

TRIBUNE

Bus Magnates

Plan Sabotage

On Monday May 28, 1956 the "Ceylon Observer" had a screaming headline "SLACKING BUSMEN DOOMED—Minister Orders Strict Check On Deterioration, Following Public Complaints". The report went on to say that the Minister had instructed the Commissioner of Motor Transport to take all necessary steps to see that services did not deteriorate during the transition period. But what the report did not say is that the Commissioner is practically helpless in the matter.

Under the Motor Traffic Act, the Commissioner has the power (a) to prosecute bus companies for not keeping to time-tables or running vehicles which are not roadworthy or are mechanically unsound (b) to cancel their route licences to and grant the permits to other operators.

It must be emphasised that the Commissioner has never exercised this right to cancel a route — in the UNP regime for political reasons. But operators today seem to be confident that the route licences of even the worst companies would not be cancelled and handed over to other companies pending nationalisation.

Prosecutions

The only other way, besides the cancelling of a route licence, for the Commissioner to check deterioration is by launching prosecutions. In this the Commissioner has met with signal failure in a number of cases. A certain bus company, against which there have been innumerable complaints, was charged for not keeping to time-tables. In most, if not in all cases, the company was acquitted on purely technical grounds. The Motor Traffic Act teems with so many loopholes that it would not be possible to stem the trend towards wilful deterioration even by launching mass prosecutions. And for this purpose there are not sufficient police officers to detect these offences and thereafter secure convictions in the courts with all the delays that are possible in our legal system. Furthermore, the maximum punishment is Rs. 300 for each offence, and bus companies would be willing to pay this everyday and operate the services in the way they do.

The promise to check deterioration will turn out to be an empty threat if the weapon of cancellation of routes is not utilised immediately. It would be in the public interest to hand over these offending companies to other operators if the State is unable to take them over

immediately. But everything has been done so amateurishly that the bus operators are making the best whilst the public suffer. Instead of as in India, in the case of Life Insurance Companies where the State took over the firms overnight without warning, the MEP Government has given the bus operators all the time in the world to take all necessary measures for them to profit to the maximum and thereafter hand over to the State the services in such a condition that the State ventures would be utter failures.

Decisions

Tribune is reliably informed that the bigger bus operators have met informally and have agreed (a) not to make any replacements of old vehicles (b) not to effect any major repairs. The idea seems to be to run the vehicles at their maximum frequency and make as much money during the time that is available before they are taken over by Government. This conspiracy is made complete by making efforts from now (for companies which had not done this so far) to keep the book values of the vehicles high by fictitious entries of major replacements and the like.

These bus operators propose to ask the Government to acquire the buses at their book values and not on the actual value as decided on by competent valuers. If the Government is not likely to accept book value as a basis for compensation, the bus operators think that the "valuers" would have to be "got at" and educated as to the proper value of the vehicles.

Whilst the Government does not seem to have any clear cut plans for bus nationalisation, bus operators have formulated their schemes

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CEYLON NEWS REVIEW
COLOMBO, June 2, 1956

Vol. 3 No. 3

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Bus Magnates

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to get the maximum of profit at the expense of the public. They are also hoping that the Government would be tempted to nationalise and acquire the better run services first so that a higher rate and quantum of compensation could be fixed as a proper precedent for other companies. Some of these companies which have obtained re-conditioned buses would have high book values for their vehicles; and a stern and bitter fight will be waged by bus operators to have this basis of valuation accepted.

Jaunts

In the meantime, the Minister seems to be sending out teams to India to study nationalisation. Many in knowledgeable circles seem to think that this is no more than holiday jaunts in the best UNP style. It does not need much imagination, with all the available literature, for a scheme of nationalisation to be devised here. At best, the services of an expert from a country where nationalisation has worked successfully (and not India where the system is in embryo and in infancy) can be obtained.

Unless the Minister of Transport and the MEP Government wake up to realities, the bus operators would lead them up the garden path and

the interests of the travelling public would be seriously jeopardised. The Commissioner of Motor Transport should concentrate on getting proper services going even with the existing services by cancelling licences and granting them to other operators if there is likely to be any delay in nationalisation plans. Whilst the Government slowly plans nationalisation, the bus operators will succeed in ruining even the existing services to such an extent that the State will have nothing to take over. If the Government dilly dallies, the bus magnates will not only sabotage successful nationalisation but also the MEP Government itself. If the Cabinet cannot deliver the goods in transport, the public outcry against the Government will be as great as against the UNP.

SATYAGRAHA & the FROG Colombo-4,

There are several vacant pieces of land in Colombo 4 where one can find many shallow pits. During the rainy season these pits become the "marshy joys" of frogs who croak during the nights. There is, however, one pit near my house where a frog has been croaking night and day.

Remembering Mrs. Leo Hunter's "Ode to an Expiring

NEXT WEEK

North—Western Blue Line
Further Revelations

Film Production in Ceylon
Suggestions

Industrial Development
Policy and Practice

Asia Foundation
Questions

Frog" in Dickens and also Mark Twain's "Jumping Frog of Calaveras County" I became interested, and mentioned the matter to a friend of mine who is said to understand the frog-language. When I begged him to teach it to me he said that unlike the Sinhalese language, which could be learnt in 24 hours, the frog-language would take one 24 years or more to learn.

As he thoroughly knew this language I took him to the spot where the croaking frog was. My friend listened intently for about 15 minutes and told me that the frog was announcing to the world that it was committing Satyagraha, that it would go on croaking without taking any food whatever and starve itself to death - unless of course the Prime Minister came to it and begged it to desist.

My friend also told me that this frog was a wise one as by changing the pitch and rhythm of its croaking now and again it was suggesting to us that if the Prime Minister was disinclined to come we should ask the Eksath Bikshu Peramuna to order him to do so at once.

