

FR. MISSION DELIBERATELY HIT

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The Ministry of Housing & Construction has formulated a Scheme whereby persons who do not own houses, do not have buildable land, and do not have the necessary capital can now own a house with the assistance given by Government and his own labour. This aided self-help Scheme is intended to benefit those persons whose monthly family income is less than Rs 350/-

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Those who are selected to participate in this Scheme will become members of an "Aided self-help Housing Club" which also includes persons who possess the necessary skills for house construction, such as, masons, carpenters, etc.

A block of land varying from 7 to 10 perches in extent, depending on the locality of the Scheme will be given to each member. Building materials necessary to construct houses, toilets, wells and roadways will be provided. All technical and general advice and the necessary plans will also be provided. Construction work will be undertaken by the participants, with their family members and well-wishers, together with the other members of the aided self-help "Club" during the off hours from work, Sundays and on Public Holidays.

The participant in this Scheme has to keep to a

time-table for the construction process. Further the participant is required to sign a declaration with the Commissioner of National Housing that he will perform the duties assigned to him diligently and with enthusiasm.

Before construction work is started under this Scheme, applications for participants will be called for by public notice and selections made. The applicants should satisfy the conditions for eligibility stipulated by the Department of National Housing. A few persons with experience or knowledge in building construction will also be selected as participants. The participants will build their own houses on a self-help basis with mutual co-operation, unity and understanding. The success of this Scheme will depend mainly on this.

Allocation of Land

The land selected for the Scheme will be blocked out into lots of 7 to 10 perches each. The extent of the lot will vary according to its location, such as, rural or urban. The lots will be given out to the selected allottees

on long lease and a lease rent will be charged for the land. The lease will be for about 40 years. Land for roads, community wells and other common facilities as required will also be provided. The up-keep of such common facilities will be the responsibility of the "Club".

After the allocation of the blocks of land the "Club" should, in the first instance, develop the approach roads, wells, lavatories, community halls and other external services required for the allotments. All general and technical advice and the building materials required will be supplied by the Department of National Housing. It is the responsibility of the "Club" to construct the houses according to the plan and the technical advice given using the building materials supplied by the Department.

The participant can get the assistance of the members of their families and their relations and well-wishers for the construction work. The labour thus put in on behalf of the participant will be evaluated and a proportionate reduction will be made in the amount he is called upon to pay. This will act as an incentive to build the houses as quickly as possible and minimise the expenditure. The necessary specialised skills will be supplied by the carpenters, masons

(Continued on page 8)

Eye-Witness Account of U.S. Bombing in Hanoi

By S. W. Walpita

Last week, on October 11, the world was stunned by the news that the French Diplomatic Mission buildings in Hanoi had been bombed by American aircraft from the Seventh Fleet. The head of the French delegation, M. Susini, was severely injured, an Egyptian woman worker in the mission had her legs blown away and was killed, while four to five Vietnamese workers in the mission were buried under the heavy concrete masonry of the Mission buildings. This was another serious incident in the increasingly escalating dirty war that is being conducted by the U.S. in Vietnam (See Photograph on Page 2)

On our way home from the People's Republic of China, we were privileged to stop over in Hanoi for a few days and are now able to give an eye witness account of the bombing of the French mission, having been there on the spot at the time of the attack.

U.S. war reports and spokesmen claim that U.S. aircraft only hit military targets and that too only on the outskirts of Hanoi. But what we saw on that fateful day and the evidence of previous attacks belie this. This was, however, the first attack on the diplomatic quarter and residential area of Hanoi. Previous to this the diplomatic quarter and the area where foreign correspondents lived had been spared any bombing. Was this a deliberate attack, as claimed by the Hanoi authorities, or a mistake as claimed by U.S. spokesmen?

At first U.S. spokesmen claimed their aircraft had been in the vicinity of the French Mission buildings and alleged the damage was caused by Vietnamese rockets. But later, in the face of a strong protest by the French Government, they expressed regret for a mistake. From what we saw there is no doubt the attack was a deliberate one, and not one caused by Vietnamese rockets but by 500 to 2,000 lb. bombs. Six bombs were dropped destroying a whole section of a large building complex, set in extensive grounds and built mostly of concrete. These buildings are clearly visible from the air and the Tricolor flag flies over the building clearly marking it as the French Mission. The bombing took place at noon on an exceptionally clear day. There could be no mistake. Besides, an unexploded 500 lb. bomb made in U.S.A. was found in the course of rescue operations conducted by the Vietnamese. So that there can be no question of the destruction of the French Mission and the injury to M. Susini was the result of U.S. bombing. The Algerian Embassy, nearby, was also damaged and two delayed action bombs were found in the premises of the Indian Embassy adjoining.

The bombing occurred shortly after the air raid siren sounded, giving the inmates of the Mission no opportunity of getting into shelters, but whoever thought that diplomatic missions would be the next target of U.S. bombers! U.S. air-craft make precision attacks and no mistakes are possible. This is true, because we saw the evidence of precision attacks. The bridges over the Red river have been damaged and made unusable by one such precision attack, workers flats, hospitals and

other places we saw destroyed were the result of precision attacks. So the attack on the French Mission was no accident, but deliberate. Why? We cannot answer this. Only the U.S. authorities can answer that. But it is a fact the French have called on the U.S. to end the bombing and terminate the war in Vietnam at once. After this latest attack there was a huge demonstration in Paris condemning U.S. action. The French are increasingly concerned about U.S. bombing.

On the morning of the 11th October at about 11.30 a.m. the air raid siren in Hanoi sounded and all of us trooped into the air raid shelter in our Hotel. Anti-aircraft guns started a vigorous fire, earth-shattering in intensity. It is rightly claimed Hanoi is one of the most heavily defended cities in the world. U.S. pilots dread a bombing mission over Hanoi, but still they come. The "All Clear" went an hour later. We were then informed the French Mission was bombed and its head injured. M. Susini was taken to hospital unconscious, 56% of his body burned, the result of the explosion of an incendiary bomb. At the time we left Hanoi, he was not out of danger. A young Egyptian woman who worked in the mission was dead.

We visited the scene after the "All Clear" and saw the extensive damage done and spoke to responsible French officials about the attack. One of us even visited the hospital where M. Susini was being treated and spoke to the doctors in charge.

But what is indelibly impressed in our memory and will not be forgotten as long as we live is the spirit of the Vietnamese people men, women and children. When a bombing raid occurs, and that is a daily event, the people stop their work and take cover. With the "All Clear," work is resumed as if nothing has happened. Bombs are dropped, people are killed or injured, but the indomitable spirit to be free and independent sustains them. No attempt of bombing can frighten or intimidate these heroic people.

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By Gunadasa Amarasekera

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"Our Cities are Being Devastated"

At a news conference held in Colombo on Tuesday the Ambassador of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam His Excellency Hoang Thanh Trai called upon the people of the World and the Press to protest against the aggression now being witnessed in Vietnam at the hands of American imperialism. He also said that for nearly six months, the Nixon Administration has mobilized considerable air and naval forces, including one half the total number of its aircraft carriers, over 1,000 tactical bombers and over 60 naval craft of various types, to attack by day and night the cities and provincial capitals of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam

"Our cities and provincial capitals", he said "like all those in your country, are areas where people are concentrated with great density, reaching in some places 30,000 inhabitants per square kilometre. Ours are old cities and provincial capitals with many ancient monuments, historical relics, pagodas, churches, works of national culture, public utility installations and establishments of production.... All this is the fruits of the hard work of our people over so many generations.

"However, U.S. aircraft have brazenly come to bomb and rocket in an extremely savage way over our cities and provincial capitals.

"U.S. aircraft, including B-52s, have continuously bombed our 37 cities and provincial

capitals. They have launched over 200 attacks against nearly 700 places in Hai Phong city, nearly 60 attacks against many places in Hanoi, the capital



city, over 30 attacks against the Nam Dinh textile city, destroying 70% of the houses there.

Confrontation With Conscience

Minnie Gartley from America is bringing for her friend Pyne an ideal souvenir from Vietnam. It is unique and did not cost her a cent. These are remnants of an altar and of a statue of St. Joseph picked up after an American air raid on the North Vietnamese community of Phat Diem.

The bits of stone are full of ominous meaning for the catholic Mary Pyne. It required three bomber raids—on June 20, July 24 and August 15—to reduce to rubble a cathedral with its marble saints houses and schools. But it was also in those days that Pyne's son a US Air Force pilot was reported missing. Since then the mother has been ever praying for peace in Vietnam.

As for Mrs. Gartley she was

lucky: her son Lieutenant Markham L. Gartley is safe and sound and by her side. He and two other American fliers have been released by the DRV authorities and made a tour of North Vietnam provinces together with their relatives. A tour which developed into a confrontation with victims of US crimes on Vietnamese soil.

