

# TRIBUNE

## FASCISM AGAIN

— United Front of Democrats Essential —

Three weeks ago "Tribune" warned the MEP government and the public that a serious and concerted attempt would be made to discredit and throw out the present government by language fanatics. This conspiracy to smash the MEP is now in operation. The first blow was struck on Tuesday when a peaceful demonstration by the Federalists, on Galle Face Green however misguided and untimely the action was, utilised by opponents of the MEP (under the guise of being its friends) to start a train of events which threaten to engulf the country in anarchy.

Anarchy and disorder are what the enemies of the MEP want in order to push this Government, with its radical economic programme, out of power. Already by appeasing the

language fanatics *Sinhala Only* the MEP has played into the hands of the extremists in the North and in the South. Both these groups naturally itch for a fight for narrow political considerations, and the resulting position would be disorder.

### Hooligan

And disorder is fertile ground for the hooligan and the anti-social perverts. In a country where mass unemployment is the order of the day, decent citizens without employment could very easily be turned into hooligans and rowdies by designing individuals. When *Tribune* warned its readers that an attempt would soon be made to create inter-racial riots three weeks ago, it was on the basis of definite information. In fact, the "gossip" in a certain social institution that certain persons on holiday today had confided to associates "there would be much trouble soon and that people would be *stripped* on the streets of Colombo" have only come too true. It is significant that certain sections of the Police Force seemed most unconcerned last Tuesday when persons belonging to a particular community were being harassed in this way.

Step by step the harmony and amity that has prevailed in this country between the different communities is being destroyed. In last Tuesday's occurrence, the attacks by the hooligans were strangely enough directed from vans and station waggons, many of them with new coats of paint, and there was a definite scheme and plan in the operations. The attacks were not confined to



They extended to Muslim owned shops as well. In this one sees the fascist technique of liquidating trade and business rivals under the pretext of seemingly national political slogans.

### Left

Another feature of the disturbances on Tuesday was that the hooligans were crying hoarse for the blood of the NLSSP leaders. The excuse was that they were *anti Sinhalese* because they were opposed to the language fanaticism of the MEP. This method of attack is only another cover for an attack on the Left. Not so long ago, Lake House and the UNP sought to liquidate the Left as "foreign agents" and endeavoured to mobilise the Sinhalese and Tamils, on the pretext of protecting religion, to attack the Leftist parties. This attempt to introduce fascism through the MaCarthyian dodge of trying to equate the left with foreign agents and traitors failed. The new attempt to do so on a more restricted but more vicious basis of racial fanaticism is the older method followed by Hitler. One may disagree with the politics of the Left, but the way to fight them is not through fascism which will destroy democracy itself.

Fascism is once again rearing its head in Ceylon. The defeat of the UNP temporarily forced these reactionaries to go underground. Today they have emerged once again as "friends of the MEP", utilising certain misguided, ambitious and even unscrupulous persons associated with

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CEYLON NEWS REVIEW  
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# SANSONI REPORT

This company was formed as a private limited liability company in 1943 by combining a number of operators who were previously running buses on various routes in their individual capacity. In 1954 the company was formed into a public company with 20 shareholders and 7 directors, almost all of whom belonged to the original company. The company is run in two sections called Territory "A" and "B" — with headquarters for Territory A at Wattala and Territory B at Negombo. The former has 15 routes and 38 buses and the latter 20 routes and 65 buses. The Managing Director of the company is also in charge of Territory A and it transpired during the course of our examination that he has no administrative or financial control over Territory B although he holds over 60 per cent of the shares of the company. It also transpired that, of the 7 directors, 4 directors are in Negombo and 3 in Wattala, and that although common meetings are held of all the directors, there was no agreement in regard to administrative decisions with 4 directors of Negombo working in unison against 3 directors of Wattala. The 20 shareholders were also distributed similarly — 16 for Negombo and 4 for Wattala.

### Missing

The share capital of this company could not be ascertained as it was reported that the share register had been missing since the death of its Secretary. The balance sheet as at March 31, 1953 gives the capital as follows:—

As per balance sheet at March 31st, 1952	Rs. 1,052,528.50
Less payment to a shareholder	Rs. 500.00
Balance	Rs. 1,052,028.50

According to the balance sheet for 1953, the total fixed assets of the company amounted to Rs. 2,114,994 which is double the amount of the share capital. The current liabilities, however amounted to Rs. 1,005,797 as against current assets amounting to Rs. 317,168. The current assets, however, in-

clude a sum of Rs. 209,140 which was shown in the balance sheet as cash in hand, but it was later discovered that it was a non-existent asset. The company is, therefore, in a most unsound position in re-

As a proper and adequate background for the full revelations of what is happening in the North-Western Blue Line we publish the full extract from the Sansoni Report. This was published earlier in the *Tribune* of June, 17, 1955. We draw attention to it again to show that the situation revealed by the commission has got worse. A report on the current situation which will appear next week will indicate what the travelling public has to put up with today. *Tribune* proposes to probe the affairs of some of the leading bus companies (one year after the Sansoni Report was released) to show the magnitude of the task before the Minister of Transport.

gard to funds required to meet the running expenses.

The Auditors have made the following comments on the balance sheets working and profit and loss accounts of this company as at March 31st, 1952 and 1953.

*Bus Fleet* — "We have neither seen a register in the form of an inventory nor a registration certificate of the vehicles. We would strongly recommend the use of a register of all vehicles giving all particulars relating to purchases, additions and improvements, depreciation, &c.

*Stock of Tires, Tubes and Spares* — "No proper stock record or books have been maintained by the company to enable us to verify the stock in hand. We have not been requested by the company to verify the physical stock at any time".

*Cash*  
*Cash in hand Rs. 209,140* — "We have referred in our previous report to the undesirable practice of keeping such a large sum of cash in the office; especially as there was a branch of the Bank of Ceylon in

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# QUESTIONS

In our issues of May 19 and 26 we published articles by a Correspondent who claimed to know the inside of the activities of the work of Asia Foundation in Ceylon. It was stressed by this Correspondent that Asia Foundation was an altruistic philanthropic organisation, like many other U.S. Foundations like the Ford and Rockefeller, which had no political strings whatever attached to its work. This week we publish an article by another Correspondent who takes a contrary view and asks a series of questions on the work of Asia Foundation suggesting that this organisation is only another arm of the US State Department Psychological Warfare Section. We will publish whatever reply we get from the earlier Correspondent refuting the charges made in this article. It is in the public interest to know the truth — the whole truth — about Asia Foundation.