As no one can
"unmoved see thee dying
On a log

Expiring frog!"
I write this letter prompted by
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in

Dr Jekyll & Mr Hyde

(From R. L. Stevenson's famous story)

What's Wrong with M.E.P.?

Mr. Editor, your comment on the language problem under the heading "Correct" in your issue of May 3 seems to me to be far from correct. Is this lapse due to your speaking with your tongue in your cheek?

The distinction you draw between the U.N.P. Sinhalese only policy and the M.E.P. Sinhalese only policy, which you say is the special merit of the M.E.P. policy, is wonderful indeed. The M.E.P. will not prohibit a Tamil from speaking to members of his family and to his fellow Tamils in the Tamil language. Very reasonable!

The only thing to rejoice about in the last election is that the principle has been established that the people can't be fooled for all time and that any government which develops fascist tendencies or is corrupt can be pulled down overnight. Beyond that there is no change, except that open communalism and religious intolerance have been added to the government's sins.

While adulation of Mr. Bandaranaike and the M.E.P. is going on one should not forget what happened in the past and what is happening now.

Sinhala Maha Sabha

Mr. Bandaranaike and Sir John Kotelawala were both marching hand in hand in the Sinhala Maha Sabha. Mr. Bandaranaike was a founder member of the U.N.P. and was in the first Cabinet. He was in a position to know what the secret clauses were in regard to the use of bases in Ceylon by the British. So that Mr. Bandaranaike's communalism and U.N.P. ism was always there. It was only the Premiership that made a difference.

Mr. Bandaranaike was a Christian who became a Buddhist somewhere about the time of the Donoughmore reforms. In lesser mortals it might not have been forgiven, or forgotten. But in this Jayanthi year everybody (and Batcho) who turns Buddhist is forgiven.

Mr. Bandaranaike now finds that there were no secret clauses in the treaties with Britain. He who wants to drive them out of the bases is able to understand the British stand in Singapore and sympathise with them because they need bases. He would do better to understand that his loose talk before the election and immediately after the elections is probably one of the major stumbling blocks in the way of Singapore getting self-government.

American aid has no strings. This is another post-election discovery.

And what about the rice price. What has become of the twenty-five cent rice? Apart from giving the country the benefit of what is approximately the drop in the world market price of rice what has been done?

Nationalisation

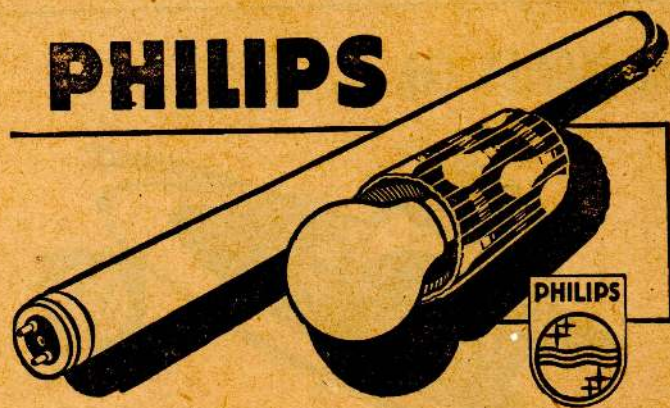
What of the wholesale schemes of nationalisation? Nationalisation of transport is being studied. Mr. Bandaranaike was the Minister under whom the bus magnates first got their monopolies! Meanwhile ex-

Marxist Mr. Nimal Karunatilake, an honoured member of the Language Committee, leads a deputation that wants public corporations to take over the transport system. And how? Government will put in 51 per centum of the capital and in return have two out of seven directors on the Board. Is this a scheme for government subsidising the present operators? Or is it to see that the income tax returns are more readily accepted? What or who is behind all this?

What sort of fairness and justice is it to leave the decisions about the language problem to committees composed of M.E.P. members of Parliament and to co-opted communalists whether in robes or not without a single representative Tamil in them? Murderers are heard before they are convicted or sentenced and sometimes their sentences commuted or suspended on appropriate promises made by them. But the Language Committee decides without hearing the Tamils

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What's Wrong with M. E. P.

continued from page 35

who are most affected by its decisions.

Fascist

The game is an old one. Every fascist who deceived the people by making them wild and rash promises, without being willing to do anything radical, adopted the game of diverting the peoples attention by preaching an insane racialism. Hitler's racialism was the handmaiden of his fascism. Everything was blamed on the Jews. The M.E.P. can blame it on the Tamils — Indians as well as Ceylonese.

To say that Tamils should not be employed until Sinhalese unemployment is over is to adopt racialism as they are unable to solve unemployment. It is also to say that Ceylon belongs to the Sinhalese only and to deny any rights to a large section of the nationals of Ceylon. But let them be warned of the end that overtook Hitler and Mussolini. Those who once claimed to be Marxists and who now are in the government used to tell us that ultimately labour is the producer of all wealth. They used to talk of "surplus value". I can do no better than to cite from one of their gospels:—

"The owner of money buys labour power at its value, which is determined, like the value of every other commodity, by the socially necessary labour time requisite for its production (that is to say, the cost of maintaining the labourer and his family). Having bought labour power, the owner of money is entitled to use it, that is, to set it to work for the whole day — twelve hours let us suppose. Meanwhile, in the course of six hours ("Necessary" labour time) the labourer produces sufficient to pay back the cost of his own maintenance; and in the course of the next six hours ("surplus" labour time) he produces a "surplus" product or surplus value for which the capitalist does not pay him."