The "ammunition dump" Nam Dinh turned out to be a peaceful town of textile workers reduced by three-fourths to ruins. A vietnamese guide conducted Lieutenants Marknam Gartley and Norris Charles and US Air Force Major Edward Elias along what were once streets. Look to the right: these were workers blocks a cultural centre and a town hospital. On the left please visualise a school and

"More than 30 years ago" said His Excellency, "Hitler caused untold calamities to the peoples of Europe, especially the urban populations, and was condemned by mankind as a monstrous war criminal. Nowadays, Nixon has gone much further than Hitler and is repeating, on a large scale, these odious crime of extermination in our small Vietnam.

"The Nixon Administration has made full use of technological means, of the most sophisticated modern weapons to kill our people.

"U.S. aircraft have dropped on our towns and cities bombs of various types: explosive bombs, steel-pellet bombs, magnetic bombs and heavy bombs weighing upwards of one ton.

"U.S. bombs have been rained on schools, hospitals and creches as in Can Tre, killing lady-teachers and many small children. Many families have been decimated while taking their meals. Many mothers and children have been killed in the depth of night while sleeping in their beds.

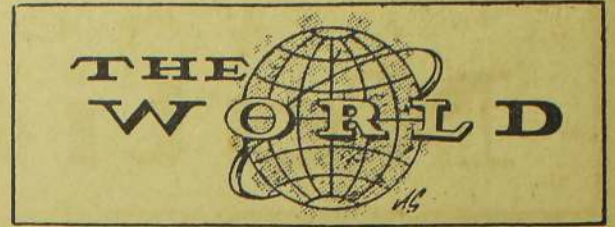
a chapel. The Lieutenants and the major had something against which to compare: they had seen former Nam Dinh through the bombing sights.

The picture of a city is incomplete without meetings with its people and the Americans were afforded an opportunity to talk with them. The ticks on operational target maps designating "concentrations of enemy troops" suddenly became vocal. Tran Van Tho told the guests that an American bomb had killed his six-month pregnant wife leaving eight children on his hands the youngest being 12 months old. Wu Thi Nam did not take up much of the guests' time. Her story was told in two phrases: "my husband was killed during an August 15 bombing. It was assumption day do you remember?"

But there was no time to remember because the interview had to be promptly interrupted. A squadron of 20 US Air Force jet fighters came over Nam Dinh and the Americans thought it better to seek safety in a shelter.

One can only conjecture what passed through the minds of the three former pilots when they for the first time felt themselves a target hunted for by their colleagues equipped with radars, computers and lasers. Perhaps that Mary Pyne's public prayers for peace are futile if American bombs rain down on the Vietnamese even on assumption day?

But one thought could not fail to occur to them: the war cannot be ended with the power of explosives if the people of a country pockmarked with 26 million bomb craters continue fighting and winning. It was worthwhile revisiting the place of crime to grasp this truth.



Peace Proposal

"U.S. aircraft have devastated hospitals such as the Bach Mai hospital Hanoi, a medical establishment with forty years of existence, a working and research unit for many celebrated medical professors. U.S. aircraft have bombed pagodas, churches, such as Phat Diem Cathedral, killing many Buddhists and Catholics while they were at prayers.

"U.S. bombs have been dropped on cinemas, department stores and sweetmeat establishments, which were busy producing special cakes for the traditional mid-autumn festival of the Vietnamese children. U.S. bombs have rained on textile workers, almost all of them women, who were standing at their looms and producing cloth for the people.

"Some days ago, U.S. aircraft attacked diplomatic missions in Hanoi, a number of houses were damaged, a number of diplomats wounded and the Head of the General Delegation of the Government of the Republic of France was severely wounded.

"The Nixon Administration has deliberately devastated cities, towns and populated centres in our country. It imagines that by so doing, it can conquer our people, shake our spirit of resistance, retrieve its defeats in the war of aggression in South Vietnam and maintain in office the traitor Nguyen Van Thieu, lackey of the U.S. imperialists. To illustrate this point, it suffices to quote the following sentence in a summing-up document of the Nixon clique: "If the war-supporting targets are to be destroyed and the operation to be effective, any new bombing of North Vietnam must be more violent, and run greater risks of causing civilian casualties".

"But Nixon is greatly mistaken! No bombing can save the aggressors from defeat. The more U.S. bombs are rained, the more they will fan

our people's hatred. The Vietnamese people have one ideal: "Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom", and they have one unshakable resolve: to defend with all their energies and forces the independence and freedom of their fatherland.

"The 7-point peace proposal, the two key points of which have been clarified, and the Statement of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam on Sept. 11, 1972 are reasonable and sensible basis for the settlement of the Vietnam problem.

"Our cities are being devastated?"

The lives of millions of civilians are being threatened!

"On behalf of millions of the population in the cities and provincial capitals, on October 10, the Chairmen of the 37 Administrative Committees of the DRV cities and provincial capitals held a Press Conference to strongly denounce to Mayors and urban populations in the world, the Nixon Administration's barbarous crimes of war in our country. We earnestly call on Mayors, urban populations and the people of the world to condemn in time and to stay their bloody hands!

"The Nixon Administration must bear before history and the world's peoples full responsibility for this extremely barbarous crime!

"I hope" summed up the Ambassador, "that, the Sri Lanka United Front Government the Ceylonese people, Mayors and the press will continue to raise their voices and exert their influence to condemn the U.S. imperialists' criminal acts of war in Vietnam, and supporting the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. imperialists for national salvation until complete victory."



Mr. Pierre Susioni, Delegate General of the General Delegation of the Government of the Republic of France, besides the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, seriously wounded by U.S. bombings on October 11th, 1972, is being cured by Vietnamese and Cuban doctors.

VNA-Photo.

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The Maudling Memorandum: a Communist Critique

By

Dr. Ota Sik

Dr. Ota Sik was the leading proponent of economic reforms in Czechoslovakia in the 1960s and became a Deputy Prime Minister in 1968 when Mr. Dubcek was party leader. After the Soviet invasion he remained in the west and was expelled from the Communist Party and deprived of his Czechoslovak citizenship. He now teaches at the University of Basle in Switzerland.

Mr. Maudling's memorandum on incomes, published in *The Times* on September 12, is extremely significant. I would like to comment on it from my experience as an economist and politician in communist Czechoslovakia, as well as from my knowledge of the capitalist west.

The most important point that Mr. Maudling makes is that the present inflationary developments in Britain and in all highly developed industrial nations of the west are an expression of deep changes in the capitalist system and cannot be overcome by old methods. However, I regard his diagnosis of the causes as inadequate which makes for considerable helplessness in the search for a solution.

Mr. Maudling believes that modern inflation has political causes which can be traced back to the extraordinary growth in the power of the trades unions, to which "knowledge and skill have contributed". It is certainly true that this strength has a directly inflationary influence in today's wage disputes, but I believe that in the long run there is no political power in the highly developed capitalist countries which can overcome this and effectively stop inflation.

The policies of the unions derive not only from political causes but from much deeper socio-economic causes. Inflation cannot be cured until these are removed. The trade unions represent wage earners. Even if union functionaries could be drawn into state organs and given a share of responsibility for a planned state incomes policy the basic problem would not be solved.

This basic problem is that wage earners are interested only in increasing their wages. They have no direct interest in capital, the growth of capital, the use of profits or decisions on investments. Whether one likes it or not the mass of wage earners feel that capital is utterly alien, that its growth is of no interest to them, and that investment requirements are no reason for restraining wage demands. If union functionaries were to try to avert wage demands by reference to investment needs they would immediately lose the trust of the wage earners. Sooner or later they would come to be regarded as state functionaries and others would take their place.

Alienation of Workers

Only in authoritarian states such as the present Communist states can unions be taken over by the state or brought under the control of a monopolistic party. This means, however, that the workers do not regard the unions as their representatives. If these workers had freedom they would immediately elect other union leaders with other duties. The short period of the Dubcek

regime in Czechoslovakia showed this very clearly.

It is an important discovery that the nationalization of the means of production by Communist states has in no way overcome the alienation of the workers from the factories but has even deepened it because of the extraordinary bureaucratization of management. Capital has been taken over by the state, not by society. The system has become state capitalist or state monopolistic, not socialist. The people have as little interest in capital development and investment as in the West, and this interest cannot be created by any amount of party and state propaganda. Their only economic interest is in wages, and they cannot pursue this through any machinery in which they themselves are represented.

