

TRIBUNE

Police or Government? who's to blame?

The report on the disturbances in Colombo on June 5th, said to be that of Stanley de Soyza, Minister of Finance, raises tremendously important questions of national significance. The hooliganism and anti-Tamil disturbances that prevailed in Colombo on June 5th and 6th is perhaps one of the darkest blots in the recent history of this island and has brought discredit to the MEP Government. It is imperative that there should be a thorough post-mortem investigation into the whole affair, at least to see that such happenings do not recur in the future.

The report of the Cabinet Minister, published in the *Times of Ceylon* on Tuesday June 26, laid the blame fully and squarely on the Police. It is alleged the Police were instructed

(and the Minister states that he was present when this was done) to keep the Galle Face and the area round the House of Representatives free of crowds. This was not done. If this had been done, the Minister argues, the troubles could have been nipped in the bud. Why did the Police not apply the move-on by-law?

It has been stated in the House of Representatives and in several newspapers that the apparent apathy of the Police on the morning and the early afternoon of June 5th seemed inexplicable. As the Minister points out, this has given rise to a rumour that the Police were under secret instructions not to give any protection to the satyagrahis as well as all Tamils who might be attacked on the streets or whose shops might be looted. If the report attributed to the Finance Minister is to be believed (and there is every reason to believe that he is speaking the truth), it would appear that the Police had definite instructions to act in the customary manner when any attempt to break the law was apprehended?

Commission

If this were so, why did the Prime Minister rush to the rescue of the Police and attempt to heap all the blame on the Tamil satyagrahis who he alleged had not given any notice about their intention to squat in protest on Galle Face Green, and that for this reason no protection against hooligan attacks was possible. It now transpires that the Police were aware of the intentions of the satyagrahis as the whole of Colombo (including the hooligans and goondas) were aware.

To make matters worse, the acting Chairman of the Cabinet, Min-

ister of Lands and Land Development C. P. de Silva, after a telephone conversation with the Prime Minister in London, has issued a press communique stating that Mr. Bandaranaike had the fullest confidence in the Police, *but it is significant that no attempt is made to deny the truth of the allegations made in the report said to be that of the Finance Minister.* It is also interesting to note that a language fanatic like Nimal Karunatileke, who has already put Sir John to shame in howling against the Left and the Marxists, rushes into print to indirectly defend the indefensible position that the troubles on June 5th were due entirely to the Satyagrahis.

At the Press Conference on the "leakage" of the report, Minister of Finance Stanley de Soyza, only sought to assert that it was not he who handed the document over to the *Times*. Beyond stating that the contents of the report were "confidential", he did not say anything. He did not, however, deny the veracity of the statements contained therein.

Tribune has pressed for a full inquiry into the events of June 5th. The report of a responsible Cabinet Minister makes this inquiry all the more urgent. And the fact that a language fanatic should attempt to side-track the issue by attacking the Finance Minister on the most specious grounds brings a sinister touch to the whole affair.

Who is to blame? The Police or the Government? Who is being protected? Is it some secret society lending support to language enthusiasts? Only a full scale inquiry will provide the answers. In fairness to the Police too, a Commission of Inquiry is essential; because there is no other forum in which they can defend themselves and give the public their version of the story.



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CEYLON NEWS REVIEW
COLOMBO, June 30, 1956
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In This Issue

Language	99
For & Against Hidden Hand	104
Comment	
Muslim Viewpoint	109
Tamil Also	



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Will PM be Firm?

Mr. Bandaranaike is now in England to attend the Commonwealth Premiers Conference. Britain would be anxious to find out what Ceylon's intentions are with regard to her bases in this Island, for one of the main issues on which the Bandaranaike Government was returned to power was the promise they made to the people with regard to the removal of foreign bases and the withdrawal of foreign troops.

The MEP's attitude towards foreign bases is the logical outcome of its neutralist stand in foreign affairs. Their manifesto with regard to foreign policy states thus: "Our foreign policy must be governed by the paramount need, in the interests of our people, of preserving peace. This object is best achieved by our country steering clear of involvement with the power blocs and by the establishment of friendly relations with all countries. Therefore no bases can be permitted in our country to any foreign power, and all foreign troops must be immediately withdrawn from our country."

Will Mr. Bandaranaike be firm in his stand that these bases be vacated in quick time? Will he carry into effect the promise he had made at the hustings? By speeding with the Language Bill he has shown that he can be fanatically honest with regard to his election pledges.

UNP

At this juncture it is interesting to read the apparently valuable advice offered to the Premier by the Lake House press. The editorial of the *Daily News* of 21.6.56 states thus: "What is important now is that Ceylon should ensure that no vacuum is created between the exit of British forces and the taking over the bases by Ceylon. The transition from British to Ceylonese control of the bases should therefore, be carried out smoothly and efficiently so that there is no hiatus between these two phases and no employee is thrown out of work."