Will the ex-comrades deny that the M.E.P. government is running on a good deal of the "surplus" produced by the Indian labourer and collected by the government in the shape of duties and taxes, yea even taxes on the capitalist. In return the government spends nothing on plantation labour except of course on officials to keep law and order and officials to prevent strikes. And how could the same comrades now talk of driving the Indian Tamils out. I have quoted from Lenin so that it is accepta-

continued on page

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AT BANARAS

We publish an extract from the first sermon preached by Lord Buddha to five of his disciples. This is reproduced from "The Wisdom of India" edited by Lin Yu Tang (JAICO, Bombay).

On seeing their old teacher approach, the five bhikkhus agreed among themselves not to salute him, nor to address him as a master, but by his name only.

"For," so they said, "he has broken his vow and has abandoned holiness. He is no bhikkhu but Gotama, and Gotama has become a man who lives in abundance and indulges in the pleasures of worldliness".

But when the Blessed One approached in a dignified manner, they involuntarily rose from their seats and greeted him in spite of their resolution. Still they called him by his name and addressed him as "friend Gotama".

When they had thus received the Blessed One, he said: "Do not call the Tathagata by his name nor address him as 'friend', for he is the Buddha, the Holy One. The Buddha looks with a kind heart equally on all living beings, and they therefore call him 'Father.' To disrespect a father is wrong; to despise him, is wicked.

"The Tathagata," the Buddha continued. "does not seek salvation in austerities, but neither does he for that reason indulge in worldly pleasures, nor live in

abundance. The Tathagata has found the middle path.

"There are two extremes, O bhikkhus, which the man who has given up the world ought not to follow—the habitual practice, on the one hand, of self-indulgence which is unworthy, vain and fit only for the worldly-minded—and the habitual practice, on the other hand, of self-mortification, which is painful, useless and unprofitable.

"Neither abstinence from fish or flesh, nor going naked, nor shaving the head, nor wearing matted hair, nor dressing in a rough garment, nor covering oneself with dirt, nor sacrificing to Agni, will cleanse a man who is not free from delusions.

"Reading the Vedas, making offerings to priests, or sacrifices to the gods, self-mortification by heat or cold, and many such penances performed for the sake of immortality, these do not cleanse the man who is not free from delusions.

"Anger, drunkenness, obstinacy, bigotry, deception, envy, self-praise disparaging others, superciliousness and evil intentions constitute uncleanness; not verily the eating of flesh.

Now this, O bhikkhus, is the noble truth concerning the way which leads to the destruction of sorrow. Verily! it is this noble eightfold path that is to say:

"Right views; right aspirations; right speech; right behaviour; right livelihood; right thoughts; and right contemplation.

"This, then, O bhikkhus, is the noble truth concerning the destruction of sorrow.

"By the practice of loving kindness I have attained liberation of heart, and thus I am assured that I shall never return in renewed births, I have even now attained Nirvana."

"A middle path, O bhikkhus, avoiding the two-extremes, has been discovered by the Tathagata — a path which opens the eyes, and bestows understanding, which leads to peace of mind, to the higher wisdom, to full enlightenment, to Nirvana!

"What is that middle path, O bhikkhus, avoiding these two extremes, discovered by the Tathagata—that path which opens the eyes, and bestows understanding, which leads to peace of mind, to the higher wisdom, to full enlightenment to Nirvana?

"Let me teach you, O bhikkhus, the middle path, which keeps aloof from both extremes. By suffering, the emaciated devotee produces confusion and sickly thoughts in his mind. Mortification is not conducive

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First Sermon

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even to wordly knowledge; how much less to a triumph over the senses!

"He who fills his lamp with water will not dispel the darkness, and he who tries to light a fire with rotten wood will fail. And how can any one be free from self by leading a wretched life, if he does not succeed in quenching the fires of lust, if he still hankers after either wordly or heavenly pleasures?"

"But he in whom self has become extinct is free from lust; he will desire neither wordly nor heavenly pleasures, and the satisfaction of his natural wants will not defile him. However, let him be moderate, let him eat and drink according to the needs of the body.

"Sensuality is enervating; the self-indulgent man is a slave to his passion, and pleasure-seeking is degrading and vulgar.

"But to satisfy the necessities of life is not evil. To keep the body in good health is a duty, for otherwise we shall not be able to trim the lamp of wisdom, and keep our mind strong and clear. Water surrounds that lotus-flower, but does not wet its petals.

"This is the middle path, O bhikkhus, that keeps aloof from both extremes."

And the Blessed One spoke kindly to his disciples, pitying them for their errors, and pointing out the uselessness of their endeavours, and the ice of ill-will that chilled their hearts melted away under the gentle warmth of the Master's persuasion.

Now the Blessed One set the wheel of the most excellent law rolling, and he began to preach to the five bhikkhus, opening to them the gate of immortality, and showing them the bliss of Nirvana.

The Buddha said:

"The spokes of the wheel are the rules of pure conduct: justice is the uniformity of their length; wisdom is the tire; modesty and thoughtfulness are the hub in which the immovable axle of truth is fixed.

"He who recognizes the existence of suffering, its cause, its remedy, and its cessation has fathomed the four noble truths. He will walk in the right path.

"Right views will be the torch to light his way. Right aspirations will be his guide. Right speech will be his dwelling-place on the road. His gait will be straight, for it is right behaviour. His refreshments will be the right way of earning his livelihood. Right efforts will be his steps: right thoughts his breath; and right contemplation will give him the peace that follows in his foot prints."

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WEEK by WEEK in CEYLON

DISILLUSION

There can be no hiding of the fact there is universal disillusionment in all political circles about the way in which the Government has handled the language question. Among the minorities, the prevailing sentiment is one of indignation, anger and disappointment that the MEP has not fulfilled its election pledge of providing proper safeguards for the English and Tamil languages even if the principle of *Sinhalese only* is accepted as an unpleasant reality.

