!

I, for one, will be eternally grateful to Mr. Kirthie Abeysekera for enlightening me. On October 1st he went on an interviewing romp on the middle page and this is one of the gems he produced. "I don't send my girls out now," a mother of three teenage daughters told me. "If we wear short frocks people cast remarks. If we cover up our legs with slacks or bell bottoms, people still say all sorts of things. So we stay at home." One of the daughters told me.

That is Freedom of the Press for you! When mini-skirted damsels are in distress, the "Ceylon Observer" is just the forum for their grievances. But if some ill-mannered tout says, that these girls and boys are really indifferent to everything else but fashion and music, you just shut his trap. Simple, my dear Watson!

But there is something else which I nearly forgot. The woman referred to above and her family are so disgusted with life in Sri Lanka, says Mr. Abeysekera, that they are migrating to the United Kingdom. Poor Sri Lanka's loss will no doubt be Britain's gain! Enoch Powell, art thou listening down there below?

—Ajith Samaranyake



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Ill-Informed Patter About PATA

by "Janus"

The meeting of the Board of Directors of the Pacific Area Travel Association (PATA) was held over two days at the Bentota National Holiday Resort. The monopoly Press has spent more than a week commenting on it. The newspapers have used every resource at their command to say that tourism in Sri Lanka has not yet got on to first base and with totally self-satisfied assurance have wished good-bye to PATA in Sri Lanka in 1977.

The travel writers of "The Times", the "Sun" and the "Observer" have had a week full of hectic churning. The leader writers of the "Times" and "Daily News" have dipped into the subject, Wijesoma has produced a new pun, a new expert on tourism has emerged in the "Daily Mirror" and the "Observer" has brought in Eric Ranawake as guest artiste. Quite an effort to demolish Sri Lanka's, particularly Bentota's tourist image!

Although the attacks on what the newspapers prefer to describe as the PATA fiasco have come from all these quarters, the general line of attack has been confined to a few issues. The first is the lunch at Lihiniya Surf Hotel, after which some guests unfortunately had to perambulate to and from the WC. The next are the comments attributed to Mr. Saburo Ohta, Chairman of PATA. The last is the selection of Bentota as the site for the meeting.

With one week gone and having assessed the frenzied vituperation of the Press it seems time to answer the questions which all this may have raised in the minds of some at least of the public. There is no doubt that the lunch at Lihiniya Surf Hotel did not leave the best of memories. But unlike what the newspapers say, and specially the "Weekend" thought fit to splash across page one, it was only a few of the visitors who were affected. Many of those who were affected were prepared to take it in their stride and were more than satisfied when the prompt attention of a doctor and an immediate supply of medicine was provided.

Loose Motions

Of course, knowing the type of story that the "Weekend" is used to peddling, one is not surprised to see it leading with loose motions on a Sunday morning. They cannot hope to repeat Swiss Banks, which would have given plenty of loose motions at M. D. Gunasena Mawatha.

We next come to the comments attributed to Mr. Ohta. This Ohta is a surprising person indeed and so are those who reported him. All the journalists who have been writing their pens dry about Ohta and PATA were present when Mr. Ohta, together with Mr. John Minnehan, President of PATA, paid glowing tributes to the arrangements made at Bentota. Mr. Ohta, speaking at the Minister's lunch, said they had had a successful meeting and had been struck by the hospitality extended. Mr. Minnehan did not mince his words when he said the secretarial assistance and other facilities provided showed the highest efficiency.

Mr. Ohta went on to say that they had come to Ceylon to see the development of tourism here, had been impressed by the many steps taken by the Government and the people, and were satisfied that Ceylon was getting ready to

welcome more and more tourists. If the journalists at Bentota for some reason (even inebriation on another's account) could not catch the accent of Mr. Ohta, they could have asked their colleague from SLBC to play back the tapes to them.

What is interesting is why these so-called astute journalists, who set themselves up as experts, did not have the guts to ask Mr. Ohta why he was making a double-tongued statement, when he said, what he is supposed to have said, about Sri Lanka needing to concentrate more on agriculture and calling the Bentota complex "three bungalows". Did not the travel writers realise that Mr. Ohta was contradicting himself? Was it their temerity that prevented them from pointing out to Mr. Ohta that Ceylon had decided to stop the import of rice from 1974? Surely one expects more from such senior journalists at a Press Conference. Is Mr. Ohta the expert on tourism, also an expert on agriculture?