There are a few questions I would like to ask the person who wrote in your paper in defence of Asia Foundation. He claims to have inside information of its operation and he should know the answers for these.

*Why is it that the Asia Foundation, formerly the Committee for Free Asia, has not been allowed to open an office in India and permitted to operate in the way it is doing in Ceylon? Why is it that the Indian Government which accepts aid from the USA without strings has thought not fit to permit Asia Foundation to extend its munificence in that country?*

Your correspondent should not attempt to side-track this question by telling me to direct this question to the Government of India. Let he do so, I am setting out the reasons I was given, by competent political circles in New Delhi

(when I was there on a visit not so long ago) for not permitting Asia Foundation (from the time it was the Committee for Free Asia) to function in India in the manner it is doing in Ceylon.

Asia Foundation, unlike other US Foundations like the Ford Foundation, Rockefeller Foundation, etc., sought to open an office in India (as it has done in Ceylon and other Asiatic countries) and desired to make its grants directly to private persons and organisations. The Ford, Rockefeller and other Foundations make their offer of "aid" through the Government, and this had been the practice ever since these Foundations had started operating in India and this is so in Ceylon also.

### Cold War

The strange circumstance of the Asia Foundation wanting to operate as a separate agency in India arose at a time when the cold war was at its highest.

*And I was told that the compelling reason which prompted the Government of India not to permit Asia Foundation to operate as a separate*

*agency was some information (and such information is usually not made public) to indicate that the Committee for Free Asia and now the Asia Foundation was only one of the invisible arms of the US Strategic War Service.*

The technique of this Agency, it would appear, was to extend under the pretext of encouraging "private enterprise" in cultural, educational and religious affairs, financial aid to such individuals and organisations as would strengthen the reactionary forces which could be drawn on to the side of the US in the cold war. It did not merely end with this. The Asia Foundation, without taking in direct part in political activities, could also extend aid to individuals in the religious, educational and cultural fields who in their "private" capacity would play the role that would suit the US State Department.

In fact it would be even unnecessary for the Asia Foundation to suggest to such individuals what policies would suit the State Department. A proper political

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# Questions

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study of the situation in a country and the tendencies and characteristics of different individuals would be enough to provoke the release of political forces desired by Washington through the simple device of extending financial grants to the "proper persons" for educational or religious grounds.

## Sinhalese

Let us take the example of Ceylon. Before the Committee for Free Asia started its operations here, all political parties were agreed on the bilingual policy of Sinhalese and Tamil being the official languages of the country. This had been axiomatic ever since the shift to the national languages was contemplated. It would probably be a secret that can never be solved as to who directly financed the Tri Sinhala Movement which triggered the *Sinhalese Only* policy which has brought to much inter-communal animosity in this country. No agency is likely to make direct grants to such an organisation, but grants can be made to individuals, (for their work in art, education or religion), who one can be reasonably certain would promote the ideals of the Tri Sinhala Movement which was directed at that stage against the Indians here and Nehru in India.

In the same way, some of the individuals who have been the loudest champions of the *Sinhalese Only* movement (which was conceived as a spearhead against the Left) have gone abroad on Asia Foundation grants. One does not know how many other lesser fry were given sustenance by Asia Foundation with

grants to translate books into Sinhalese to complete their University courses to do research in "Buddhist" culture and a whole host of other things that were never accomplished. How many other printing presses besides the Saman Press has the Asia Foundation helped to set up to further the advance of the Sinhalese language and even the Buddhist cause?

## Tamils

Now that the *Sinhalese Only* Movement has done so much havoc, the Asia Foundation cannot do better than to shift its attention to the Tamil areas. It can now be expected to help to individuals who normally cry aloud for a separate Tamil state. But, more important than that, it will give grants to persons seemingly, for educational and cultural reasons, who are inclined to think that Britain (and her senior partner USA) should retain Trincomalee. A press in Jaffna similar to the Saman Press to encourage Tamil literature and grants in the manner so far given in the South would, in the present context, strengthen the reactionary forces in the North.

All this would suit Washington's purpose at the moment. The pivotal point of US policy in regard to Asia is to keep the bases in the hands Britain (Cyprus, Singapore and Aden are notable examples). *The best way to create a situation in Ceylon where the question of the removal of bases can be delayed and postponed is to provoke a situation of inter-racial conflict (as in Cyprus) where one of the communities would fight hard for a separate state having to depend on a demand for the retention of the bases by Britain as the main spring of its strength. The*

*fact that such a conflict arises from the discriminatory language policy of the major community would make it all the easier for foreign interference, through the UNO or other wise, as it can be made out that the minority community is fighting a just battle.*

I am conscious that it would be impossible to make a charge of interference in local politics against Asia Foundation and prove it according to the principles of the Evidence Ordinance. But there is one thing that any Government must insist on and that is a foreign agency should operate through the Government in power. There is no doubt that the Asia Foundation co operated with the U.N.P. It is known that the former boss Bradley used to call on Premier Kotelawela every week and find out to whom the UNP (or Sir John) thought that "aid" should be extended. So close was the collaboration that the Ceylon Representative of Asia Foundation was given accommodation in Government House (or the Queen's Lodge (when he went out-stations. Even the present Representative of Asia Foundation was accommodated at the Governor's Residence in Jaffna when he was there some months ago (UNP regime).

It was therefore immaterial to the UNP whether Asia Foundation operated as private agency or not. In fact, to Sir John and others, the arrangement was a convenient one for many reasons. But can a Government which is concerned about political independence and the sovereignty of the country permit any foreign agency to function in the way Asia Foundation does?

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# LANGUAGE and UNITY

Mr. Nadarajah, who was a member of the Executive Committee of the SLFP in its days of language bi-lingualism, writes this fervent appeal for united action by the Tamil community. But what action Tamils must take is what Mr. Nadarajah does not seem to be clear about. Every form of discrimination and injustice should be fought and it is a happy augury that a large section of the Tamils, who in the past were unconcerned about various forms of oppression, intolerance and neo-facism, which existed and continues to exist in this country, should now become acutely conscious of such problems. *Tribune* welcomes a discussion in its column as to the action the Tamils, like all other sections suffering discrimination and injustice of all kinds — economic, political juridical, religious and linguistic — should and must take in the present context of events in order to achieve the ideal of a united Ceylonese nation and a democratic secular Republic which will ensure Fundamental Human Rights to every individual who has Ceylon as his permanent home.