Among thinking sections of the Sinhalese, including many Buddhist priests, there is widespread concern that a gulf has been created between the Sinhalese majority and the other minorities. The tactics of the extremists among the Sinhalese and the outbursts of the vociferous in the North has made it difficult for the sober-minded to arrive at a sane compromise.

Whatever the excuses, there is no doubt that many are appalled at the complete lack of tolerance and spirit of aggressive racialism that is being exhibited by extremists in the North and in the South.

Nearly everybody is agreed that the situation is one which calls for calm and sober action. Only two groups seem exultant at the turn of events: the Mettananda group in the South and the Federalists of the North, both of whom seem to be itching for a fight.

Satyagraha

The Federalists of the North have threatened to start some form of satyagraha after June 5. Their plans are still said to be secret, except the March to Trincomalee in the second week of July to hold a Tamil Convention. In knowledgeable circles, it is stated, that this March to Trincomalee has been timed for July to coincide as closely as possible to Budget Week. It is even said that a certain foreign embassy, which whilst pretending to be friendly to the Bandaranaike Cabinet is anxious to cause the maximum embarrassment to it, seemed to anticipate the date of this

March even before rank and file Federalists knew of it. Arrangements are also being made according to informed circles, to have this March filmed by a foreign company with television connections.

In the meantime, Mettananda has threatened that if the Federalists of the North resort to Satyagraha, his group would start a boycott of the Tamils in the South. Many feel that the motive force of the group behind Mettananda comes from groups of small Sinhalese businessmen who see in the situation an excellent opportunity for squeezing out their Tamil-speaking business rivals who operate in the South.

The prospect immediately before the country is certainly not a happy one. Between the extremists of the North and those of the South, the worst form of communal rancour can be started leading to riots and other unpleasant acts.

Boycott

Whereas the Federalists seem determined to provoke a tense situation, hoping thereby for some form of foreign intervention, (Britain, America, or UNO),

Ponnambalam and Suntharalingam seem content to restrict their opposition to the Language Bill to a boycott of the Sinhalese language. After due prayer in temples for the preservation of the Tamil language (the language would probably be able to survive without these appeals to Providence!) Ponnambalam and his friends seem inclined to ask for a boycott of the Sinhalese language as a means of bringing pressure on the Sinhalese with a view to making them a little more tolerant of other languages.

Suntharalingam seems to be ploughing a lonely furrow with his proposed petition to the Queen (Ponnambalam seems inclined to go to the UNO). It has been mentioned that a certain foreign embassy (not the British) has shown extreme interest in Suntharalingam whilst they are really interested in the March to Trincomalee of the Federalists. Is this a blind to put the Bandaranaike Government off the scent? Lake House, too, is said to be making

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B A S E S

The promise of true political and economic independence contained in the MEP manifesto was one of its most attractive features which appealed to thinking people in this country. The crux of political independence, in the context of contemporary international politics, consists in the capacity and the desire to follow a truly independent foreign policy. And such a policy would be inconsistent with the existence of foreign troops and a foreign power in the country occupying strategic bases. Right through the UNP regime, the foreign policy of the Government of Ceylon was circumscribed by the fact that the prevailing philosophy seemed to lean very heavily on the side of Anglo-America whilst at the same time being most antagonistic to the Communist bloc. For an Asian country today, a truly independent foreign policy centres around the principles of the *Panch Sila*, and it was the repudiation of this by the Kotelawela Government which created a great many misgivings about the position of this island in the international set up.

National Unity

The MEP made it an election pledge that the British would be requested to withdraw from the bases, that it would follow a policy of *Panch Sila*, and that on the basis of friendship to all nations formulate a programme of economic development and trade expansion which would transform Ceylon, by stages, from an under-developed colonial plantation economy to that of a balanced progressive industrial cum agricultural structure which would mean higher living standards for all people. It is axiomatic that such a transformation would have been possible only on the basis of a united Ceylonese nation. But there is more than justification today to emphasise that with the language policy of the Government the idea of a united Ceylonese nation has been effectively shipwrecked by the demands of language fanatics of the *Sinhalese Only* variety.

In this situation, one sees the forces of reaction gathering strength with a view not only to smashing the programme of the

MEP but also to creating a situation where the British would continue to retain the bases. The unwritten premise and the unspoken argument, which probably was the most compelling factor for the retention of the British troops and bases in Ceylon by the Senanayake and the Kotelawela Governments, was that the presence of foreign troops was a source of strength for the government in power against "civil strife".

Civil strife, in the jargon of power politics, means nothing more than a description of any attempt to shift power to radical elements and parties. With the possibility of transformation towards socialism occurring in a peaceful manner through the ballot box, as is happening in India, and as was demonstrated recently in this country, this idea of foreign troops to prop up the *status quo* in order to avoid revolutionary violence and bloodshed is outdated. In fact, those who still cherish this idea in support of their contention for the retention of British troops and bases in Ceylon stand in the way of the true independence and progress.

Dangerous

The views of such persons, unfortunately, are today being subtly and dangerously propounded by various political groups and even by the bigger daily newspapers in indirect ways. Through prominence to speeches of certain persons, and by the inculcation of certain fears, the Sinhalese people are being told that the biggest danger to Ceylon is a fear of invasion from India and that only the presence of Britain (and the invisible senior partner USA) in Trincomalee can save the Sinhalese nation. In the same way, the Tamils are being provoked into fighting for the retention of Trincomalee as a British base as a safe-

guard from the onslaughts of Sinhalese linguistic fanatics and racial communalists. But behind all this, it must be stressed, that those who are propagating these views have only one thing in mind: that Anglo-America must be kept in the island bases to prop and buttress reaction in Ceylon. International forces too seem to have joined forces with reactionary groupings in this country to sabotage the MEP programme on the question of bases. The State Department in Washington, through the medium of certain newspapers, has indicated that it dreads the idea of Britain quitting her bases in Ceylon. Britain herself has been officially silent, but pressure moves from semi-official and private quarters on the two big newspaper groups are already reflecting themselves in their news columns. The *Times of Ceylon* has though fit to give prominence to the views of J. R. Jayawardene on foreign policy by publishing an article from the *Ceylon Historical Journal* by this arch opponent of *Panch Sila*. The article in question endeavours to explain why D. S. Senanayake invited the British to retain the bases, but in reality it is an exposition of the cold war policies of the Kotelawela regime.