The only people who are interested in capital development are those who get a share of profits resulting from the use of capital and who can take part in decisions on its use. Ownership of capital has always been expressed in power over its use and profit from its effects. The small class of people who own capital in the West has for a long time ensured the most effective use of capital through having a direct interest in it. The removal of this interest by nationalization and bureaucratization in Communist countries has led to an unheard of wastage of capital and production resources and as such ineffective development of investment and production that the system can be maintained only by authoritarian and totalitarian regimes.

For centuries in the capitalist countries the working class grew faster than the proportion of capital spent on wages. Therefore even a small class of capitalists could ensure that the distribution of production income favoured investment by keeping wages low, since the large number of unemployed exerted continuous pressure on the working wage earners. In developing countries this can still be seen. However, at the stage when an immense amount of capital has been accumulated in highly developed countries and full employment has been achieved, this form of pressure disappears.

No Interest in Capital

The extraordinary increase in the skills and knowledge of the working man is certainly an important factor in developed industrial countries since these skills cannot be replaced by

unskilled workers. But the most important basis of the strength of the unionized wage earner is that the accumulation of capital has created, and continues to create, such a demand for qualified labour that lagging supply creates a monopoly. These conditions represent historical progress that cannot be reversed.

The fact that wage earners assert their interests through their trade unions cannot be condemned. A negative moral attitude will not change things. What increasingly endangers the whole social and economic (and hence cultural) development of society is that wage earners have no interest in the use of capital. Increasingly inflationary wage increases, plus growing state expenditure on social needs, provoke the price increases by means of which the faster growth of investment has to be ensured.

Thus modern inflation is the inevitable expression of the social contradiction between, on the one hand, the extreme ordinarily strengthened and organized interests of the broad masses of wage earners and consumers, and on the other the interests of small groups of owners of capital, managers, and economic functionaries. Anyone who expects to overcome this conflict of interests with moral appeals will be shipwrecked.

It is important to find a solution because inflation causes not only growing economic loss but also a senseless development of production, consumption, and of the whole condition of human life. Only when, instead of a small social group, the broad mass of working men have an immediate interest in capital will the development of capital as the material basis of social development become the concern of the majority.

All reasonable arguments against the nationalization of capital easily become understandable arguments against bureaucratic nationalization. If we are to find a quick and concrete method of collectivizing capital we must start by realizing that nationalization is not socialization, and that only where man has an immediate economic interest in the future development of an enterprise, in investment, in the effectivity of new capital equipment, and so on, will he gradually begin to be master of his own conditions of production. Just as individual capitalists, or groups of capitalists, driven by the expectation of profits, put aside a part of their income for investment, so when experience has been acquired, and when enterprise capital is really the collective property of members of the enterprise, will a collective begin to think about using part of the income of the enterprise for investment.

Collectivization of Capital

It is not possible in a short newspaper article to deal with the concrete organization of such a collectivization of capital nor with the mechanics of

capital accumulation, provision for ensuring initiative for founding new enterprises, or the problems of combining a market system with macro-economic planning, and many other basic questions. That is not even the purpose of this article. In the Czechoslovakia of the Dubcek era all these problems were worked on, and the interested reader will find important theoretical indications in my new book *Der Dritte Weg* (Hoffmann and Campe, Hamburg).

I am fully aware that it is a long and hard task to achieve the gradual collectivization of capital and the creation of conditions in which working people are no longer alienated from production and the distribution of its fruits and are able to anticipate in basic economic decisions, but the ideologists who want to start by educating people for participation are wrong. Only if a man has a real interest in something will he acquire the necessary knowledge.

If wage earners really become collective owners of enterprise capital and capital profits they will acquire through elected supervisory councils the power to decide about the principles of dividing income between wages and investment. In this way they will discover that insufficient investment or ineffective capitalization causes losses to themselves. If they are periodically informed by the management about the affairs of the enterprise they will gradually acquire basic knowledge of, and understanding for a socially necessary incomes policy. If, however, they remain wage-earners alienated from capital the wage-price spiral will not be stopped by involving trade union functionaries in a state incomes policy.

Naturally a real market must continue to exist, and the incomes of the collective enterprises should be exposed to it. In spite of all its inadequacies the market remains an irreplaceable criterion for socially useful and necessary activity in individual enterprises. The disappearance of this criterion in Communist countries shows most vividly how production and human activity come more and more into conflict with social needs. In a modern society, however, the market cannot ensure humane conditions in production and in the distribution of income. It must, therefore, be put in a macro-economic framework which sets broad aims, and it must be accompanied by a planned economic policy which includes an incomes policy.

If the planning bodies included not representative of socially opposed wage-earners and capitalists but the two in one person, an incomes policy would emerge more easily. Naturally ideal conditions would not be created and the conflict between short and long-term interests would not wholly disappear, but if this were no longer the expression of social conflicts of interest it would be easier to overcome in a reasonable and democratic manner.

Mr. Maudling's courage in demanding basic changes in the present capitalist system as a precondition of overcoming inflation appeals to me, but I am sceptical that success is possible so long as the old and fossilized conflicts of interest are preserved. Sooner or later the conflict between the interests of capital and wages in a highly developed industrial country must vanish.

—Times

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Congress Exposes Bank Strikers

The following statement setting out the views of the Central Executive Committee of the Socialist Trade Union Congress of the Republic of Sri Lanka, on the current strike of Bank Employees was issued earlier this month.

In the past too, and whenever a Trade Union resorted to strike action, other Trade Union Organisations have expressed either solidarity with or views against such struggles. Generally most trade Unions have been known to throw in their lot with any strike action which took the form of a Working Class struggle directed towards a rapacious employer or a Capitalist Government. Indeed the present rights, privileges and concessions enjoyed by the working class are the results of struggles and sacrifices of the past and there is no gainsaying that strike action constitutes an inalienable right of trade union organisations.

The current strike of the Bank Employees has however been condemned by many major trade union centres as motivated by reactionary forces. This unusual and perhaps unprecedented condemnation of the strike of the Bank employees by other trade Union organisations which have themselves been in the vanguard of working class struggles for several decades must necessarily be reckoned with utmost seriousness.

The colossal support this strike allegedly receives from the monopoly press and from big businessmen, landowners and other representatives of the Capitalist Class would also appear to be unprecedented and indeed unique. To make confusion worse confounded that chronicle which rose to public fame through its "Pontha Nona" and "Pachabahu the Great" appears to have indentified itself with the cause of the Bank Employees—a cause which seems to receive tremendous support from vested interests which have hitherto opposed bitterly the very idea of trade Unionism. Moreover the supporters of "Pontha Nona" and "Pacha Bahu" have since turned out to be admirers and supporters of this news-sheet. Extremist elements of one camp often share the spoils of the opposing

camp! It is said in knowledgeable quarters that the drop of the "Pachabahu" line synchronises with more ambitious power politics as distinct from socialist transformation of society: but let that pass; we are here concerned with the attitude of the Congress to the current strike of the Bank Employees.

Basic Qualifications

The Bank Employees have restored to Trade Union action demanding an upward revision of their salaries. The present commencing monthly salary of the recruitment grade of Bank Clerks is Rs. 324.30 for an unmarried employee and Rs. 349.50 for a married employee. The initial monthly salary of a recruit to the Government Clerical Service is Rs. 250/- if unmarried and Rs. 262.50 if married. The present salary of a Bank Clerk, therefore, represents an increase of Rs. 74.30 (unmarried) and Rs. 86.80 (married) over his nearest counterpart in the Public Service. Until the recent advent of the Computer, only persons with specified educational qualifications were recruited as Government Clerks and that too through a highly competitive public examination. In the case of Bank employees however persons without even the basic educational quali-

fications have secured such employment!

The commencing monthly salary of the recruitment grade of minor employees in the Public Service is Rs. 179.50 while in the Banks the same grade of employee receives Rs. 209.51 representing an increase of Rs. 30.01. The married allowance payable to the former is Rs. 5/- and the latter Rs. 7.50. A comparison of salary levels in respect of other Grades too as between the Public sector and the Banks would reveal that the latter enjoy more favourable terms. It is common knowledge that even in regard to fringe benefits the Bank employees are well ahead of their counterparts in the public sector.

The Socialist Trade Union Congress is certainly not in disfavour of whatever advantages and concessions as are already available to the Bank employees. It is conceded also that one of the fundamental objectives of any trade Union organisation is to seek to improve the salaries and service conditions of its membership. The problem arises however when a comparatively very small section of employees already in receipt of higher salaries and better service conditions, demands more in isolation, at a time almost the entirety of the lower and middle grade wage-earners who receive less are grappling against soaring living costs and inadequate incomes.