This year of Buddha Jayanthi will go down in Ceylon History as the year which introduced the greatest sorrow and suffering into the lives of the Tamil speaking people in this Island. Never in the history of the Tamil-speaking people has an attempt been made to suppress their language in the manner the M.E.P. Government is seeking to do today.

*We have been told by the Prime Minister and the other Sinhalese leaders that Tamil is far stronger and better developed than the Sinhalese language and therefore if it is given parity of status in the country it will destroy the Sinhalese language. Therefore the Tamil language has to be suppressed in order to give an opportunity to the Sinhalese language to grow in strength.*

History does not record any instance of a strong language being suppressed to give a weak language the opportunity to grow. If this suppression of the Tamil language succeeds the Tamils will cease to exist as a respected race in this Island and become a class of low caste Sinhalese deprived of all their cultural heritage. Jealousy is the motive force behind this move to suppress Tamil. There will be no objection to the teaching of Sinhalese in every school even compulsorily if equal status is granted to both Sinhalese and Tamil. Buddha, if he were alive in Ceylon today cannot certainly be prevailed upon to vote for the *Sinhalese Only* bill, which is intended to suppress the Tamil along with it.

## Intolerance

Buddha with his great compassion for the people of the world gave the people his teaching of tolerance and love. After two thousand years of Buddhism in Ceylon we are faced with an exhibition of intolerance and hatred in which some Buddhist-priests are playing a leading part. The Tamils are supposed to be holding government posts far in excess of what the population figures justify. Baddegama Wimalawansa Thero, the president of the Sinhala Jatika Sangamaya, is reported to have stated that the new government should

not give any jobs to Tamil until the Sinhalese unemployment was solved.

These people believe that the most effective method of solving the unemployment among the Sinhalese is by *Sinhalese Only* the official language. The implementation of this policy is to be left in the hands of the individual Ministers, and some of them have started implementing it even before it has become law. Hereafter it will be impossible for more than a small fraction of the government posts to be held by Tamils, and the Tamil people are ready for that eventuality. The Tamils did not ask in the past, nor do they ask now, for favours. They ask for justice only but justice is being denied to them in this year of Buddha Jayanthi.

## Sinhalese

Various forces worked together to bring about the present *Sinhalese Only* move. The great Buddhist Mr. E. A. L. Wijewardene openly declared that Tamil should not be allowed to be a medium of instruction as there was a good supply of text books in that language. The reasoning is obvious. Mr. Philip Gunawardene of the V.L.S.S.P. found that Dr. N. M. Perera was advocating parity for Sinhalese and Tamil and there appeared to be an excellent opportunity to discredit

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# Language & Unity

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Dr. N. M. Perera in the Sinhalese areas with the *Sinhalese Only* cry. Mr. W. Dahanayake lent his weight to Philip and both of them succeeded in rousing the passions of the masses in South Ceylon. Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike was at this stage persuaded by his supporters to grasp with both hands the *Sinhalese Only* slogan as the best means for smashing up the U.N.P. whose leader had promised in Jaffna to amend the constitution to grant parity of status to both the national languages. The Sinhalese leaders are quite pleased with the prospects, for all the sacrifice in this transaction is to be made by the non-Sinhalese and all the profit is to go to the Sinhalese people.

It must be admitted that Mr. Bandaranaike left to himself will be much more reasonable towards the minorities than he is now. The trouble with him now is that he is surrounded by evil forces from which he cannot shake himself off. Therefore it is useless for the minorities to expect the M.E.P. Government to be reasonable on the language issue. The Prime

Minister however, wants the minorities to believe that the M.E.P. is very reasonable on this matter when the minorities know as a fact that it is not so.

## Resistance

The resistance by the Tamil-speaking people of the *Sinhalese Only* policy is the most natural thing for them to do unless they are to be slaves in their own country. The Prime Minister has armed the police with deadly weapons, the obvious purpose of which seems to be that they may shoot down the Tamil-speaking people if their resistance resulted in causing embarrassment to the Government. The minorities have been rudely made to realise that Ceylon's independence is only for the majority community. What is more tragic is the realisation that when a slave becomes a master he is intolerable.

The time has arrived when the Tamils should give up all hopes of getting into Government service, and it may not be a bad thing either, though there will be immediate suffering they must prepare themselves for a period of travail and even for loss of some lives. For the present it appears that the duty of every Tamil-speaking man woman and child is to act unitedly in whatever they do as any division in their ranks will only make the struggle more difficult.

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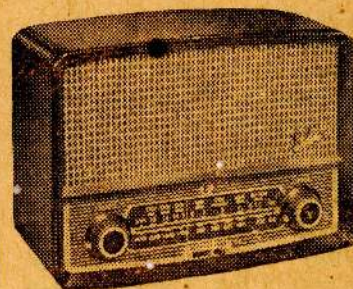
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Colombo witnessed its first racial riot of any magnitude on Tuesday.

The occasion was the demonstration staged by the Federal Party on the Galle Face Green after a ban had been placed to any kind of protest on the steps and entrance to the House of Representatives. The provocateurs were the racial fascists among the language fanatics of the *Sinhala Only* variety.

Even the bitterest critics of the Federal Party are agreed that apart from the untimeliness of the demonstration, the so-called satyagraha by a couple of Federal adherents was a peaceful affair. Whilst these persons were demonstrating in this way, a crowd of several thousands led by some of the hooligans and thugs in Pettah and from particular outstations set upon these demonstrators. It was sometime before the police arrived — the amateur satyagrahists of the Federal Party did not realise that police protection against provateurs was always necessary when demonstrations were held in places where the population were not with the satyagrahis in overwhelming majority — and number of leaders of the Federal Party received injuries from stones thrown by the hooligans. A few of the leaders were assaulted. Altogether about twenty to twenty-five persons were manhandled, but no one received any serious injuries.

The police arrived a little late on the scene, but after their arrival the satyagrahis received some measure of protection until they called off the demonstration at 1 p.m. and went back to the temples at Bambalapitiya and Wellawatte.