It is premature yet to comment on unpublicised goings-on in between persons of British and S origin and certain newspaper magnates in this country — hatching plans as to how the MEP can be effectively sabotaged in regard to its policy on foreign bases — but it is necessary to re-iterate that it is the Bandaranaike Government itself which is slowly digging a grave for its election manifesto through its reactionary and discriminatory policy on language which is inevitably destroying that national unity which is essential for all progress in this country.

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Who is F. R. Jayasuriya ?

That is a question which is being asked everywhere. The newspapers referred to him as the Senior Lecturer in Economics at the University of Ceylon. But this bald and incomplete description does not take anyone very far. How came it that he went on this hunger strike? What forces does he represent?

Jayasuriya is one of a family of brothers who have attained success in several fields in this country. The eldest V. C. Jayasuriya is the Commissioner for Local Government. Another brother George Jayasuriya is the UNP Municipal Member for the Cinammon Garden ward, and who was mentioned as a likely UNP candidate for the Talawakella seat in the last elections. Yet another brother is a doctor, and another is a proctor in the well-known firm of De Silva and Mendis.

Felix Jayasuriya, as he is known, has been quietly prominent in all political parties and trends in this country. I think that the only party with which he has had no association is the UNP. He counts association with persons in the CP, NLSSP, VLSSP, and SLFP. He was once in the BIS in one of its stormy phases.

At the moment, Felix Jayasuriya seems to be associated with Mettananda (who is probably related to him), Rajaratne and Beligammana in constituting a kind of spear-head for the *Sinhalese Only* campaign. It must be said that Jayasuriya and his group have succeeded in stampeding (and intimidating) the MEP government into making the *Sinhalese Only* Bill a bald statement of "principles" which is capable of the widest interpretation and which can be easily an instrument of language oppression.

Fast

In this column I referred last week to a University Don who had endeavoured to persuade *Lake House* to assist Mettananda in his language policy. The person was no other than Felix Jayasuriya.

When he found that the mere publicity given to Mettananda's statement was not effective, Jayasuriya started on his fast-unto-death hunger strike. What part *Lake House* played in provoking and promoting this Fast is a matter for speculation!

The inside story of how he ended the fast was that, although two priests joined him, the majority of the Eksath Bikshus were opposed to the Jayasuriya fast and saw in it a possible lever by which opponents of the Bandaranaike Cabinet could bring it down. In fact, knowledgeable circles state that some of the leading priests went so far as to threaten that 500 bikshus would go on a counter fast to the Jayasuriya fast. This, more than anything else, persuaded Jayasuriya to end his fast.

But before he did so, there were sufficient go-betweens to make the Premier "climb down" by going to Parliament House to offer orange juice to the fasting Jayasuriya. Whatever it is, the so-called controversial clauses which embodied some measure of legal safeguard to the minorities were removed.

Bhikshus

What role are the bikshus really playing at the moment? This is another question which is being freely asked.

What is really the Bikshu Peramuna? It seems to consist of two wings — one led by the Baddegama Wimalwansa Thero working closely with the Sinhala Jatiya Sanghamaya, and the other led by Buddharakita from Kelaniya. These two groups form the Eksath Bikshu Peramuna.

During the elections they campaigned against the UNP on what might be described as objectively progressive lines. After the elections, an impression was created by the statements of certain priests that they were adopting reactionary attitudes in the matter of language and employment and the like.

But certain recent statements of responsible leaders of the Bhikshus tend to give the impression that they

are not the culprits of the intolerance that is submerging the Bandaranaike Government.

I will not be surprised if the Bikshus once again create a sensation by endeavouring to bring about communal understanding and harmony.

Trincomalee

At the moment there is a great need for some such action. Reports have reached me (and probably have reached others too) that once again communal tension might blow up in Trincomalee. By some mysterious process, it would appear, that hand grenades and dynamite are slowly but surely filtering down to both Sinhalese and Tamils living in Trincomalee. Have the Naval authorities relaxed their watchfulness because they are on the verge of departure? Or are there some miscreants, intent on causing trouble, who are permitting the smuggling out of these arms? Is a concerted attempt being made by certain foreign interests to create incidents and riots in Trincomalee in order to side-track the question of bases?

The funniest part of the situation, according to my informant from Trincomalee, is that the Tamils there seem to feel confident that they *alone* have the arms and the grenades, whilst the Sinhalese too feel the same. Once the spark is lit in Trincomalee, particularly at the time of the March to Trincomalee in July it can spread through the country.

The British Naval authorities must take steps to prevent further smuggling out of the naval yards. Their inactivity is likely to be misconstrued. And some of their representatives would do well not to attempt intrigues with newspaper groups in this country. This may be on an unofficial level, but the U.K. High Commissioner should make it clear to certain naval boys that such action would be incorrect. This is a serious matter and is one which the Prime Minister should pay immediate attention.

Jehovah's Witness

News has also reached me from Jaffna that a large number of
continued on page 42

presentatives of an American financed religious sect called Jehovah's Witness have quietly and unobtrusively descended in the peninsula within the last few weeks. The number operating there has been put at anything from ten to thirty. At the moment, they seem to be solely engaged in the task of "making friends."