Because of their bargaining capacity, peculiar to the Banking sector, the Bank employees have remained cloistered and isolated from the rest of the working class movement, perhaps deliberately; and they have hardly ever interested themselves in the cause and the struggles of other working class organisations. To that extent the class character of the Bank employees' trade Union involved in the present strike would seem to differ from the class character of the progressive trade Union movement of this country. It follows therefore, that there could be very little in common between that Union and the trade Union organisations associated with the Congress.

National Wage Structure

Realising the grave economic difficulties facing the membership represented in the Congress, a very careful and dispassionate review was undertaken to determine the nature and extent of the course of action to be launched by the Congress. It was felt that mere salary increases would not alleviate the present economic distress of the working people as salary increases invariably tend to further increase of prices of essential commodities, thus continuing the operation of the vicious circle. There is no doubt whatsoever that the salaries and wages of the vast majority of the lower and middle grade employees must be increased at least to the extent of the increases already enjoyed by similar grades in other services. Essentially what is required is a realistic living wage commensurate with production, talent and output and this is best determined in the form of a

National Wage structure applicable to all and sundry.

The George Rajapakse Committee is understood to have carried out an exhaustive study of the wage patterns and made certain far-reaching recommendations to the Government. Obviously the acceptance of the George Rajapakse Committee recommendations would involve an allround revision of the existing wage structure. As a responsible and the most representative trade Union centre in this country, the Congress has demanded, through a Workers' Rally held on 31st August 1972, that the Reports of the George Rajapakse Committee and the L. B. de Silva Salaries Commission be published without delay. When these Reports are available the Congress would be in a better position to formulate its own demands in regard to a suitable wage structure and negotiate with the authorities concerned or launch a campaign to win such demands.

The Congress is satisfied that the United Front Government has hitherto made a genuine and sincere effort to implement its election pledges in spite of very severe odds and sometimes against almost insurmountable opposition. Some of the difficulties facing the Government could have been overcome if only the progressive working class organisations were taken into its confidence and their assistance sought instead of leaning too heavily on the reactionary bureaucracy.

April Insurgency

The outbreak of insurgency in April 1971 caused tremendous difficulties to the country and the Government, and it must be remembered that the progressive trade Union movement supported the United Front Government to the hilt in that situation. Equally important it is to note that certain sections who have not hitherto breathed a word against the April 1971 uprising are now vociferously campaigning on the side of the Bank employees' strike.

The solutions to the socio-economic problems facing the Organised Working Class and the down-trodden masses have to be secured through radical reforms and a restructuring process of the country's economy. Significantly, therefore, the task of the progressive trade Union movement is to press the Government forward with all the vigour and strength at its command towards socialist goals. Considering the far-reaching socio-economic change already introduced or enunciated it would appear that the United Front Government itself is not unwilling to be pressed by its electors for more radical reforms.

In this context the present struggle launched by the Bank employees for parochial and selfish demands would appear unseemly, irrational and perhaps even motivated by reactionary tendencies. Their attitude appears to be—"To hell with the country's economy—Never mind the rest of the working people who receive much less or the several lakhs of people who have no means

of livelihood at all. Insurgency or no insurgency, nationalisation or private enterprise, capitalism or socialism, reaction or progress are not our concern—We must fatten ourselves more at any cost"! Now that's the kind of depravity no sensible or reasonable people could countenance.

Under the guise of being reasonable towards trade Union struggles, there are people and organisations who demand that the current strike of Bank Employees be amicably settled. There are others who seem to revel in fishing in troubled waters. They do not however disclose any formula for a settlement. If a settlement is possible only by granting the demands of the Bank employees, do they advocate such a step? Would it be possible thereafter to resist the demands of the vast majority of wage earners for commensurate increases on their own incomes? In the present state of the economy of the country could it afford irrational wage hikes? These questions have been answered in the preceding paragraphs; and the Congress is of the view that more lasting solutions have to be found for the emancipation of the working people through measures that would ultimately usher in a socialist form of society.

Responsibility to Country

The Congress is aware that the fiscal policies introduced by the United Front Government since June 1970, would help recoup the country's economy before long, provided however new pressures are not permitted to remove the achievements hitherto gained in this sphere. A regretful feature in the political life of this country is that whenever a socialist-inclined Government is elected, it is never allowed any reasonable time or opportunity to implement its progressive policies. The United Front Government had to take over an empty Treasury together with a colossal amount of short-term Foreign borrowings which required quick settlement. While the Government was engaging its full attention to recuperate from the economic crisis created by its predecessors, the havoc created by the insurgents in April 1971 added further burdens.

And now in September 1972 the Bank employees have gone on strike demanding still higher wages. The United Front was elected to form a Government through the overwhelming support of the progressive trade Union movement and the broad masses. They owe a responsibility to the country as a whole to protect the United Front Government from scheming machinations of the reactionaries and renegades.

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Doctoring English

MEMORANDUM SUBMITTED TO THE COMMISSION INQUIRING INTO THE TEACHING OF ENGLISH IN SRILANKA SCHOOLS FROM THE TEACHERS OF ENGLISH, AT THE YATIYANTOTA M.V.

Maha Vidyalayas, that take in students from Grade Nine upwards, would really wish to have students, who don't have any knowledge of English, rather than the muddled influx of children, whose preceptions of English have been ruthlessly butchered, in the periphery schools, where their life began. Our school being a Maha Vidyalaya, admits children into Grade Nine and upwards. And in the circuit, the periphery schools that feed us are 52.

We are really pained that the English Unit and the Book compilers of the Ministry of Education, have sadly been saddled with a false promise—namely that all children seeking admission to Maha Vidyalayas have already done six years of English. This, as any rational teacher would concede is not the case.

It was inevitable that the orthodox, Direct Method had to be accorded a back seat and a bit of Grammar thrown in as a protective stimulant to the child. The Grade Niner, is mature enough to assimilate a little of essential basic aspects of Grammar. The Department's book was felt to be wrongly based and was therefore ignored for the present.

The latest addition to our English Department, tried out a series of Diagnostic Tests, soon after arrival. Here is his report:

"I sensed the danger in torturing our children, our raw material; with the Department's Text Book. I also sensed that this book would be the one blockade between an ambitious Teacher and equally ambitious children, who are intelligent. It would be a pity if we cannot deploy such wealth of uncorrupted rustic intelligence, to grasp GOOD ENGLISH. As a Teacher I would live an unhappy life with such rotten raw material. But I believe, as you would, that every child is a potential asset, that can be developed to the advantage of the country. If we just continue to tolerate the inadequacies of our children, without finding out remedial measure, we would have to suffer as Martyrs. And surely we are not paid to wear the halo of Martyrdom. So I tried out a Diagnostic Test and submit the results and my analysis. The question Paper could have been comfortably handled by any Sixth Grader. That is why I suggested that we compile a Text Book of our own, because the Departmental Book was wholly repugnant at this stage."

This is what a member of the staff had to say. At a subsequent meeting of the staff, it was decided dramatically and unanimously that we compile our own Text Book. The arrangements of the lessons were not stereotyped, but flexible. That could not have been so, with students intelligent and ready to catch up, at any intelligible level. It was our desire and still is, that it would be an educational crime, to deny these children, the benefits of an English Education, for a Technological future.

were discovered or diagnosed. And Lessons were judiciously and logically prepared as remedial measures.

Doctoring English attracts and educates the Children. When our Lesson on OUR GIRLS AT PLAY was being narrated, a usually docile girl, was so caught up in the moving splendour of the Language, that she shouted "Shoot," when the flight of the ball was being described. This, we feel, is victory for the Team.

Student Participation

Doctoring English, is the exclusive property of our children. They are the Research material for this venture. Even the rod was not spared and the children humorously equated it with a Pill—a remedial measure.

Although it may not be strictly in sequence, we cannot refrain from telling the Commission of the Statistical fact that where English learning was poor, Insurrection elements were most. According to the Commissioner of Examinations, the areas where there were the most failures in English, were Polonnaruwa, Kegalle and Moneragala. And one knows that these three places were the hot beds of Insurgency in April 1970. If other areas had less of the misguided youth those areas were places, where students had a commendable knowledge of English and that found them meaningful employment.

While our Team is on the Voyage of Discovery, quacks running Tutories pose a veritable headache. After all, our children know that the Text Book prepared for them, is THEIRS and really a remedial convenience for them alone. It is about time, the Department took up the issue of Tutories, run by ill qualified Teachers. Such Tutories are a danger to Language Teaching in Schools. Else there is danger ahead for English. These outside Ill Winds present a veritable danger to the morals of our children as well.

Since the role of the TEAM has been that of Doctors; diagnosing Language ailments, before prescribing and trying out our own remedial measures, our Project takes the ambitious and rewarding title of *Doctoring English*. The students are assisting us. In every stage of production, their assistance and their exclusive finance were involved. They bought the paper. They bought the stencils. They did the roneoing and compiling. They rightly called it OUR ENGLISH BOOK, with fervour.