### Civil liberties

Every thinking person is agreed that what is at stake is something more than the language issue. The very basis of democracy is at stake. The right to hold a different opinion, the right to express one's disapproval, the right to demonstrate in a lawful and peaceable manner are inherent in a democratic set-up. This right should be extended even to cranks and politically misguided persons. The Federalists had the right to show

their disapproval — however much one may disagree with their politics and however seriously one criticise them for launching direct action in isolation in areas which are outside their electorates without local support.

It was a violation of the fundamental rights of democracy for thugs and hooligans to be incited to attack this group of demonstrators. It was undiluted fascism according to all shades of political opinion. What was worse is that this crowd of hooligans and goondas (an expressive term from India) played havoc in the city. They looted shops. They assaulted passers-by. They set upon everyone who was thought to be a Tamil. In this process a very large number of persons who were Sinhalese were also assaulted and robbed (robbery seems to have been motive in many cases).

It is not necessary to detail all the acts of hooliganism which had the stamp of adequate organisation and backing from influential circles. Whilst the victims of assault and others who suffered had little or no police protection for a greater part of the morning, persons who openly preached hatred between communities, and incited race animosity, were permitted to make speeches that were definitely contrary to the laws of Ceylon.

It is this aspect of the disturbances which took place on Tuesday which has raised very important issues of the highest importance. Is the right of free association and the right to hold public meetings and lawful demonstrations to be thrown on the dust-heap by a bunch of thugs and hooligans who seek protection under the cloak of fighting for the Sinhalese language? Are purveyors of race hatred and communal animosity to be permitted to preach their foul and unlawful doctrines from the house-tops without let or hindrance?

These are questions that face the Government and every man and woman who is interested in the

development and preservation of democracy in Ceylon.

### Revulsion

It is yet too early to gauge the reactions of the people in regard to the disturbances on Tuesday. One universal sentiment among all sections of the people in the city of Colombo is revulsion against the language fanatics of the *Sinhalese Only* variety. The strongest adherents of the *Sinhalese Only* policy are flabbergasted by the actions of the fanatics.

What these gentlemen do not realise, according to political circles, is that once a step is taken to make one of the national languages of this country a kind of third rate language, the door is opened for fascist racial chauvinism. When one community is made "inferior" through to medium of language, it is an open signal for thugs, hooligans and anti-social elements to attempt to exploit the situation.

It is the failure of the Federalists to realise the dynamics of the situation and the fact they they approach every question on racial lines that prompted action on their part (in solitary isolation) which has been made the excuse by provocateurs to set ablaze a powder keg.

Two sentiments seem to predominate the city of Colombo. One that the thugs and hooligans now being incited and exploited by certain linguistic fascists should be checked and carbed and that the forces behind these anti-social elements should be brought under control. The second that the Federalists should be persuaded not to launch political direct action (in order to establish hegemony in the North and East for election purposes) without any collaboration with other groups and parties which are inclined to oppose the *Sinhala* Bill.

### Tamils

The question as to what the Tamils and other minorities faced with the discrimination inherent in the *Sinhala* Bill, as it stands, is now

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# Government's Ineptitude

There would have been jubilation in certain foreign embassies in Colombo which had never viewed the MEP Government with any degree of favour at the turn of events last Tuesday. The prospect of the loss of the British bases in the island together with the radical economic programme of the MEP had made the supporters of colonialism and Western power politics jittery and unhappy. But the fact that owing to the ineptitude of the Government the energy and the passions of the mob had been roused to side-track major issues along communal and racial lines must be a source of great comfort to these circles which had done everything possible to prevent the election of MEP and other Opposition candidates.

The most significant factor which has emerged from recent events is that reaction in the island, as this paper has warned so often, sees in racial and communal conflict the only way to prevent the MEP from carrying through its economic programme. Through the language fanatics among the Sinhalese, these reactionary circles inspired and encouraged by certain foreign elements, have succeeded in compelling the MEP to adopt a *Sinhalese Only Bill* which, as it stands, cannot be anything but a most reactionary piece of legislation. That this Bill would be objected to most strenuously by the Tamil and other minorities was a foregone conclusion. Even the Muslims who had previously agreed in principle to the *Sinhalese Only* of the UNP now rightly object to the intolerant and neo-fascist provisions and implications of this Bill. To subvert the constitutional and democratic protests against the provisions of this Bill into an occasion for communal rioting was the tactic which one could normally expect from the reactionary groups which had created this language situation in this form. For the Government not to have expected this turn of events is to confess to *naivete* of the highest order.

**Anti-social**

But what was worse was that when rioters and other anti-social

elements were intent on making a mockery of democracy, the Government showed such reluctance to asking the Police to extend protection to the ordinary citizens who were being harassed on the streets. This has made the most enthusiastic supporters of the MEP now stand aghast and abashed at the sterile weakness displayed by the Administration. *Lake House* and other circles which had campaigned against the MEP before the elections had maintained that nobody but the UNP could maintain "law and order" in this country. With tragic speed this is being slowly shown to be true, and it must be stated that the MEP Government itself is largely to blame for helping its enemies drive home to the public that what they (the enemies) had stated was nothing but the truth.

**Shameful**

It seems almost unbelievable that ordinary citizens were pulled out of buses and private cars and stripped and thrashed by riotous and anti-social elements without any protection being extended to them by the Police last Tuesday, but this is unfortunately what did happen. In fact, the Police were strangely inert. Was this due to absence of instructions from the Government, or instructions that the crowd should not be tampered with? Or could this be due to a desire on the part of the Police to add fuel to the fire of the rising tempo of bitter disillusionment against the Government? Whatever be the reasons, and whatever excuses that Government spokesmen are able to trot out now, the events of last Tuesday will stand out as a shameful episode which has known no parallel up to date in this country. That it should happen in the year of Buddha Jayanti is a reflection on the ardent professions of goodwill to all men that has been mouthed by so many leading personalities in the country, both within and without the Government.