But knowing our journalists one cannot expect all this from them. What comes from the lips of a foreigner, even if it is a contradiction of what has been said a few hours ago, would suit them, if it fits a preconceived plan or notion of theirs.

Ohta's Credentials

Who is Mr. Ohta and what are his credentials to speak of tourism in Ceylon? Let us first get straight how Mr. Ohta is Chairman of PATA. There is a tradition in PATA that the chief delegate of the country that next hosts PATA is elected the Chairman for the coming year. So Mr. Ohta is Chairman of PATA not for any expert skill or position he holds in the Association, but purely because Japan hosts PATA in 1973. The real President of PATA is Mr. John Minnehan, whose views are not whispered to journalists looking for petty-cash chits.

Mr. Ohta, by the way, is the President of the Japan National Tourist Organisation (JNTO) the most important organisation of the travel trade in Japan, and which has a vested interest in increasing the flow of tourists to Japan and keeping them within the Pacific region, where Japanese investors in tourism have many stakes. Knowing Japanese business acumen, is one surprised in Mr. Ohta, the good Japanese he is, denouncing a country that may some day in the future pose a threat, to some at least, of the Japanese tourism market? Our travel writers do not seem to know these basic facts of big business and also the fact that South Asia is fast becoming a new destination area in international tourism. Have they never heard of the South Asian Regional Travel Commission (SARTC)?

Mr. Ohta is supposed to have called the Bentota complex "those three bungalows". How very realistic. Judging

from Japanese standards, where the smallest hotel has over 500 rooms and is a maze of glass doors and escalators, one is not surprised by this comment. But one would have expected our travel writers who claim to be experts on the subject, and their guest artistes, to have obtained at least some idea of Ceylon's Tourism Plan.

If they only took the trouble to read it they would have known that Ceylon does not intend building high-rise hotels of hundreds of rooms in our beach and other resort areas. What is intended is to build smaller hotels that provide an essentially intimate atmosphere and service. Hotels and inns whose architecture does not clash with the surroundings.

And this for very good reason too. Those who are planning Ceylon's tourism development are not keen to convert this country into another Waikiki or Miami. We have to think of our cultural values and standards. We have to plan according to our resources and in keeping with the flow of tourist traffic.

Bentota

Whatever Mr. Ohta or the travel writers and hack editors may think, the decision not to go in for high-rise monster hotels outside the city is a wise one, which would be applauded by any expert who makes a study of the subject. But our self-appointed experts of a whisky bout have never heard of in-depth journalism.

We now come to the criticism about the selection of Bentota as the venue for the meeting. This is what really exposes the motive of some of these writers. We know quite well that certain Colombo hoteliers are piqued at Colombo not being selected as the venue. But if Colombo was the venue what hotel could one select? Is there any hotel in Colombo which could have served the end of showing the development of tourism in Ceylon? What we have as hotels in Colombo are old maids of tourism, that have still not been able to shake off the colonial pace in service.

These critics should be reminded that Bentota was selected at the request of PATA itself. At the 21st PATA Conference in Kuala Lumpur this year, the Bentota complex was the subject of a presentation (at the request of PATA) to show the development of a hotel complex in a new tourist destination. That presentation was the subject of a special PATA workshop at Kuala Lumpur. So, is it surprising that when Ceylon was chosen as the venue for the PATA Directors meeting, Bentota should have been selected as the site. It gave the Directors of PATA the opportunity to see at first hand what was the subject of their study and discussion at Kuala Lumpur.

Other criticisms have been made about the availability of newspapers, cars and fruits, which are only "padding" for the main attacks. And all these have been totally unfounded. As for newspapers, this writer is aware that prior arrangements were made by the Ceylon Tourist Board and newspapers were placed in the room of every delegate, each morning. Baskets of fruits were placed in the room of every single male delegate and as is the custom, flowers and

fruits were placed in the rooms of delegates who were with their wives. Cars were provided to serve the needs of delegates from a pool provided by various travel agents.

Press Freedom

The reader will now see how totally biased and unfounded have been the criticism levelled against the organizers of this meeting.