Our first round was won, indeed.

A member of the staff works overtime, planning out the lessons after a briefing by his Associates. The manuscript is then discussed and okayed by the Principal, before the stencils are cut.

The only formidable problem, was the time involved in having to correct 181 Books. In this we sought the assistance of other members of the Staff, with our Correction Guide. And our Lessons were to have only one answer questions. Not the multiple answers.

The children recognised their team at work, and that the Team was working against Cynics. They accepted it, because they saw the results on the Graph that is posted regularly on the Notice Board, for their edification.

The ailments of the students

The student body has a hand in the compiling of this book. Groups attend to the additions and deletions in the Text; punch holes for filing purposes; prepare the format for the Cover for the book; bind, arrange and sell them. The financial response is encouraging. The student body is running this at a gain and hope to issue the last few lessons free of charge. They call this OUR BOOK. That possessive feeling, of ownership and creativeness, which all rational human beings value.

A sense of unity can be created when there is uniformity. Children, when helped to write uniformly feel they are together. A member of the Team, with time available handled this assignment. The Guide Sentence written out by the Teacher in Script writing was an intentional question, for which the child was expected to give an answer at the last line. The transcription had to be done, in the unorthodox BOTTOM TO

TOP format. This always places before the student, the writing of the Teacher for guidance, because his writing is always covered by the hand that writes. After some time, a team of proficient Senior Writers, took over the correction of the Transcription Books and the results are indeed encouraging, because the teacher remains unsure whether the writing is his or the students'!!

Stop Watch timing indicated that Script writing was faster. In any case, it was better that the children wrote carefully and legibly and this the script writing did. A thesis on this "The Anatomy of Calligraphy," is filed in our Office and more Research in this field is being conducted.

It is hoped that a study of the Calligraphy of the children, can also help the Team to determine what future lessons could be more fancied. The Research is on.

(Continued on page 7)

Teaching of English Has To Be Re-orientated

Says John B. Kumarakulasinghe
A Rural Teacher of English

Whatever one Chief Education Officer may shout at a Seminar, the standard of English is going down in Ceylon. These are unfavourable results, that reveal an unfavourable teaching format. It is indeed very disheartening that few have understood the need for English, in a changing world. Renowned space experts, may soon circle the globe, stopping for wee-little Spanish, French, Russian, and English en route. That's all they need.

Time there was, when an interviewing Colonial Civil Servant took kindly to those who could be maestro's of the classics. A good knowledge of English then, meant to the British Colonial regime, a rare and superior qualification for any aspirant to any post.

Today the number of the really fluent in English is conceivably beyond the decimal point, in Ceylon. The Language Revolution of 1956, changed for all time the English environment.

Nationalism conjures up visions of civic service, if you don the slacks and cough out classical Sinhala. English in Sri Lanka, is a positive guiding force, to the children within the Rural Frontiers. A C.T.B. Conductor (the poor driver has no business to talk!) of Yatiyantota Siriwardena Junior School, would be a pride to the CTB, if he can have at his finger tips:

"Fares please."
"Not going through Fort."
"Long distance only."
"No footboard riding."
"Right."

"Bus behind" (in those days). With this, etc. he can come home with a fatter and more enviable pay packet, than what his erstwhile teacher gets.

A Mechanical Student, can go through Werahera, if he can squat by a town Mechanic, and respond to the calls for "Bolt", "Screw", "Jak", "Hydraulic", "Break", "Steering handle", "Carburettor" etc. over a period of time. And with this, he can later creep into a Garage and attend to a Prime Minister's car. And if he or she finds incredible response to a request for speed the P.M. won't forget the guy. He has grabbed his "intro," which is more valuable than what Golda Meir, may be coaxed to say!

Aren't these two, among many; not really making English, their hitherto Dead

Language; a living force? That's precisely what I found, the Principal of my School, violently believes in. And that's precisely why I believe, that English at the base, must be taught by Teachers, who can do that job, with missionary zeal. The "C-A-T" business must be out and instead should come in thrill. Students despise the banality, bias, and boredom of our Departmental book, that is not telescopic to serve the needs of a Crash Programme. Hence a book, oriented and rural, with rural splendour, rural charm, rural security, rural youth, a rural domestic animal, rural festival and a rural Match!! A tall line of items, any fool can say. But it is a reality. It is a reality in a rural electorate's Best Maha Vidyalaya, with a team of five teachers. The book "*Doctoring English*" is a veritable hit and embraces, the wider surprise of a SINHALA STUDENTS' GUIDE LINES. These ready reckoners, afford, enough reference material to any rural father too!!

In nearly one hundred and seventy five such homes, everyday, a child of that school, is flipping back the pages of DOCTORING ENGLISH, and in some homes, the parents are drawn into this luxuriant environment and Dialogue. English is awake. The school has resuscitated into, from its DEAD position. English has at least 30 minutes at home. The compulsive device of a daily home work exercise, that came out of Mr. L. P. Nawagamuwa, and Rev. Sister Anthony; has helped create this laudable state. Books are CORRECTED DAILY by a staffer!

No More Writers

Ceylon—and indeed the Daily English Press, feels,

among other things, that there is a scarcity of Journalists; (if contributions aren't free!!) in Ceylon. Though exaggerated, (to keep doting Managements on their saddles), there is a grim shortage of Writers. And it is positive, that our schools need not bother to teach English Literature, when they either can't or don't teach English Language. Then, we of the 40's would ourselves have passed out of the picture and might as well take along, McCaulays' Essays, and Gibbons' The Rise and Decline of Rome.

In short, we need help our children to acquire proficiency in the spoken language. And once our children are not sunk, they are intelligent enough to swim. I remember chiding an Englishman, that English cannot be taught in the way he and I learnt it. And his silence to that part of my letter is obviously not disagreement. People generally don't register language problems only in their hearts!!

It would appear that an early discovery should be made to have plenty of drilling exercises put across to our children, in the swiftest possible time. And another field for exploration is, how Vocabulary can be speedily acquired, in a Crash Programme? Or can it? Youth are in a hurry everywhere.

Sadly it is evident, that the British Council, has been chosen as Patron Saint of English in Ceylon and the English Unit. The former rooted to British traditions, which envy, and our Unit that cannot penetrate the Rural Frontiers, with the charm of the English Frontiers.

Rural English needs a fillip right now, because for the past 15 years, neither the British Council nor the English Unit has checked the deterioration of English, although millions of rupees have been split down the drains. The present Government's Vocationalised Educational Scheme, with a place for English, is indeed, the first step, in the massive program, all teachers should be enjoined in, to preserve a language, nobody really hates, in today's Space and International Age.

WORKER PARTICIPATION IN MANAGEMENT — VI

Worker's Disposition to Participate

by

D. B. Kuruppu

An assessment of the local context in which the operation of Employees' Councils commenced, is necessary before discussing the willingness or the ability of the worker to participate in management. Firstly, there was no tradition of actual consultation of the worker, upon which this experiment could be based. Secondly, this experiment cannot be called the result of an appreciation of modern management principles or their development in industrially advanced countries. Thirdly (and as against the first and second factors) worker participation in management through Employees' Councils was brought about by a decision which had more to do with politics than management.

This observation would be welcomed by those opposed to the very idea of participation. It is, however, not meant for their jubilation; rather it is brought out to emphasise the fact that the working class as a whole has been moving towards this "period of transition", which envisages a stage at which the actual management of industries will be the responsibility of those working within them. This prospect of Self-Management has been set as the ultimate goal towards which the first step was being taken by the setting up of Employees' Councils.

Even though the significance

of this objective may be ignored by some of the managers, the workers were definitely working at the new experiment in that spirit. The enthusiasm shown by the workers at the beginning and their subsequent disillusionment and frustrations were to a great extent due to this expectation.

Another significant feature in the local experiment, more correctly its application, was that it was confined to the Public Sector, unlike in India or the other "democratic" countries which introduced participatory management. It may be recalled that, in the Public Sector as well as in the Government machinery, dras-

tic changes were anticipated by the militant sections of the working class, probably due to their inability to take some of the utterances from election platforms ("we shall skin them alive on the Galle Face Green") with a pinch of salt. The heads that were expected to roll in this process were naturally not counted by the workers in their future dealings with the respective managements in Corporations. Worker participation was considered to be definitely more drastic than the normal dealings that the organised working class had with management.