The time has come for the sane-minded citizens of all communities in the island to assert themselves in such a way as to effectively

check this trend to chaos and anarchy which reactionary groups are seeking to impose on the country. The first thing to be done is to bring about a sane reasonable language policy. Amendments, which will convert the present *Sinhalese Bill* into something more acceptable to other communities, even as a compromise for a temporary period must be effected. Without such a language basis and country-wide propaganda that other minorities have the same rights and privileges as the majority community, the foul atmosphere which has been engendered by the communalists of all varieties cannot be effaced. Secondly, it is necessary to bring pressure on Government that it is its duty to govern in such a way that riotous anti-social elements do not take the law into their own hands. The Police should be instructed to take the sternest measures against all miscreants who assault, loot and harass persons on the road. The fact that the rioters do so on the ground that the victim is a member of a minority community makes the crime all the more reprehensible.

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It seems difficult not to speak about language these days. It has become synonymous with politics. But a great many persons preface their comments on language with an apology that they are *non-political*. I was puzzled by this keen desire to disassociate from *politics* a matter, like language, which is the keenest political question of the day.

Even when group of Tamil women held a thoroughly political meeting the notice announcing their meeting proclaimed the tell-tale slogan that the meeting was *non-political*. Why I asked myself is the fear of this word *political*?

As far as I can see the prejudice against the term *political* arose from the days of colonial servility of public servants who were permitted to flourish only if they kept out of the politics of fighting for freedom. Even today, when colonialism has retreated partially from Ceylon, the word *politics* seems to conjure up the most uncertain fears.

It may well be what some of these people mean is that they are not concerned with party politics. In which case they should insist on the term *non-party* and not *non-political*. In Ceylon, the more non-party people who are drawn into politics the better, even if they like to believe the fiction that they are *non-political*. The trouble with Ceylon is that far too many people of goodwill and sanity have kept out of politics. It is time they get drawn in even if their introduction to politics is through the contemporary sordid squabble over language.

### Satyagraha

When satyagraha is fading out in India, it is becoming popular in Ceylon. We have had a fast of gunners in the Ceylon Army, a fast by Felix Jayasuriya and now the satyagraha by the Federalists. Readers will recall the first organised satyagraha in Ceylon in 1952 when the Ceylon Indian Congress (now the Ceylon Democratic Congress — in two parts) performed satyagraha in protest against the

citizenship laws which deprived a whole community of civic as well as franchise rights. Satyagraha took the shape of limited hunger strike and fasting at the Prime Minister's door. In fact, the satyagraha first started before the House of Representatives but after the police threw out the satyagrahis several times, they decided to shift their operations to the Senate Building.

Batches of satyagrahis sat in turn on the corridor of the Senate for weeks together. Premier Dudley Senanayake, wisely, permitted them to perform this satyagraha in peace and quiet, and after some weeks (months), the satyagraha fizzled out. This satyagraha only showed that such action, like all other political action, is futile unless it wins the support of an increasingly large number of people in the area of operations. A Ceylon politician performing satyagraha before Buckingham Palace will be laughed out unless a large number of people in and around London itself support the satyagrahi. This is what matters — not what the supporters of the satyagrahi feel in Ceylon.

What is necessary to remember is that the basic logic in Gandhi's teaching is that satyagraha is the weapon of a peaceful unarmed majority against an oppressive minority holding power with force and arms. Whether a minority can use satyagraha against a majority is a doubtful matter. The methods open to minorities, according to the lessons of history, to redress a grievance seem to be far removed from satyagraha. The first principle of such struggle is not to fight in isolation.

### Lessons

The only moral which I can draw from the events of last Tuesday when the Federalists staged a demonstration on Galle Face Green was that this kind of demonstration in isolation from other political parties and groups cannot produce the results which will be beneficial for the country.

It was no doubt a heroic if not somewhat melodramatic act for a

group of two hundred persons to stand for about six hours isolated in the midst of a hostile crowd of hooligans and rowdies intoxicated with the fanaticism fed by communalists and racialists in the South.

But the current feeling of large number of persons who sympathised with those who were opposed to the *Sinhala Only Bill* was that the Federal Party, before launching on direct action and demonstration in areas outside their electorates, should have held discussion with those who have had demonstrations in Colombo and know how to anticipate situations and how to time such demonstrations.

Courage may be a good thing in people. In a majority, courage is a simple matter, but for a minority what is required is sagacity not foolhardy courage. Sagacity does not mean surrender, but in the present context it means a concerted attempt to devise ways and means with all those prepared to fight a particular cause to achieve a particular object.

### Sinhala Bill

There are many persons opposed to the *Sinhala Bill* as it stands. They are in the NLSSP, the CP the Muslim Parties, the Ceylon Indian organisations, and a large number of persons of goodwill among the Sinhalese. Whilst they will be prepared to fight for a saner language policy it would not be possible to persuade them to accept "Federalism".

Would it not be possible, many persons with a great deal of goodwill have asked for all those who believe in a just and equitable language policy to get together to see what can be done to fight the present *Sinhala Bill* and to transform it into something more acceptable to all sections?

This is something which many in Colombo think should be seriously considered by the Federalists. For isolated action like the demonstration on Tuesday will only play into the hands of the racialists of the

*continued on page 58*

# RIOT

Continued from 55

a serious question which is engaging the minds of not only the minorities but also, large sections of the Sinhalese people who realise that something unjust is being perpetrated.

The situation seems to be somewhat as follows: that no Sinhalese has come forward to support the reasonable demands of the Tamils for the simple reason that any agitation for such fair treatment would be mistaken for the support for "federalism" of Tamil Arasu or even the separate Tamilnad of other Tamil politicians. What seems to be necessary at this stage is that all forces opposed to the *Sinhala Only* bill, as it stands today, should get together irrespective of whether they are Tamil Arasu adherents, Muslim Leaguers, Leftists U.N.P-ers, M.E.P.-ers, Ceylon Indians or Independents.

There seems to be a general trend of opinion that such united action on the language issue is necessary in order to bring about that communal harmony and amity which is essential for any democratic decision in a peaceful manner on all the other problems which face this country.

If the Tamil Arasu insists on "federalism" as a irreducible minimum for any settlement, and if they endeavour to utilise the present situation to stampede persons from the North and East to resort to foolhardy action in support of "federalism," the general opinion seems to be that immediate steps should be taken to get everybody else together until such times as the Tamil Arasu folk see the error of their ways.

## Senate

Whilst the debate on the language question proceeds in the House of Representatives, the action of the Senate in throwing out the Bill to suspend the Death Penalty has created a constitutional problem of the first magnitude. According to the Constitution, the Bill can be brought again in the lower House at the next sessions — one year hence — and if passed again it would be law.