What is interesting is that this sect was suspect of having Eilterite sympathies during the last war, and if my memory is not wrong, these gentlemen were banned by the British from operating in a number of colonies. Even in Ceylon, its sole representative was apprehended at the outbreak of war and was only released after sometime on certain guarantees.

Their number in Ceylon seems to be greater now. They must have recruited workers since the last war. But why have they chosen to concentrate on Jaffna just at this particular time? Is it because that out and out American missionaries would find it difficult to play the Washington State Department game in the present climate and after the uproar created by the campaign carried on by this and other papers against the intrigues of foreign missionaries!

Tailpiece

Some months ago, I was very hard on the Rev. Mather when he spoke some words about Sir John, when he praised him unduly, giving as the reason for his confidence the fact that Kotelawela's mother was a "Christian lady." Last week, Rev. Mather spoke again. This time, he uttered some words of useful goodwill in calling for a Round Table Conference to smoothen out communal and language problems. I wish the Rev. Mather would follow this up by personally calling on some of the priests of the Bhikshu Peramuna and thus set the ball rolling for a comprehensive Round Table Conference.

extremely grand preparations to cover the March to Trincomalee as one of the greatest events of the century.

Show Down

Lake House is said to be also hoping for a major show down for the MEP in July during Budget time. They seem to be promoting the LSSP cry for 25 cts rice in a big way by giving their meetings the greatest publicity which has ever been accorded to this party. Those who know the tactics of Lake House seem to think that it is likely to suggest, in a subtle way, a Hartal for twenty five cents rice to coincide with the proposed Tamil March to Trincomalee.

It was in a setting like this, that Bandaranaike sought to hear the views of the minorities on the language bill at the end of last week. The Federalists kept out; but at this discussion, it is said that Mettananda felt that Bandaranaike was a little too sympathetic to the minorities. Mettananda is reported to have had a breeze with Senator Nadesan at the end of which Bandaranaike had, it would appear, told Mettananda where he got off. This incident, according to some, is said to have triggered the Jayasuriya Fast, for Mettananda was only expressing the Jayasuriya viewpoint at this discussion.

In the Jayasuriya Fast, Lake House saw an excellent opportunity to ridicule the Bandaranaike Cabinet. Statements of the fasting Felix Jayasuriya, which no responsible paper would have printed with any prominence, was splashed as if it was the event of the year. The most malicious, libellous statements about Bandaranaike and some other public men, uttered by Jayasuriya, were printed with great gusto. To many it looked as if Lake

House was having it own back on Bandaranaike for defeating the UNP!

Jayasuriya ended his fast because the Bikshus did not lend him the support he expected. But the public were disappointed that Bandaranaike should have gone down to give a glass of orange juice to Jayasuriya and to help him end the fast. Bitter comments that Bandaranaike had abdicated in favour of Mettananda and Jayasuriya have come from some of Bandaranaike's strongest and most enthusiastic supporters!

Goodwill

In this increasing tension, with the threat of communal riots and strife, there have appeared in the course of the week a few hopeful signs that men of goodwill may be able to attempt to establish some common bond of affinity which might bring some measure of harmony. Wilmot Perera, ex-M.P. for Matugama warned his fellow members of the SLFP and his Sinhalese brethren that unless they showed greater tolerance in the matter of language there was bound to be trouble — as injustice could never produce any good. Muttusampillai, Manager of the Hindu Board of Education, was courageous enough to speak against current hysteria sweeping Jaffna and that it would be foolish to refuse to learn the Sinhalese language — unless it was made compulsory for a Tamil to learn it. (Nobody rightly wants to be compelled!)

In the South, one of the main leaders of the Eksath Bikshu Peramuna, Bambarande Siri Seevali Thero at a meeting in Kuppyawatte in Colombo, declared that the Buddhist Sangha would never tolerate injustice to racial or religious minorities, and that "it was incumbent on the Sangha to fight on behalf of those minorities against the injustices inflicted on them." He went out of his way to assure the minorities that the Sangha was never reactionary in these matters.

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Afro - Asian Nationalism

WASHINGTON, May 18

President Sukarno of Indonesia said today that his country was not neutral and would never be neutral "until man the world over is free."

Speaking at a crowded meeting of the National Press Club, he said, "It is said we are sitting on the fence, but we have no intention of being trampled to death in the corral."

In an appeal for understanding of Asian and African nationalism, the 54-years-old Indonesian leader declared, "We are not anti-West." That was a misunderstanding which should be eliminated immediately, he said.

"We may, in fact we do, sometimes oppose what is called the West. But that is not dictated by a feeling of being anti West."

"In our relations with others we seek always what we believed to be the best road for humanity as a whole. Sometimes no doubt we are wrong. At other times I have equally no doubt, we are right."

But there was one manifestation of the West—colonialism — which Indonesians and all Asians rejected and would continue to reject, he said.

National Aspirations

"Understand that we are in the

era of Asian and African nationalism. That, for Asia and Africa, is primary. No torrent of dollars, no cascade of roubles will change that. Equally, dollars and roubles will mean nothing unless they respect the national aspirations of the people of those continents."

Indonesia sought national unity and was working for the reinclusion of West New Guinea (West Irian) into the national fold.

"We do this because it is a sore tribulation to us that any part of our country should still suffer colonialism and no outpouring of words can disguise the fact that colonialism still rules there."

Indonesians valued above all things their Independence although it was not yet complete, Dr. Sukarno said.