Although even the smallest inquiry would have told these newspapers that it was not the Tourist Board that hosted the PATA Directors, the manner of the attack seems to show broadside against the Tourist Board. This is what really shows the guiding spirits behind the attack.

It is well known that some in the travel industry who were having their own way for many years controlling the trade, are resenting the incursions of the Ceylon Tourist Board which is striving to place tourism in Sri Lanka on the footing of a modern industry. It is doing this despite the shoe-string budgets available, and from the figures of tourist arrivals it is meeting with success. Tourism in Ceylon certainly has a good distance to go. It could do with constructive well-informed criticism, but not the cavilling of newspaper pundits who have their own axes to grind or are grinding the axes of useful friends.

The newspapers have of their own bid good-bye to

PATA in Sri Lanka in 1977. In their rush to attack they have forgotten that, by the time Sri Lanka bids for 1977, the Bandaranaike Memorial Conference Hall would be ready. So would the Ceylon Inter-continental, the Oberoi, the Alhambra, and several other smaller hotels under construction. None imagined that Sri Lanka would bid for PATA with Bentota only, except the newspaper experts, who, to judge by their obsession with loose motions have more faecal matter in their heads, than grey matter.

To conclude this let me draw the attention of the readers to one more salient point. We all know that in Sri Lanka the freedom of the Press has been, and is often, abused to further certain private business interests of newspaper proprietors. But the rash of attacks on PATA in one newspaper at least, has shown that the Press is used to further the private business interests of journalists as well.

Who, for instance, was the journalist who warned certain employees of an organisation concerned with tourism that he would start a campaign against that organisation, unless he got a certain private assignment in connexion with the meeting of PATA Directors? And this threat was made a week before "Bentota".

This may be a new advance in workers' control of newspapers, but one wonders whether this is the latest manifestation of the freedom of the Press.

Restructuring Wage System

The Prime Minister,
Prime Minister's Office,
Senate Building, Colombo 1.

Dear Prime Minister,

We believe that you are already aware of the fact that there is a growing feeling amongst the working people of this country that a privileged section of our society, consisting of the Government bureaucracy, Ministers and Members of the National State Assembly, Directors and high officials of public corporations etc. and their counterparts in the private sector, are all enjoying salaries, other emoluments and perquisites which are completely disproportionate in comparison with the meagre wages and other remuneration of workers, especially those engaged in production and economic development.

A Government pledged to carry out its Socialist oriented policies cannot, you will agree, remain indifferent to such a state of affairs. If the urgent need of the hour is for hard work, toil and sweat, a radical restructuring of present wage and salary systems becomes imperative. In this connection we are glad to note that certain members of the Government have already expressed the need for an overall change in the prevailing wage structure.

We believe that the basic principle to be observed in such a re-structuring should be that those who are the active producers of the social surplus must be given a fair and equitable share by way of remuneration for their work. This, will, of course, necessarily involve the drastic reduction of all emoluments now enjoyed by those privileged sections which we have enumerated earlier, some of whom are parasitically living off such surplus, while others are enjoying a grossly disproportionate share.

tionate share.

It seems necessary also to draw your attention to two instances relating to posts in the services of the State, both of which have their origins in the colonial past. The first is the minor staff grade (Karyala Karyala Sahayaka) many of whose functions (carrying and arranging files, serving tea etc.) are today wholly redundant, not to say demeaning. Such workers could surely be diverted to be employed in more useful and productive work in Government institutions. This would, no doubt, also help to establish a proper sense of values in regard to work amongst white-collar workers in offices. Any minor staff needed in offices should be utilised as messengers, ushers and for ensuring the cleanliness and maintenance of buildings and equipment. The second instance is that of the President of the Republic. We would suggest that any person during his tenure of this office should enjoy only those emoluments granted by the State which, it will be agreed, are wholly adequate for his needs. Any private income he enjoys should, in our opinion, be surrendered to the State during his period of office.

We are convinced that the Government must boldly effect a radical restructuring of the existing wage system if it is to have the desired impact on the working people and the country as a whole. Such measures will, no doubt, help to enthuse the masses and evoke a more positive response to the calls for hard work, as they will also be an earnest of the Government's sincerity about its avowed Socialist intentions.