This is the first time that the Senate has exercised this right of

throwing out a Bill in order to delay has been used.

It is now a matter of speculation as to whether the Senate would throw out the *Sinhala Only* Bill. If it does it would delay it for a year. Informed circles are of the view that the Senate vetoed the Death Penalty bill so that the first bill it would thus reject should not be the language bill.

## SANSONI REPORT

continued from page 50

Negombo. We have not been given a certificate from the Manager that the cash was with him. We are, therefore, unable to verify the existence of this sum and are not satisfied with the manner in which it is maintained in the office. We recommend that serious notice be taken of this and steps be taken to ascertain whether the cash is still available in the office or in its present destination."

"We understand that the cashier hands the collection to the Manager, who is authorised to receive all bus collections, and at the end of each month we observe that the gross collections, according to the day book, are credited and expenses debited to the cash book by one entry. It is a very imprudent practice on the part of the cashier not to keep a register of all cash handed over to the Manager and obtain his signature daily thereon".

*Ticket Books and Way Bills*  
"We found that there was no register of way bills maintained by the company. The existing system in regard to way bills is not satisfactory. The register of ticket books during 1952-53 was not available as it was alleged to have been locked up by the past Manager".

*Bank Account*— "The Bank balance as per cash book shows a debit of Rs. 214,480. This amount does not actually represent the overdraft allowed by the bank. The actual balance to the credit of the Negombo branch office in the bank was Rs. 11,604.02 as per bank certificate, which we found to be correct, after reconciling the balance with the cash book. The debit balance shown in the balance sheet represents the amount of total cheques drawn out and not passed through the bank less balance as per bank certificate.

"The Income Tax due to the department up to 1952-53, outstanding in August 1954, was Rs 740, 858. This liability is not included in the total current liabilities shown earlier".

## Auditors

After our exhaustive examination of the affairs of this company, at our public sittings, the auditors forwarded a special report on the accounts with the following comments :

- A. "There have been clearly differences amounting to hostilities between Territory A and Territory B shareholders and directors.
- B. The practice has been that although the two branches are registered as one company for the purpose of the Motor Traffic Act, they have been treated, for management and accounting as two separate entities; and as regards Territory B, its previous Manager (and Director) has openly stated that he has distributed among "B" shareholders, by way of "dividends" the company's money.
- C. There is then intrinsic and decisive defect in the structure of the company and it is impossible if the present directors continue to function, to bring about a unitary organisation. Recent events have shown that the present management of Territory B is no more co-operative than than previous one.
- D. A full examination of the company's position must assume the proportions of such investigations involving much time and expense and we can undertake it only if specifically instructed there to".

The former Managing Director and the present Managing Director volunteered to give evidence in camera and were heard.

There is now litigation regarding the affairs of this company.

In the course of our investigations and inspections we have observed that the services rendered to the public by this company are unsatisfactory.

In the above circumstance we consider that an immediate investigation of the affairs of this company is essential.

# THE CACTUS

She is dead now. She believed very much in living. When I asked her whether she worshipped Devas she laughed at me. I still remember that taunting laughter. She said: "I am a living-being. I believe in living." So I asked her, "You do not believe in a religion?" I was afraid she had taken to the Church. Most people who are influenced by the Western method of living take to the Church. They think it is a part of a civilized culture.

She tossed her hair and stared at me. Didn't she understand or didn't she hear? "I believe in living", she repeated. Why didn't she believe in religion? In the true religion of thought. She thinks I am old fashioned. To have faith is considered by young people as being old fashioned. In addition as if to strengthen their beliefs I have a weathered face, lines streaking down it and my clothing is not modern either.

"Do you think me dead then?" I asked her. "Does it matter what I think of you?" She asked me. Still my heart aches when I remember what she said. I called for it. I coaxed her to say it. She called me a derelict, propped up by religion, moral codes, a secure salary; a despicable thing that was a parasite on the living, the working, the..... people. Didn't I work day after day at my desk till my spine ached with fatigue. And my brain reeled with figures. Did I just suck on someone else who worked and

sweated? According to her I have stolen from the needy. To me it is a more despicable act even than a thief's who would have courage to face a rich man, thrust his hands into the bulging pockets and run away with all he could gather; was that what she meant? I daren't ask because my heart was heavy. And I liked her more than my daughter.

She is dead and she had no religion; where could she be now? If she only had a religion, a prop as she called it! She would have something to rest on. She said "religion is something for me to rest on, not her. It was I who needed it". To fill the vacuum it me. I have no vacuum. I didn't tell her that. She would not believe in. It is she who had vacuum. She would not have had a vacuum if she believed in the true religion.

How can you believe in living? Life is transitory. If she believed in true religion she would have known it.

My hearts is yet full of rancour with what she said. One sentence I could not get myself to repeat even to Malmal. Malmal is my pet hen. It was three years ago that she said it. It still is fresh as if she said it just this minute. Can I...it. Yes I will. She will think I am a characterless weak man who could be hurt by what she says. She said "your ideas are moth-eaten." They are. "You stand for moth-eaten values". Moth-eaten values! If she said I was moth-eaten I would not have minded. I did mind what she said and she knew it. And I a man with nothing but moth-eaten ideas and values? No! surely not. My faith is such...my strong faith in the true religion — that I am as strong as an elephant. And she a poor weakling now turned to dust, what did she believe in? If she listened to me she would not have just been knocked off like a deflated balloon.

I tried to fill the vacuum of her being with the true faith. She would have been like a newly opened flower filling the air with her fragrance. Instead she polluted it. No! not polluted it. She threw missiles hard, rocky ones that pricked and hurt every one. *She was as prickly as a cactus.* Her pricks still fester in my soul. Six years ago they were inflicted. And I who was a strong, strong as an elephant; in my faith, she shook like a jelly fish because she had.....of the evil spirits. She did not know that her strength was.....evil spirits. When we travel along the wrong path we are blinded with ignorance. Only the true believer will know the right path. She sniffed at me when I called myself a true believer. She said truth was a relative term. It differed according to the understanding of the individual. Yes, I agree! That is the only thing I could agree with her. She went along the wrong path and believed it was the true way. Where did it lead her to?