It was with this type of change in view that the workers were prepared to participate in management. An ideal situation in which the worker is really committed to the organisation was not even dreamt of! Even the basic material background, in the form of

a decent wage and proper incentives, was not available. However, one cannot deny the fact that, immediately after the change of Government in 1970, the majority of the workers were prepared to throw their weight with the organisations for their betterment and in the interests of the whole country, which (as far as they could see) was moving in a direction where the worker would get his share in the management (or the government).

What share was the worker expecting in management? What share was he prepared or equipped to handle in the management of Corporations? These were questions which were never raised or given serious thought to either by the worker or by other parties concerned.

As far as the worker was concerned, this was the background against which the new operation began.

After-election speeches by candidates who sought election to Employees' Councils were a clear index to this confused background. "We will not allow the management to carry on as before." This was echoed by the large majority of them in different words. Did they feel that they had not got the correct management they expected with the political change that had taken place? Or were they trying to lead the management along more democratic (or Socialist) lines? This too was as vague as the background discussed earlier.

The glamour of being an elected representative in a new type of council blessed by the new Government too would have drawn quite a number of workers into the contest. This is proved by isolated instances of Employees' Council members who apparently discovered the futility of their new status almost immediately after the election and hence decided to keep off from its deliberations. Then there was the second category of members who either kept off or resigned because they could not render "the service they expected to render to the organisation and to the country (government) due to the inherent defects in the machinery of Employees' Councils."

The willingness of the worker to participate was, in the first place, conditioned by his unwillingness to recognise certain managements (at least certain individuals in the management team). The suspicion and mistrust that originated in this situation, along with the resultant bitterness and antipathy, was noticeable even in the actual operation of Employees' Councils in certain organisations.

As in the case of the Manager's ability to participate, the worker's willingness to participate is often taken for granted. Apart from the fact that every one of the workers was not keen on the changes in the management anticipated with the introduction of Employees' Councils, the general lack of a

sense of identity in the worker, too, stood in the way of making him a willing participant in the affairs of the organisation. This lack of interest is not entirely due to the indifference of the worker, for a number of factors beyond his control, including the attitudes of the management, are responsible for this.

"The manager is there to manage. Why should we get involved in that." This type of statement is not very uncommon, giving expression to the worker's unwillingness to play a part in the management. This statement would at times be slightly modified by some workers to emphasise the manager's claims. "It is the manager who knows best how to manage. He has been trained to do that. What can we do?"

This lack of willingness seems to flow from the general feeling among the workers that they are working for a wage, and that their main concern is to earn their living, "not to bother about what happens to the management or the organisation." Paradoxical though it may sound, this feeling of apathy is some times more marked in the employees of the Public Sector than in the private sector! The worker who has no interest in the organisation beyond the monthly wage he receives, cannot be expected to take an interest in a new management set-up which involves him (or his representative).

"Why should we antagonise both the management and the worker?" was a question posed by some workers who refused to come forward for election to Employees' Councils. This question, endorsed by many in an organisation, reflects on the one hand the lack of a complete understanding of the purpose and significance of Employees' Councils; On the other hand, this gave expression to what the workers had learnt over the years in their working life. They know one thing about participation in management: that it would involve pointing out defects and making suggestions which would not be well received both by the Manager and the Worker. Hence they preferred to remain more on-lookers!

Taking the same argument a little further, one could expect the new representatives of the workers to incur the wrath of some managers, if they were to be honest and straightforward. You must stand for the right thing without fear or favour. This is more easily said than done, for the workers had learnt through experience that the managers know how to tackle such "trouble-makers". Where conditions were not satisfactory, this knowledge on the part of the worker even deterred some from coming forward for election. These fears were proved in the subsequent operation of Employees' Councils, where victimisation of both members and ordinary workers have been noticed in some places.



ARALU AND ARALIYA

The Wisdom of the Owl

The recent death of a wealthy local turfite brought warm memories of a delightful practical joke. A group of youthful punters who imagined that the secrets of racing circulated among the knowing ones only decided on an unconventional approach to enter their inner-sanctuaries. It was agreed that this dear departed gentleman who was known to be anxious to hob-nob with the elite, would be the instrument of this intrepid manoeuvre. On each day before the races and at a time when it was known that the old gent would have returned from his weekly *tete-a-tete* with his trainer a telephone call would go out to his residence. As the receiver was lifted at his end, the chimes of an Operator would be gone through on this side and once it was discovered from where the call was the excitement there was not difficult to discern. The old gent was allowed to hang on for a while and after that, suitable pause a stammer would usher in the "voice" that would never be guilty of the indelicacy of getting down to the topic at once.

With that superficial hypocrisy that was his hallmark, the "voice" would musically intone inquiring after the old gent's wife and sons and daughters, and after these flattering preliminaries he would be asked in hushed conspiratorial tones what his trainer had said. Week after week and month after month this intensely amusing exercise was performed, till one fine day the old gent wanted a favour done. There was an unending queue of ships in the Colombo Harbour stretching out far into the open seas as a result of

a long drawn out harbour strike. Will it be possible to have the last ship cleared because the old gent's business was being affected. I am told that the stutter on this occasion was genuine but no favour asked was too big to be refused. If ever fortune favoured the brave then this was the time for the fates relented, the strike settled and the ship cleared before the next week's call.

Eusebio

The Geoff Hurst testimonial match in England attracted several world famous names. After the match and when it was time for everyone to leave, Eusebio clasped Hurst's hands and said "I want to thank you for asking me. It was a very great honour and I am proud to have been here". With that he was off leaving a bewildered Hurst saying—"what can you do with a fellow like that. He travels 1400 miles here and back, refuses to take a penny and then thanks me. I used to believe that great forwards had to have a streak of arrogance. Now I know that I am wrong".

Local Authorities

Leading the 'Sports for all' campaign, the Chairman of Britain's Sports Council, Roger Banister, says, "Sports is not an end in itself and I do not look on it as a panacea or a new kind of religion. It is only a part of life but it is an essential part and should not be treated as a residual element when it comes to spending government and local authority funds."

The Local Authorities in Ceylon should play a more vigorous role in the organisa-

tion and development of sport and they do now. Colombo perhaps is the only place where playgrounds and instructors are provided by the local authorities but that too is not geared to an overall plan, which ought to be worked out with the Ministry of Sport. No doubt there is a problem of a lack of finances, but a little imagination and some bare land can make up for a lot. As Mr. Banister also says—"no big pool should be unused during the week-ends and holidays. It is a fantastic waste of money. Schools rich in indoor pools and halls and fields should and could help their local community". There's a wonderful idea to work on.

Irish Question

After winning the Pentathlon for women in Munich, Mary Peters was asked at a Press Conference—"where do you come from and why have we never heard of you before." The prompt reply was "I come from Belfast, Northern Ireland and I hope that answers the rest of your questions".

Gary Sobers, the Captain of the West Indies Cricket Team, is reported as saying—"I think it is about time that the West Indies found a new Captain as I have had the job for seven years. I have enjoyed being Captain and I genuinely feel that there should be a younger man for this job". It will be interesting to know what Mr. Robert Senanayake, who has been the President of the Ceylon Cricket Association for 16 years, and Mr. V. A. Sugathadasa, who has been the President of the Olympic Association for also not an inconsiderable period, have to say about this Sobers's tripe. Sobers at 36 thinks he is getting on. But Messrs. Senanayake and Sugathadasa believe that in the tropics man preserves better, the older you get the more alert you become. If you don't believe me, Gary, ask them. Will you please?

—The Actor

Lessons of the By-Election

by Sagitarius

The main propaganda blasts have been fired on both sides and we can now more soberly take stock of the results of the 'by-elections'. The first thing is to lay out a clear picture of the actual shifts in voting patterns. In the table below the percentage polled by various candidates is given as a percentage of votes cast; the percentage polled in each electorate is also given.

	1970	1972	Puttalam	
Kesbewa			UF %	45.0 43.2
UF %	64.6	24.9	UNP %	45.0 49.0
UNP %	35.4	39.6	Others %	9.7 7.2
Others %	—	35.0*	% Polled	81.4 82.5
% Polled	80.5	81.1		

*Almost entirely Mr. Subhas Chandrasiri's vote.

Ratnapura		
UF %	64.4	56.0
UNP %	34.5	42.0
Others %	1.0	1.8
% Polled	83.5	83.7

N'Eliya		
UF %	44.1	45.0
UNP %	54.4	53.4
Others %	0.9	1.1
% Polled	83.4	85.5

In our view the first and most significant result of the elections is the increase in the %age polled, especially the remarkable increase of over 2% at N'Eliya. Generally the poll tends to drop during by-elections. What is more, according to some political theorists, the masses at the moment are said to be in a state of apathy and political indifference. Even if the fact that most new voters are in the young age group is part of

the explanation for this phenomenon, one thing is absolutely clear: the masses are far from uninvolved in politics, they are very concerned, very involved and, if one might project a little, very determined to become more involved. Perhaps this is an appropriate point at which to remind the UF Government of its promise to take the people closer to the process of government.