Yours fraternally,

CHRISTIAN

WORKERS FELLOWSHIP
(sgd.) S. Nanayakkara
Secretary.

FROM THE LABOUR FRONT

Govt. Must Commence Dialogue With TU's

It is to be admitted that the mass of the trade unions in our country, which were instrumental in bringing the UF Government into being, stand aloof from it today. Their present passive attitude arises directly from the total absence of dialogue between the Government and the organised working class. It is being feared that, if this situation is permitted to be perpetuated, it is bound to assume serious proportions, in that it would lead to the complete alienation of this important sector, which is so vital a bulwark of defence today against the growing offensive of Reaction in the country.

Reaction no longer dons its traditional 'cassock'; it has begun to come out in various hues and colours. The actions to which it resorts and the strategy it employs today are many and varied. The developing struggle against it can only be conducted successfully if the organised working mass is drawn to support the Govt's efforts. But the record of the Govt. in this regard makes the ground fertile for reaction to freely indulge in manoeuvres—sometimes posing off as 'friends' of the working class, as is to be seen in the current Bank strike.

1971 Insurgency

The insurgency of April '71 provided the Govt. with an opportunity to grasp the hand of the worker. But the complete reliance on the State machinery and the bureaucracy to quell the uprising and the State of Emergency proclaimed in the country erected a stone-wall between the Govt. and the mass of the working people. The reactionary bureaucracy,

which up to then was relegated into occupying a position of 'minding its own business' emerged from its 'exile' and occupied the front line in the Govt's operations against the insurgency.

Guarantee Against Dictatorship

Even at this stage it has to be realised that an activated working mass is an inexhaustible reservoir of strength which could be harnessed and channelled for the successful implementation of the programme placed before the country and to keep the broad masses in action against any possible reactionary manoeuvres against the gains of the people. The bulk of the trade unions which supported the UF parties through, their political consciousness and responsible outlook have shown that they still look upon the present Govt. as the best possible guarantee, in the circumstances, against a full-blooded regime of the Right which is sure to succeed in the event of the present UF Govt. being dis-

lodged from power.

Govt. Must Take Initiative

In this situation the initiative devolves on the Govt. to enlist the co-operation of the working masses. The inactivity of the masses and the increasing offensive of the Right demand that the Govt. take early steps to open a dialogue with organisations of the working mass. This dialogue, it should be pointed out, must be a constant one if it is to be both meaningful and fruitful. This columnist would suggest that the Govt. in the first instance, initiate discussions immediately with major trade union federations, which were in the forefront of the struggle to instal the present Govt., towards getting their counsel, assistance and co-operation in the process of mapping out and implementing the economic strategy of the Govt. By these means it is needless to state, an atmosphere would be created to enthuse the dormant working class, instil in them a sense of responsibility and whittle down the rising power of reaction in the country.

Resolute Action Needed

It should also be borne in mind that collaboration cannot be expected if the workers are going to be fed with mere platitudes of a glorified future. The Govt.'s own sincerity in

action in the sphere of breaking down the barriers of Class, Privilege and Opulence would ultimately contribute towards the full realisation of a meaningful partnership with the workers. Hence it is imperative that the Govt., whilst calling for worker co-operation, simultaneously exhibit political courage by putting in train the various radical measures directed towards laying the basis for an irrevocable march towards a Socialist future and pursue them resolutely. The

promulgation of the much publicised Charter of Workers' Rights and the announced reorientation of the Wages Policy geared to benefit the workman and the technician who put productive effort in the process of economic development of the country should also be relentlessly pursued. By these means we could create the necessary environment for a successful beginning towards the realisation of a more concrete fusion of the working masses with the Govt., without which any and all economic plans, however laudable they are, would be rendered nought.

—Militant

Property Ownership Unmentioned Right!

(Continued from page 4)

challenge of the M.P. for K.K.S. If the tempers cool the truth will and must come out. Violence must be removed without any pretension. Clear thinking and acting must be allowed, and the people given the chance to weigh the pros and cons about the future effects of the laws and reforms enacted during the last two years in a dramatic and drastic way. The more conservative elements must be given more time to realise as also the vested interests.