"That independence is not for sale and no currency will buy one scrap of it. Certainly we will take assistance wherever it comes from because that assistance may stop a child crying from hunger or a man from being driven early to his grave worn out by toil. But we will labour at our land and jungles with bare hands rather than exchange any part of our freedom for any sort of aid."

He said that Asians were told that the troubles of their continent

In this speech recently made by President Sukarno in the U.S.A. is epitomised the sentiments of Afro-Asia which is endeavouring to develop as independent nationals on the basis of *Panch Sila*. We publish this speech at length as it was inadequately reported in our daily papers.

were due to nationalism. "That is as wrong as saying that the world's trouble are due to atomic energy. It is true that there is turbulence in Asia. But that turbulence is the result and aftermath of colonialism and is not due to the liberating effects of nationalism."

"In any case, whether all the world approves or not, the fact is that nationalism and the liberation of nations are realities. The new nations of Asia and Africa are recent additions to an adult family. The older members of that family must not be jealous of the new arrivals".

They had been told that colonialism was dead "and that we are whipping a dead horse". Dr. Sukarno retorted, "My reply to that is a simple one. Come to Asia and see for yourselves. Travel to Africa and see for yourselves."

"Colonialism, even in its classical form, is not dead so long as one nation is unfree, so long as the vision of the United Nations Charter is not applied to one territory, so long as brother is divided from brother by a colonial barrier."

President Sukarno noted that the United States was a country where sociological research was taken not yet seriously. Much of that research was into the factors dividing humanity.

"I would like to see similar research into the factors that unite humanity", he said. "And there are many. I would like to see research not into the cultural differentiation of man, but into the cultural unity of man, into the factors which make men brothers and not joint points on a statistician's graph. From Iceland to New Zealand, from Japan to New York, man is the same in his humanity."



What's wrong with M. E. P.

continued from page 36

ble both to the Communist or Stalinist and to the Trotskyite past of the ex-comrades. Come comrades is the lure of office so great? The average Sinhalese villager will not be deceived. "Sinhalese only" alone will not win the next election.

Fifth Column

How could they force the majority language down the throats of the minority and call it just? Let them not be too shortsighted. Do they want to create a fifth column of all the Tamils in the country? Do they want to increase mutual suspicion between the communities? If their logic is right and the principle is right that a majority can force its language down the throat of an unwilling minority then they must beware. Should Ceylon ever become a part of India the same logic could be used with devastating effect against the Sinhalese. Ceylon cannot always be to India what Formosa is to China today. The Americans are in Formosa and they are here in Ceylon

lending support to the Federalists. A Federalist leader is reported to have said at a meeting of the Opposition Groups that the bases in Ceylon should be taken away from the British and handed over to the Americans.

The Federalists and the one-man parties of the Tamils are making capital out of the situation. It suits them as much as it suits the communalists of the M.E.P. to ensure eventual election success by resort to communalism and racialism. They have five wonderful points they will not yet divulge. Their meeting only emphasised the evils of the M.E.P. communalism and pointed out the apparent and obviously unjust handling of the language problem.

Surely some of the most vociferously communal M.E.P. members of Parliament both in and out of Cabinet have known Tamils as friends and colleagues and of the harmony that existed in this land of ours between members of the various communities. Some of them know that they would have been in jail or disqualified for membership of Par-



liament but for the free services of Tamil gentlemen. Why can't they let their own better sense prevail? Does Mr. Paillip Gunawardene forget that only the other day he and his wife appealed to the Tamils of Wellawatte to support Mrs. Gunawardene for the Municipal seat and spoke to them of their Marxist principles and non-communal politics. Or is it the defeat of Mrs. Gunawardene by the Sinhalese-speaking Mr. Rudra that has embittered them?

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FOREIGN RING — COPRA EXPORT

Dear Sir,

The front page article in your issue of 19-5-56 deplores the existence of a powerful foreign ring of copra exporters who control the copra market, and advocates that copra should be processed locally.

I was never in touch with the local produce market, but I was always under the impression that there are several Ceylonese who export copra direct. At least I have seen some of their business note-heads. If those note-heads are a guide to the nature of their business, your theory of the copra ring of foreigners only, falls to the ground. If your advocacy that all copra be turned into oil locally and thereby make poonac cheaper, is adopted, will not there be a famine in some parts of Europe where copra is largely used in making different varieties of food stuffs; and at the same time will not the local oil-millers who are mostly Nadars from India, form themselves into a ring in fixing the price of copra and nuts?

I believe that there are direct Ceylonese exporters of other Ceylon produce, such as tea, rubber, cinnamon and plumbago. There

was a scandal a couple of years ago that some Ceylonese had exported to America powdered bricks in lieu of plumbago. That is not the sort of thing done by European exporters in this country.

However, breaking of one ring and giving room to start another will not improve export business. That will be like the experience of that villager who finding that his wife coughs, chased her out and took unto himself another who to his dismay, was found to be afflicted with another sort of noisier ailment."

D. L. Welikala,
26, Maya Avenue,
Colombo, 22-5-56.

RACING

A Deputation from the Turf Club to the Hon. the Minister for Home Affairs urged that racing be continued on the ground that it is the Sport of Kings. The Minister correctly retorted that it should then be confined to kings. Whatever the origin of racing may be, it is obvious that its chief patrons today are poor villagers. It is both amusing and tragic to see the excitement among them on race days. The craze is spreading even to girls and boys who take more interest in

STRINGS !

The Administration cites the Aswan-dam project as an illustration of why Co gr s must give at least 10% if not legal assurances that our aid will be continued over a period up to ten years. But that project seems to illustrate precisely the opposite. If we commit ourselves to continue aid regardless of what policy the Egyptian Government follows we lose whatever chance we might otherwise have of exercising any control for peace. Our one hope of retaining control would be to leave the Egyptian Government in constant doubt regarding the next year's handout.