Marginal Vote

Excepting N'Eliya, to which we shall turn in a moment, Puttalam and Kesbewa show a 4% rise in the UNP poll and Ratnapura a 7.5% rise. Since the split at Kesbewa would have aggravated the apparent swing, we might very broadly conclude that an overall swing of about 5% towards the UNP is visible. Now, as the Prime Minister has said, this is no matter for complacency. However, if we take note of the rise in the cost of living and what last week's Political

Correspondent of the *Nation* aptly calls "it is not the people who have failed the United Front, but the United Front that has failed the people", it is truly remarkable that the swing wasn't bigger. We must remember that the 1970 vote was an immense landslide to the UF, in which the wavering and uncommitted sections and those whose notions of Socialism were garnished with a liberal dose of petit-bourgeois aspirations would have all been carried. These layers of our electorate would have been the first to drift back towards the UNP as living got tough with the deepening economic crisis; one would have expected a much larger petit-bourgeois-motivated marginal vote in Ceylon than the 5% figure suggests.

At N'Eliya the UF has actually improved its position by a small amount. Given the overall swing to the UNP

which we have discussed in the previous paragraph, the irresistible conclusion is, that a considerable swing in the votes of plantation workers, large enough to superpose itself on and obscure the general pro-UNP swing, must have occurred away from the UNP and towards the UF. Thondaman, as is well remembered, joined hands and campaigned all out with the UNP last time and this was reflected in the pattern of voting in the upcountry areas in 1970. This time, unable to keep his grip on his following and losing interest because there is little prospect of being bribed with high office or state favours, he was compelled to allow what he called a 'conscience vote'. Well it looks like the workers, unlike their mudalali boss, actually do have a conscience! It is now up to the UF parties to go all out and forge an alliance with the plantation worker, too many opportunities have already been missed.

(Continued on page 8)

Doctoring English

(Continued from page 5)

Progress Plotted

All Grade Niners were divided into four Groups, in their order of proficiency. The children with a spattering of not safe structural English, wallowed in their imbibed material: while those in Group "A" whose English was virtually nil, readily took to our pattern of learning and they were successful. When in Lesson Two, we came across the problems of the children not understanding the Question Patterns, we stopped and began a new unit that ran into two weeks, teaching the children, the variegated Questions and Answers patterns. If a child cannot understand a Question, it cannot answer it. When Questions and Answers are not understood, conversation fails.

It was observed, that the child was anxious to acquire proficiency in writing. After all, it was going to Pass or Fail an examination, through Writing and Written Exercises.

It was also discovered, in our Voyage of Discovery that the only English a child heard was the Teacher's voice (if they were lucky to have had English speaking Teachers!) and the only English they read was the English in that Departmental Text Books that are not attractive at all. Under such circumstances, it was sound Educational Practice, we felt, to give every child some basic Grammatical rules to guide it, at home; where there is nobody they can turn to. In this way, we were able to convince the child that GOING EATING, SINGING etc., were not verbs, because they did not have a helping Verb. When they caught this basic point, the response was spectacular.

A weekly Crossword Puzzle adds to the glamour of the lesson, because a Cash prize of the entire sum received as entry fees is shared by the First Three Winners. Our future Lessons would carry attractive DO-IT-YOURSELF

features, to enable the children get about on their own.

Not only our Grade Niners, but also our Grade Tennes and those in Grades Eleven and Twelve now purchase our Lessons in *Doctoring English*.

It was fortunate when the Sinhala Oriented Staff of Graduates and Specialists, among others, teamed up to follow our new book and our problems. Their questions have been posers that helped us in the compilation of our Text Book, *Doctoring English*.

The conversation of the members of the Staff, in and out of the School, in English, created a generous English speaking environment. The Staff, by its participation has voluntarily projected the Universal image of English, against the backdrop of the Mother Tongue.

The Remedy

The real damage is being done at Grade three level in Periphery Schools. Their foundation is bad. Hence the foundation had to be scooped and a new one laid. It is to help in this, that our *Doctoring English* has come in handy.

The Ministry must be alive to the problems confronting Rural Children and such problems at grass root level are known only to Rural School Teachers. Book compilers must go out into the field and fathom the Rural Child, reckon its aspirations and then compile books to suit them. They know their structural work. The Grade Seven Text of the Department carries the First Lesson on a CRICKET MATCH, intended we were told to teach Prepositions. As one of our Team submitted, in a 1968 Seminar of Pilot Schools' Teachers of English, that lesson on CRICKET is alleged to have been adapted from an Australian Text Book. True, Australia plays host to our visiting teachers.

But can books for Ceylon's Rural Children be compiled, in Australia or even Michigan?

As Tarzie Vittachi, a former *Observer* Editor, observed recently, Asian problems, cannot be solved outside. And English, as we see it is one such problem.

We are sorry to record that muddling in Text Books can well be a dampner. In 1968, the "Times of Ceylon" carried its lead front page News splash, that thousands of English Text Books, were ordered to be sent to the Incinerator and the Paper Mills, for conversion into pulp! Much money went down the drains, because of an alleged Ministerial directive. And the Tax Payer had to foot the bill; while children had to be without books for a restless spell of time.

Letter writing is a favoured Art among the students. And when it is an almost sure question in Part II of the Language Paper, it has to be cultivated. The Teacher might initiate a personal Correspondence, on Exercise Books, with selected students, somewhat proficient in English and maintain the correspondence to the benefit of the children. A time comes, when with the Teacher's Letters in the Books, they tend to turn to them for inspiration. The personal touch and the Student-Teacher participation, is commendable in an interest-project, like this.

The format of the Letter was changed. The Addresses were written on the TOP LEFT HAND CORNER. So, too the salutation and Address of the addressee, So, to the ending, YOURS FAITHFULLY and so on. This was a departure from the orthodox pattern. But it was a logical departure towards a protective scheme; wherein the addresses would be least fingered, and thus remain secure for posterity, if tucked away in a File.

It is a fact that the biggest obstacle to a Rural Child, is its limited Vocabulary. Hence, they are diffident and in most cases reluctant to answer Questions, that they do not understand, although structures may be known.

From this the inescapable conclusion can be arrived at, that the Rural Child is handicapped for want of a better Vocabulary. The Urban child, with the English environment, knows more words. But both know the same structural patterns. It would therefore be, more rational to set two sets of Question Papers for the GCE (OL) for Rural and Urban Children—but taking care to ensure that the structural and Grammatical content is identical. The Teaching of the Vocabulary is a hazardous and difficult job. Hence, in our School, the children are virtually encouraged to have a dialogue with English, with Sinhala thrown in as a stimulant.

The National Press and English

We do not know, if we would be courting the hostility of the National Press, when we make bold to say, that but for a rare weekly feature there isn't anything attractive and useful to the Rural child in particular and when the industrious do turn to the Press, they are confronted with disquieting English. We have called from a Ceylon Daily Paper, extracts from a popular columnist. Such language is to say the least rather misleading and if thrown into the Classroom, they are apt to be provocative as well. It is not late for the Government, to insist that the Daily Newspapers and the Sunday ones, should set apart one FULL page for the use of the Education Ministry, for the serialisation of some Lessons, with a view to get facts across to the most number of children; who need expertise. Of course the personnel to manage this, must be selected on merit and be very proficient in the written Language, and know their Literature as well. One of our team, had to raise an unpleasant question at a Seminar of Selected English Teachers in 1968, and it was found that Book Compilers in Ceylon, did not have English Literature as a subject at the GCE (OL) or equivalent level.

The Press as a medium of Education has its obligations to

the Rural Children. Smouldering nonesense and incomprehensible colloquialism can do more harm than good to our students.

The Newspapers should realise, if they already haven't, that there is every prospect of their circulation rising, and the children improving in English, when more children get interested in the reading habit.

Conclusion

Our Group Teaching experiment is on. The team would be glad to keep the Commission posted with regular data of the progress we are making, and to suggest and advice on any variations we have tried out, and how far they were successful or are likely to be.

We are happy to record that our children have established a set style of writing, with an aesthetic letter "y" thrown in as an exclusive Maha Vidyalaya Trade Mark. They identified this with their school, like the School Anthem, the School Tie, the School Flag and the School Motto. After all Rural Children do attach a dignified meaning to everything ENGLISH. So that when the weaker ones attained proficiency in good writing, they felt, their dialogue with the Language has begun. Good writing eliminates ambiguity, and the other irritations of illegibility. It infuses into the child, a degree of honesty and neatness.