We can already see the lines sorting the various alignments of forces polarising even at K.K.S. where the M.P. who has resigned wants to test the policies by a challenge. (I am unable to say whether that policy referred to is that of himself or the Front or the Party or the Community or the Nation) To me it is reactionary and do-nothing. The government is bound to win the sympathy of the peasants and workers, the poor, the progressive youths, the down-trodden and the under-privileged, the rational thinker, and above all the Hindus whose cultural past is brought into being as a living present in religion, literature, fine arts, etc. The chagrian of the contemptuous will also have to be tolerated. The Conserva-

tives, the vested interests and some of the misguided youths alone will gather round the contender. The By-election will have to be timed and the people well prepared to make the challenge real. Those of us supporting the government would also like to know more of the political thinking in the making.

But what sounds obnoxious about the whole business in the choice of commodities to the boycotted and the association of the name of Gandhi. There is no point discarding cigarettes and using cigars. Both pay revenue to government. So does Toddy. And almost articles we use. I agree to the abstention of things which Gandhi wanted. I myself do not use harmful things. But why associate Gandhi in the wrong way. Further Nehru and others repeatedly said that the weapons used against the foreign ruler cannot be used after independence against another community, large or small winking at violence cannot be considered. At any rate it is bad to resign, in the Tamil month of 'Puraddathi'. The M.P. for K.K.S. who resigned may not be the last of Mohicans who lead the Tamils into arid politics. I wish some more of his type resign and give place to new political thinking and dedication.

THE WEEK THAT WAS

by Ramu

The UNP won three seats and the SLFP one in the mini-election while Mr. Chelvanayagam resigned his seat in the National State Assembly and the TUF began their campaign in the North. The Air Force celebrated its twenty first birthday and security forces launched a combing operation for insurgents in the North Central Province. The Chamber of Commerce caught fire and a foreign firm sued the Petroleum Corporation for eight million rupees, while six lakhs sugar fraud was discovered in the Food Commissioners Department. Meanwhile the Communist Party found its coffers empty and the Finance Minister returned from a World Bank meeting.

Dr. Senerat Paranavitane and former Minister of Lands, C. P. de Silva died during the week.

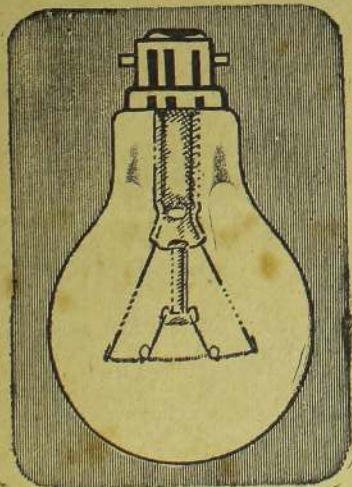
Uganda and Tanzania signed a peace agreement and the fighting in North and South Yemen appears to be dying down. Hanoi forces were moving towards Kontun in Vietnam and fighting close to Saigon was reported. Kissinger held still more talks in Paris and Presidents' Thieu's future seems the stumbling block in a peace settlement. A rebel suicide squad killed eighty two in Phnom Penh while Mexico's worst-ever train crash killed over one hundred and sixty.

President Tito called for a purge in the Yugoslav Communist Party and the Indian Congress Party called for the nationalisation of the wholesale trade in cereals. Libyan President Gaddafi wanted a revolution in the Arab world while the British Labour Party wanted the next Labour Government to renegotiate the term for Britain's entry into Europe.

A Civil Rights march in N. Ireland ended with police firing rubber bullets and a car-bomb killed a mother and child in Belfast. An attempt was made to assassinate William Craig, leader of the Protestant Vanguard Movement while Pope Paul was rumoured as the next victim of the Black Septemberists.



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Notes & Comments

Mr. Dudley Senanayake, leader of the U.N.P., considers that the results of the four by-elections constitute a verdict by the people on the performance of the Government over the last two-and-a-half years. In a statement rushed to the press almost as soon as he had the election results, the former U.N.P. Premier declares that "the verdict of the people is uncompromisingly clear. The verdict is that the policies of the Government are unacceptable to the vast majority of the people, that intolerable burdens have been placed on them, a realisation that they had been duped by false election promises and an affirmation of the people's faith in the democratic way of life."