"Aha! my dear daughter, Where I die you need not ask the same question. I am a true believer. I have travelled along the truth path and I will reach home. You need not worry about me. Worry about her? She did not believe in the devas. She said Buddhism does not teach about.....Now she wished she did when she has to bath with the evil spirits alone. Wouldn't the devas help her? She was a weakling lead astray. I will beseech the devas to rescue her. They will try because they are good beings. But they cannot help those who do not believe in them. How can they?

She said; "I cannot waste my time on death and life after death when life is before me." She didn't know that it is not life that is before one but death. Wisdom is very old. It is with the old and not with the young you find it. I humbly thank the devas that my daughter is saved. She has not gone astray. She is strong with the strength of true faith and her strength will save her. She honours the devas—the superior beings who will help us. But she, *like the cactus*, did believe she does rely on herself. Still I pray for her — pray to the devas that they take some of my merit that I have..... and help her. She is not in a position to receive my merits. When you give merit you gather some more.



# QUESTIONS

continued from page 52

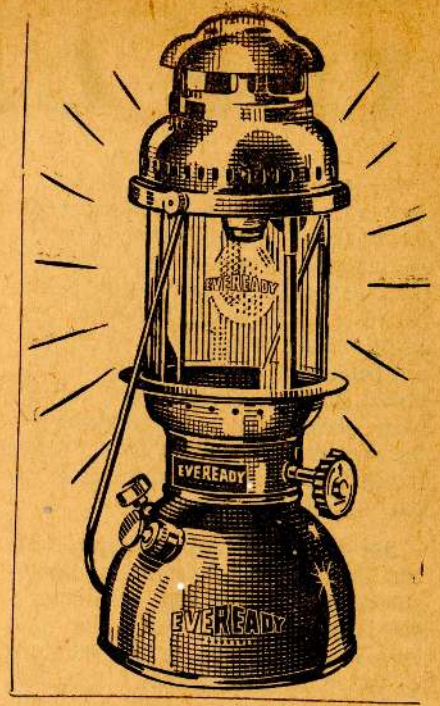
If Asia Foundation is allowed to continue in the same way, then a Russian Foundation, a Chinese Foundation, a Czechoslovak Foundation should also be allowed to operate in Ceylon in the same way. These Foundations could then make grants privately and secretly to individuals and organisations for cultural, educational and other reasons. The cold war would then be right in the heart of Ceylon!

If Asia Foundation, Sir, is what your Correspondent claims it to be just as another American Foundation like the Rockefeller and Ford Foundations—then, it should not object to operate through the Ceylon Government as all other Foundations do.

The Government of India had probably very good reasons for suspecting the techniques of Asia Foundation and for that reason not relaxing its rule about the manner foreign aid and grants for cultural, religious and educational purposes should be extended to persons in that country.

Can your correspondent tell us why the Asia Foundation should not operate through the Government of Ceylon? Would it be too much to ask the Foundation to make public every item of "aid" extended to individuals and organisations, ever since it started operations here? Such a list, if provided without reservation, would be the best evidence of the kind of work Asia Foundation has done in Ceylon. If my conjectures and inferences are wrong, such a list would be the finest evidence of the *bona fides* of Asia Foundation. If my suspicions are correct, Asia Foundation would never publish the list. It is necessary to insist that the list should be complete and not be an "expurgated one" in the light of my remarks.

The Government of Ceylon would do well to call for such a list, which should be supported by statements of operations from all the banks in which Asia Foundation has maintained accounts. Statements from the Exchange Control





and an unobtrusive check-up of unexplained items in the bank statements should provide a fair basis for gaining an insight into the activities of the Asia Foundation during the UNP regime.


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# GOCHARA

## —transit of planets—

*Gochara* means the transit of the planets as they go round the earth or their position in relation to the earth as they go round the sun. The planets going round the sun have no "retrograde" movements as each planet goes round the sun in one direction in a uniform rate and complete their circle at given periods. Saturn takes 30 years to complete the cycle. Jupiter takes 12 years; Mars takes about 2 years; Venus, Earth and Mercury about 12 months.

When planets like Venus, Sun and Mercury make one circle, Jupiter would have moved only 30 degrees namely, 1/12 of the circle, Saturn 12 degrees or 1/30 of the circle.

### Quadrants

When we divide a circle into 4 equal parts there are 4 quadrants. Suppose Earth and Jupiter start their journey from one point, Earth completes the first quadrant in 3 months during which time both planets are going forward. When Earth takes its journey on the second quadrant its movement appears to Jupiter as if it is coming backward, yet Jupiter keeps on its journey without a change. At the end of the next 3 months when Earth completes the journey on the second quadrant it comes to the point

when it is direct with Jupiter. When it takes up the journey on the 3rd quadrant both Jupiter and the Earth show as if they are going forward in the same direction. When the Earth completes its journey on the 3rd quadrant its journey on the 4th quadrant will be the same as it was in the second quadrant viz., Jupiter would appear to the earth as if it was coming back on its journey which is not so.

The other Planets also similarly show themselves to the earth as if they are coming backwards at certain periods. This is called *retrogression*. Planets in retrogression are said to be as powerful as they are in the zenith or exaltation point.

Westerners like Naylor take the sun as the centre and give effects of planets as they go round the Zodiac.

Easterners consider moon as the centre and give the effects of the planets according to their movements. In this, the "ownership" of the planets are ignored. There is also another school that treats the Lagna as the point and give effects of the planets as they go round in the Zodiac. All over South India moon is taken for predictions on Gochara. Even the

At the request of many readers we have arranged with Mr. S. Somasundaram to resume his articles on Astrology. Readers will recall his series on the principles of Astrology published in *Tribune* some months ago. In this week's article he indicates the basis on which the weekly forecasts that appear in many newspapers are constructed.

*Asta Varga* figures are taken for consideration in relation to the moon and not to the Lagna.

In a favourable sign, if the *Asta Varga* figures are more than 4, the results are excellent or is considered neutral. Under 4 gives reduced effects.

In an unfavourable sign, if there are over 4 points, the evil effects are nullified and good effects predominate. 4 is neutral under 4 the effects are very bad.

Therefore *Gochara* effects should be seen in conjunction with the *Asta Varga* figures of particular planets in the sign where it is at that time.