I do want to shower encomiums on a Staffer. The recipient of these should be my Staffer Mr. John B. Kumarakulasinghe. But feels it should not be so. So, I permit him, the story teller that he is to narrate the story. This is what he says:

"I am the luckiest teacher of English, in this Island under the Sun. I am the gunica pig in this academic experiment. Our team is our Gurus. Because I am with a lot of time, on my hands I worked. I have thus learnt more Grammar here, under their tutelage, than I had, during my life time as a student and a Teacher of English."

Notes & Comments

Small And Large Industry Go Together

(By Our Industrial Correspondent)

Lake House has once again intensified its campaign against the public sector. Its main objective is to prevent any further nationalisation. This they hope to achieve by blackening the image of the public sector. So day in and day out various shortcomings of the corporations are magnified and highlighted, while their achievements are systematically blocked out.

Last Thursday's news story in the *Daily News* purporting to be the views of the Planning Ministry on industrial policy is part of this campaign to undermine the public sector. According to this news story, the Planning Ministry is of the view that all our efforts at this juncture should be concentrated on the development of small-scale industries and that there should be a "cut back on foreign exchange for heavy industry for a number of years."

I am sure this cannot reflect the views of the Planning Ministry on industrial policy because it is tantamount to a confession that there is something radically wrong with the 5-Year Plan. The Plan itself:

"makes provision for the establishment of several large-scale basic industries. These are necessary for the production of several important industrial raw materials. The severe foreign difficulties make it imperative that priority be given for reducing the foreign content of industrial raw materials. With regard to several of these items, the investments required are large, and of a size where the capacity of one production unit could adequately meet the requirements of the Ceylon market for the next five to ten years. These basic industries will be in the public sector. Thus for example, the public sector programme will include investments in chemical industries, petroleum based industries or basic metal industries."

The expansion of the existing large-scale public sector enterprises and the establishment of a few more large-scale industries, such as fertiliser manufacture, form part of the core of the 5-Year Plan. So it is completely out of the question to consider jettisoning the large-scale sector, unless of course it is the intention to revise the entire Plan.

While dismissing this statement in the *Daily News* as part of its campaign to create confusion, it is also necessary to expose the fallacy of the arguments put forward therein, as these views are shared by certain influential sections of the bureaucracy and, after all, it is they who still help formulate policy in most places, including the Planning Ministry.

No one can quarrel with the view that a concentrated effort should be made to foster the development of small-scale industries. However, large-scale and small-scale industries are not mutually exclusive. They are interdependent. In fact for the successful development of small-scale industries the existence of a minimum large-scale sector is a pre-requisite.

What Lake House is attempting to do now is to resurrect Sir Kantiah Vaithianathan's reactionary U.N.P. industrial policy of reserving the large-scale sector exclusively to foreign enterprise. Such a policy would completely undermine our economic independence because it is an axiom that whoever controls the large-scale sector controls the economy of the country.

Foreign Exchange

The present foreign exchange crisis has given an opportunity to the reactionaries to peddle this U.N.P. line once again. It is understood that for the year 1973, the industrial sector needs about Rs. 800 million of imported inputs—raw materials, spares etc.—The present estimates, however, indicate that only about Rs. 500 million would become available. There is an estimated shortfall of

about Rs 300 million. So the Planners are in a dilemma. What is suggested as an easy way out of the dilemma is a cut in foreign exchange allocations for the public sector industries, most of which are also large-scale. It is not realised that, but for the existence of the public sector industries, there would be a substantial increase in our import bill.

They are trying to rationalise this course of action by blaming all public sector industries as inefficient and contributing to large-scale inflation. Admittedly, we have a long way to go to improve the performance of public sector enterprises. But, is inefficiency characteristic of the public sector alone? Have we not seen in those few cases when the activities of certain private sector firms became public knowledge, how they had swindled the country and salted away large sums of foreign exchange? Knowledgeable persons are of the view that, if the foreign exchange manipulations of the private sector firms can be halted, a substantial part of the present foreign exchange crisis can be eliminated.

Instead of playing politics and generalising vaguely at the macro-level, the bureaucrats should roll up their sleeves and explore ways and means of bridging the present foreign exchange gap. What is in effect required is a cut of about 15% in our import bill, which means assigning certain priorities and mounting a rigorous economy drive and an effort to find a further 15% of external resources. This is not such a formidable task as is made out to be.

Oil

In the news item referred to earlier, the recent contract with the Soviets for oil exploration has been singled out for attack. The main purpose of the news item appear to be to initiate a campaign against the Petroleum Corporation. In order to add colour to a weak argument, the cost of the exploration project is stated to be a hundred million rupees.

Half truths are more dangerous than untruths. The exploration programme is to be

carried out in stages, each successive stage being implemented only if the previous stage gives positive results. Seismic surveys are now in progress and would be over in 1973. This is estimated to cost about a million rupees. Thereafter three exploratory wells would be sunk over a three-year period at an estimated cost of Rs. 15—20 million. So during the next three to five years, the total investment on oil exploration is unlikely to exceed Rs 20 million and this too is being met from a line of credit.

It is only thereafter, and that too if the findings from these surveys are promising, that further expenditure would be incurred.

Lake House is not ignorant of the real implications of oil exploration when it is advising us that this should be on the basis of concessions to oil monopolies. According to a recent agreement which one of the countries in this region concluded with one of the international oil companies, it is true that the oil company

is bearing the entire cost of exploration. This investment too would be spread out over a period of years. The oil company can ensure that investments are continued only if the prospects of striking oil appear bright. In any case, when oil is discovered, the Agreement stipulates that the company would be entitled to 40% of the output at a NOMINAL ROYALTY. Is this the sort of policy which our newspapers are advocating to usher in a socialist era in this Country?

Thanks to the nationalisation of oil, there is a substantial saving in foreign exchange. The Petroleum Corporation is one of those public sector enterprises which has forged ahead during the past two years in expanding its activities and giving form and substance to the Government's avowed economic policy. This is not in the interests of the foreign monopolists and their local spokesman, the Lake House press, whose influence in the corridors of power in this country still appears to survive.

Lessons of the By-Election

(Continued from page 7)

Cultural Revolution

At Kesbawa 60% of the progressive vote went to Subhas Chandrasiri despite the fact that he had no official backing, but 85% of the Official SLFP Branches preferred the other candidate. It is being said that in all parts of the country the most dedicated and politically committed cadres of the UF parties are being elbowed out and mudalalis, opportunists and 28 SRI types are nosing their way into favour. In some areas similar charges are being made about the people who hang around and influence UF Members of Parliament. It might be a good thing to initiate a Mini-Cultural Revolution inside each UF party against creeping bourgeoisiefication!

The broader conclusions that a detailed analysis of the election results leads one to are:—

- (i) The masses have refused to budge to the Right and stand by their Socialist programme as envisaged in May 1970.
- (ii) The plantation workers have begun to break with the previous misguided and reactionary alliance with the UNP.
- (iii) Irrespective of Mr. Subhas Chandrasiri's personal politics and for a number of reasons that cannot be discussed here, we interpret Kesbawa as evidence of the emergence of a Left protest vote impatient with the Government's slow progress and its political dilly-dallying.
- (iv) A part of the peripheral petit-bourgeois and less politicised votes have, under pressure of rising prices etc., shifted back to the UNP.

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DEPUTY GENERAL MANAGER
(RESEARCH & DEVELOPMENT)

Self-Help Housing Scheme

(Continued from page 1)

and similar tradesmen who have been selected as members of the "Club".

Sundays, holidays and other free time will be devoted for the construction work on these houses. The scheduled programme for construction activity should be systematically followed by the "Club" and every participant will have to ensure that he contributes his share of the work within the time stipulated by the "Club". The construction programme generally will be in three stages, first: clearing site, excavation for foundations and construction of pillars and roof. Then on to construction of walls, lintols, and fixing door and window frames. And finally plastering, fixing roof, sashes, concreting of floor and finishes. The participants will be given a period of 20 years to pay in monthly instalments, the cost of the building materials, plans and other technical services supplied by the

Department of National Housing. The amount of the instalment will be notified in advance.

Maintenance

The responsibility for the maintenance of the Housing Scheme and its up keep will be with the "Club". Though the benefits under the aided self-help housing scheme is primarily to own a house, it has a number of other social and economic benefits such as:— Providing buildable land to the landless to build houses. Providing capital on easy payment terms to build a house. Providing building materials for the construction of the house thereby preventing incurring of exorbitant expenses in purchasing such materials in the open market. Providing plans and technical assistance for the construction of the houses at a very nominal rate. Eliminating excessive expenditure, characteristic in building a single house by building on a large scale.