The rest of the statement is even more remarkable than what we have quoted. "It is not easy for an Opposition Party to contest a by-election successfully under any circumstances," he says, carefully for-

getting the successive victories of United Front candidates at by-elections when his seven-party coalition was in power. "It is particularly difficult in the special circumstances of today when not only has the Government a tremendous majority in the National State Assembly, but where by the arbitrary and undemocratic abuse of this majority the Government has extended its period of office by two years." Not only, we may say, is all this old hat, but it is many times difficult to follow the connection between Mr. Dudley Senanayake's separate allegations. How does it become more difficult to win a by-election because the Government has prolonged its lifetime by two years, for instance? If there was such open disregard of popular wishes, sufficient resentment should be generated to make it much easier to win by-election victories.

The fact is that, though the U.N.P. leader is not as old as

Oh To Be Premier Once More!

the number of his Premierships would indicate, he has so many grievances that his utterances appear to be becoming increasingly incoherent. His biggest grievance is that the people gave the United Front such a sweeping majority in Parliament. Since he cannot understand how this happened, he attributes it to all manner of dark causes, chiefly "false promises." He considers it of no importance at all that nine months after the United Front Government was set up, there was an attempt to overthrow it by armed insurgency. He also dismisses the fact that the United Front specifically asked the people for a mandate to use Parliament as a Constituent Assembly for drawing up a new Constitution, by which Ceylon would become an Independent and Sovereign Republic pledged to Socialist goals. What is important to him is that the next General Election should not take place later than five years after the last. His most serious objection to the new Constitution is that it extends the lifetime of future Parliaments to six and has reduced that of the present Parliament to five, instead of three (since it took two years to put down the insurgency and draft the new Constitution).

An immediate question arises from this. What is the dominant consideration behind Mr. Dudley Senanayake's attitude? How is it that he is so little concerned with a major disaster for any country, like the April 1971 Insurgency? Why he does he bestow such scant thought on the Constituent Assembly and its labours, in which he and his party also participated? Why does the principal anxiety displayed by him relate to the lifetime of the present Parliament and the date of the next General Election? The answer

is simple, we think. It is supplied by the questions themselves. The U.N.P. leader gives two damns for the fate of the country or the future of its people. He is only concerned with securing another opportunity to become Prime Minister.

This would imply that Mr. Senanayake is hardly concerned with the policies of Government, whether of the present Government or of his own. Yet he declares that the by-elections are a clear verdict that the policies of the United Front Government are unacceptable to the people. Which policies? The establishment of the Republic? The abolition of the Senate? The Ceiling on Incomes? The Ceiling on the ownership of Land? The State Trading Corporation? The Gem Corporation? Which of these are unacceptable to the people? Who canvassed them? Not Mr. Senanayake or the U.N.P. surely! They merely made demagogic capital of the rising cost of consumers goods and their short supply in the market. Besides, if these policies are unacceptable, what alternative policies do the people want? What alternative policies have the U.N.P. to offer them? Or do they wish to persevere with the same bankrupt policies of the past that have brought the country and the people to the very brink of economic disaster?

The fact is that not only have the people not rejected these policies—if by some stretch of imagination the voting figures can be said to points in this direction—but there are no alternative policies that the U.N.P. or any other political party or body of economic strategists can conceivably offer to the people. The bankrupt policies of the U.N.P. under Mr. Dudley

Senanayake's leadership and, earlier, under the leadership of his father have been the biggest agency of the tragic plight to which the economy of Sri Lanka has been reduced. The policies of the United Front have, perhaps, been hesitant and incomplete, but they have pointed the only direction in which the country's acute problems can be solved. The neglect of the past, thanks most of all to Dudley and his father, has made it inevitable that the cost of working out these solutions should weight heavily on all the people. Some of them cannot understand this and, not surprisingly, protest at the severity of present difficulties. This results in the losing of some votes at elections and by-elections. But is it Mr. Dudley Senanayake's contention that, because the medicine is bitter, the Government should not administer it?