Not that even this policy is here recommended. We have already thrown away the tremendous sum of 60 billion in foreign aid since the end of the second world war. Judged by its originally declared objects, never has so much accomplished so little. It is said to speculate on how much more we could have got for that 50 billion if we had been permitted to spend most of it at home!

— *Newsweek*
April 2, 1956

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horses than in books. This evil must be checked owing to a depleted exchequer Government is compelled to consider financial implications. A "Hemin Hemin" policy is therefore, recommended. The following steps can, however, be taken for the present:—

- (a) Registration of Bucket Shops.
- (b) Prohibition of fifty cent sweeps, except the Hospital sweep which is for a good purpose.
- (c) Reducing the number of Race days.

With increasing prosperity and the consequent improvement in revenue, further action can be considered later.

W. A. Goonetilleke,
Talgampola,
Galle, 25-5-56.

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**BUDDHIST
REPUBLIC OF
SINHALA DEEPA**

On the 19th ultimo I sent you a letter titled "BUDDHIST REPUBLIC OF CEYLON" but for reasons only know to you, refrained from giving this publicity.

I read your subsequent issues but was disappointed to find that you had not even cared to explain the reasons for your change of opinion about the EKSAIH BHIKKHU

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PERAMUNA — which you had in your Election Eve issues condemned.

I am, therefore writing to you again to point out that while you deem it necessary to condemn the Tamil Leaders of the Northern and Eastern Provinces of Ceylon, it is also your duty as the Editor of an impartial journal to criticise the actions of E.B.P. in interfering in the political life of the Island.

I am compelled to appeal to you because I foresee in this active interference an era of communal and religious discrimination.

The influence of the E.B.P. over the M.E.P. is too well-known a fact. This has been proved beyond any reasonable doubt by the statements made by certain members of both the Peramunas. The former's latest threat to the Government Party (Peramuna) has gone unchecked. The actions of the M.E.P. have further proved that it is "MONKS EXPLOITING PERAMUNA" and not the "MAHAJANA EKSAIH PERAMUNA" it is presently known as.

Unless necessary steps are taken in time to check this "threat of narrow" and "religio-communal" ideology I predict that Ceylon will in the no-far-off future become a "BUDDHIST REPUBLIC OF SINHALA DEEPA", with the Constitution so amended to ensure that only a Sinhalese Buddhist (if not a monk) could be the Head of such a State

I sincerely hope that in the interest of a Progressive Ceylon, you

FROM THE HORSE'S MOUTH

One-fifth of America's families — 8,300,000 — are living on the verge of destitution.

In addition, there are 6,200,000 single persons with incomes that condemn them to a condition not very far removed from poverty.

These are the findings of the Joint Economic Committee of the U. S. Senate and House of Representatives headed by Senator Sparkman.

The earnings of the two nearly destitute classes of U.S. citizens do not exceed 2,000 a year, though a very modest living minimum is estimated by the University of California at about 5,400.

The report says that in the past six or seven years the situation of American families has become worse since in this period the cost of living has risen 12 per cent.

The Congressional Committee says this situation is fraught with serious consequences and urges that some aid programme be devised to relieve these millions of "forgotten men", as they call them.

will expose these political monks and thus help to make this island a paradise for all communities, irrespective of their religious beliefs and languages.

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WEEK by WEEK in CEYLON

continued from page 42

The Rev. D. T. Niles in Jaffna in a well-reasoned statement set out the fears of the Tamils and called for a Conference of men of goodwill to bring harmony and understanding. Concretely he suggested that a person like Julius de Lanerolle could play an important part in this matter. Said Rev. Niles: "The letter of Mr. Julius de Lanerolle, in the papers recently, makes me conclude with a concrete suggestion. He says that there is no intention on the part of the bhikkus to harm the Tamils. If this is so, then surely a serious misunderstanding exists between the two peoples. Can Mr. de Lanerolle persuade some of the Sinhalese brethren along with himself to come to Jaffna and meet with some of the members of the Tamil speaking community. Such a meeting may start a ripple that can grow

wider and wider until a satisfactory solution is found."

This suggestion is likely to receive a great deal of support from men of sober sanity and goodwill in both communities. It is possible that the Buddhist monks, in the highest spirit of the Dhamma, may take the initiative in bringing about some solution to the problem.

Ivory Towers

In the meantime, the archangel of trouble, the Political Correspondent of the *Daily News* cynically remarked in his column last week that it was unfortunate that men of goodwill in this country refused to leave their ivory towers even to attempt to bring sanity to the communal and the language problems. If anyone is responsible for the fact that men of goodwill in Ceylon are shut up in ivory towers, it is *Lake House* and the *Times* (which has once again stated tailing behind *Lake House*). When Wilmot Perera or Siri Seevali, or D. T. Niles, make a statement full of goodwill it is relegated to an insignificant corner of the newspaper. In fact, it is

published as news of no consequence. But when Felix Jayasuriya, or Rajaratne, or Mettananda, or some Federalist incendiary makes a statement it receives top banner headlines. From the news presentation of *Lake House* today, it is obvious that the emphasis is on news and speeches that tend to provoke racial conflicts, to increase communal tension and to promote a situation of chaotic unbalance.

At the moment, *Lake House* is gently blacking out all statements of men of goodwill. Lanerolle's statements and that of Siri Seevali should have blazoned across the front page. But they were suitably tucked away. On the other hand, fasting Felix Jayasuriya has become the sensation of the *Lake House* papers. In the circumstances, how can the Political Correspondent complain that men of goodwill are shut up in ivory towers? More ethical journalism on the part of *Lake House*, it has been stressed, will make these ivory towers vanish and help to make men of goodwill play an important part in the affairs of the country.

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