### Obstruction

There is also another point that must be seen in determining the *gochara* effects.

*continued on page 62*

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MUSLIMS & "SINHALESE ONLY"

It is surprising now to find the Muslim League and the Moors Cultural Home expressing dissatisfaction with the draft bill of "Sinhalese only" motion. Were not Dr. Kaleel, Sir Razik Fareed and Senator Azeez in the U.N.P. when it passed its Kelaniya Resolution for "Sinhalese only"? Did they not without a mandate from the Muslims vote for Sinhalese only? Did not Sir Razik and Dr. Kaleel like all other U.N.P. candidates at the last General Elections ask the voters to return them to Parliament to make Sinhalese the only State language? Why are these politicians showing concern for the language and the Fundamental Rights of the minorities now? Did they not have a chance to express their views when Ex Minister Natesan presented a bill on Fundamental Rights in the last Parliament, which was thrown out with the usual steam-roller majority, which included these two Muslim M.Ps. also?

Dr. Kaleel and Sir Razik knew very well that the Sinhalese only Bill would have been on the same lines even if the U.N.P. had come to power, in which case they would have supported it. But now they find that they are in a political wilderness as the M.E.P. is in power. The belated concern of the so-called Muslim Leaders at this stage betrays their thirst for office under the new Government.

Today the Muslims are mature enough to take decisions on these vital issues on a national level and not on a communal level through the Muslim League or the Moors cultural Home. I earnestly hope

**Astrology**

*continued from page 61*

When a planet is situated in a favourable sign and if at that time another planet is occupying a particular sign from the moon at Birth the good effect of the planet in question is obstructed or nullified.

The following table shows the respective good positions of the Planets and the position of the obstructing planet shown as nominator and denominator respectively.

*Sun* :—3/9, 6/12, 10/4, 11/5

3, 6, 10 and 11 are favourable places of sun in its journey counted from the moon at the time of birth.

9, 12, 4 and 5 are positions if occupied by any planet that would nullify the good effects of the sun.

*Moon* :—1/5, 3/9, 6/12, 7/2, 10/4, 11/8

*Mars* :—3/12, 6/9, 12/5

*Mercury* :—2/5, 4/3, 6/9, 8/1, 10/7, 11/12

*Jupiter* :—2/12, 5/4, 7/3, 9/10, 11/8

*Venus* :—1/8, 2/7, 3/1, 4/10, 5/9, 8/5, 9/11, 11/6, 12/3

*Saturn* :—3/12; 6/9, 11/6

*Rahu* same as *Saturn*.

*Kethu* same as *Mars*.

There is no obstruction caused between Saturn and Sun and between Mercury and Moon. The effects of the Planets will be given in subsequent issues.

that the new Government will cease to recognise these organisations and these so-called Leaders, the mouth-piece of the Muslims in Ceylon.

A Muslim

Bandarawela,  
25-5-56.

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# FASCISM AGAIN

continued from first page

the MEP, to push the country on to the road to fascism.

*This danger must be fought. All those who value democracy must rally round to fight fanaticism of every kind and variety. There is need for a United Front of all persons who believe in democracy and the rule of law to get together to end the present trend to fascism. Such persons of goodwill exist today in the MEP, in the UNP, in the NL SSP, the CP, the different Tamil, Ceylon Indian, and Muslim Parties, and in countless number of persons who have so far not asserted themselves in the political life of the country as they should.*

## Satyagraha

continued from page 57

South without obtaining any other benefit for the Tamils or other

minorities. Instead of good, there will be a great deal of harm.

If the trend towards language fascism is not arrested through a sane and just compromise based on the recognition that Tamils is one of the national languages of the country, Ceylon will soon end in the morass of anarchy and fascist disorder.

### UNP

There is no doubt that the UNP is going through a stern re-appraisal of its politics. Sir John's parting shot on Sunday was a somewhat soothing statement to reassure the public, but his constant references to the bogey of Marxism to explain everything he disliked sounded hollow and unconvincing. There is no doubt that Sir John is out of step with the times. Statements like this (much worse sentiments along the same lines were uttered) lost the election for the UNP. In the days of Hitler and Mussolini (and McCarthy) it was sufficient to shout anti-Marxism to get the support of certain powerful financial circles who

would provide the money to bamboozle the voters on a mass scale. The voters cannot so easily be fooled now.

The twenty five gentlemen appointed to set the UNP in order will do well to consider the reasons for the defeat of the UNP. I don't know whether these gentlemen realise that it was the Public Security Act and the phone-tapping which went a long way towards the defeat. And all the talk of anti-Marxism *ad mauseum* to explain all the acts of commission and omission of the UNP, in the economic field, was another reason for the debacle.

With sections of the MEP wanting to follow in the footsteps of the UNP it would be interesting to watch how the twenty-five set up to reorganise the UNP are going to set about their business.

But there is more than a suspicion in certain quarters that an "underground arm" of persons formerly in the UNP are among the leading language fanatics who are participated in the disturbances on Tuesday.

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AT

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(BATTICALOA)

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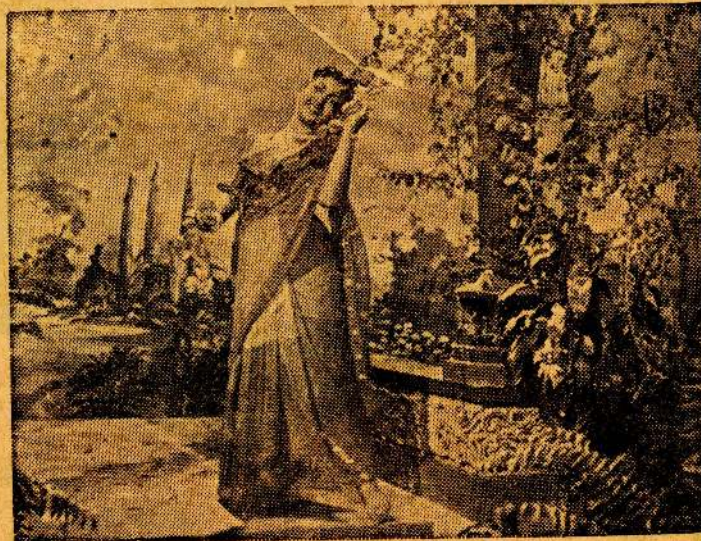
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