Nothing exposes Mr. Dudley Senanayake more as a contemptible opportunist than his current demagoguery. The Government's policies are unacceptable! The measure of free rice is his most valuable gift to the people! What halcyon days the people enjoyed in the past under Senanayake Governments! Even if this is true about the past (which is highly questionable), does the severity of our country's economic crisis permit continuation of the habit of lotus-eating and living on loans borrowed at high rates of interest? The U.N.P. leader does not even pose the question. He limits his politics to exploiting consumer dissatisfactions and the need to advance the date of the next General Election. As to what alternative policies he will advocate in the event of success at such an election, he does not even pause to consider. All that the man wants is to be Prime Minister once more!

The Lesson of Kesbewa

Will those at the helm learn the lesson of Kesbewa? That is the important question at the moment.

40 out of 47 SLFP Branches are supposed to have opted for Mr. Dixon Perera. And yet Mr. Subhas Chandrasiri, campaigning alone against the full might of the Government, whacked him by a majority of over 5,000 votes. What kind of judgement is this? It is obvious that considerations other than those of the electorate had influenced the decision to pick Mr. Dixon Perera.

This type of bungling has been the greatest obstacle in the path of the SLFP. Not

only in the case of choosing candidates for election, but also in the choice of people to man key posts in the Government. The electorates have never been consulted. Soon after this Government was formed, this subject came up at the Amparai sessions of the SLFP. It is this type of political wirepulling that led to the coining of the word, 28 SRI.

Let's hope the lesson of Kesbewa will be carefully studied, chewed, swallowed and digested and such foolish mistakes avoided in the future.

—“Anti-UNP”

Masses Have Stood By Govt.

(Continued from page 1)

that the United Front found itself confronted with a split in its ranks which it lacked the internal discipline and external command over the electorate to overcome. It may even be said that it lacked the wisdom of choice and the understanding of local reality that could have enabled it to manipulate the split to its advantage. For, had it made the correct choice of candidates, Kesbewa would have been won for the United Front despite the split in its ranks.

Taken as a whole, the by-elections show that the Government has been let down by its own shortcomings, rather than by any lapse in popular consciousness or mass understanding of political realities. Despite the burdens that the masses must face in any period of transition from one social

order to another, the people have not turned away from the path that they had chosen at the General Elections of May 1970. The voting figures demonstrate that they have stood firmly by the United Front. But it is the United Front, it seems, that has failed the people. It has, on the one hand, allowed confusion to be spread among marginal voters by its own propaganda failures and the hostility of the capitalist newspapers. On the other hand, it has allowed its own discipline and sense of internal unity to weaken and a split to develop within its organisations.

If the by-elections demand any correction of behaviour, this must come overwhelmingly from within the United Front and its Government.

“My Mandate Has Not Changed!”

(Continued from page 1)

saying that the SLFP and the United Front Government would not hold by-elections at all in violation of our democratic traditions, because the Government were afraid to do so.

“Notwithstanding current shortages and increasing price due to world market conditions, as soon as the terrorist insurgency had been brought under control, the Government held the by-elections giving the lie direct to Mr. Senanayake's false propaganda on “democracy”.

Much to be Done

“The results in our view leave no room for complacency. There is much to be done yet, and we shall continue undaunted in our efforts to ensure social justice to set our economy right, to eradicate cor-

ruption and to oppose the forced reaction in our land. There are bound to be changes in public opinion from time to time, both for and against our Government, as evidenced in Nuwara Eliya and Puttalam. But the confidences and the mandate placed by the people in me in May 1970 has not changed substantially. I shall take account of the people's views as expressed at the by-elections, and I shall try to solve problems in such a way as to increase their confidence as time goes by.

“If Mr. Senanayake believes that the by-election results are really all that significant and that for instances the change of a marginal majority of 103 at Puttalam, into defeat by 1,000 votes, signifies a complete change in the political balance in this country, there is a very simple way by which he can prove to his own satisfaction

whether he is right or wrong. He will remember that he too won the Dedigama seat in May 1970 by a marginal majority of 1000 votes!

“He can follow the example of his colleague and partner, Mr. Chelvanayakam, and create a by-election at Dedigama! Suppose he were willing to do that which I do not for a moment expect he will, I would not regard his personal defeat in case he loses as an “uncompromisingly clear verdict” against his party. The question is how would he regard it?

“I would like to express my thanks to our voters and supporters in all the four electorates in which the by-elections were held for their confidence in the Government, and I shall continue to serve their interests through by Government during the term of my Government.