A leader page article on the same

day states that withdrawal of British ships and planes would have created a military vacuum which would have proved very tempting to India, particularly South India. It must be noted that such a point of view corresponds to that of Mr. J. R. Jayawardene, as was expressed by him in the special issue of the *Ceylon Historical Journal*. (It must be stated that Mr. Jayawardene is a pro-American U. N. P. stalwart whose party was actively supported by the Lake House press in the recent Elections). Further in no way does such a view differ from that expressed by the pro-imperialist *Daily Mail* of Britain, which cautioned Ceylon that Nehru might begin to cast his covetous eyes on the Island paradise. That there are no grounds for such fears was made emphatic when our Prime Minister expressed his confidence in India's friendliness towards Ceylon.

The idea of intimidating Ceylon

into submission to the policies of the West by the big bogey of India seems to be the only argument these sources could find for the continued existence of our old colonial masters on our soil. The Lake House also seeks to give publicity to the advice given by the once "blacked out" but presently important husband of a Cabinet Minister, calling for caution with regard to the removal of bases. They seek to advocate a position whereby this foreign power will be given an additional lease of time, until perhaps a regime favourable to the West is established.

The recent utterances of the Prime Minister with regard to those missing documents make one wonder whether Mr. Bandaranaike is attempting to vacillate on this issue. Is he attempting to enter into a new agreement so that he can be armed with "documents"?

The tense nature of the world situation, the moves and counter-mover, particularly in S.E. Asia, demands of us that we should take a strictly neutralist stand in international affairs. Unless we are firm in our decision we will soon stand committed in the cold war and be possible victims of nuclear weapons.

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THE NIGHT MY NUMBER CAME UP

For and Against

Last week the background and the circumstances in which the *Sinhala Only Bill* emerged were analysed. It was pointed out that because there was not even a mention of any status for the Tamil language in the main Bill, the Tamil-speaking people had been roused to bitter opposition, that religious minorities were now most suspicious of the intentions of the Government in regard to fundamental rights, and that all progressive Left forces condemned this Bill as a piece of chauvinistic discriminatory legislation.

In this article it is proposed to examine briefly the nature of the support for and the opposition to the Bill. The support for the Bill in the present form has come entirely from the MEP, although many individual members of the Cabinet and the Parliamentary Party are known to be dissatisfied with the Bill as it stands. In fact, sources close to the MEP indicate that over half or more of the Parliamentary group of the MEP are said to feel that the absence of due recognition of Tamil as a *national* language (as opposed to *official*) is contrary to the MEP manifesto.

Political

The excuses and explanations that are offered in private as to why the safeguards for the minority language have been left to assurances indicate that the MEP is still anxious to strengthen their position among the Sinhalese masses (as against the UNP on the one hand and the Left forces led by the NLSSP — CP on the other) and for this purpose have resorted to the dangerous game of chauvinism. They seem to think that after placating the Sinhalese masses they could turn round and satisfy the minorities by actualizing the assurances in some legislative provisions. *Political amateurishness and immaturity alone is probably the reason why so many of the MEP think that a "bit of chauvinism" will not do any harm not realising that even a "teeny weeny bit of chauvinism" can open the floodgates of fascism.*

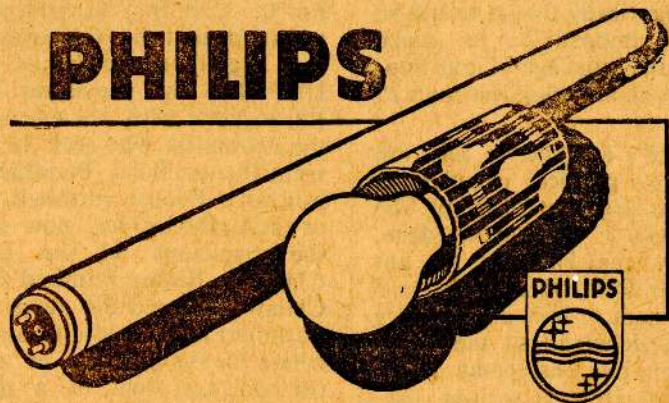
It must be mentioned that there seems to be a feeling among MEP parliamentarians that what the Sinhalese masses want first is the Sinhalese language and not so much the benefits of a progressive economic programme. That is a fatal mistake which is bound to boomerang on the MEP. This mistake in the assessment of the situation has arisen, in the view of keen political observers, owing to anxiety on the part of the MEP to render a knock-out blow to the Left parties which are admittedly the only political forces which can offer any degree of opposition to the MEP. In this connection many feel that if the NLSSP had followed its original offer of responsive co-operation to the Government longer, the MEP may not have resorted to the *Sinhala Only Bill* in its present form. The CP, which has clung to its policy of conditional support to the Government more tenaciously, in spite of the provocation of many MEP members, is not yet a national party of any consequence.

This is the second in a series of three articles on the *Sinhala Only Bill* by a Special Correspondent. The first which appeared in our last issue described the background to the Bill. In this article he analyses the support for and opposition to the Bill. In the concluding article next week the full implications of the Bill will be critically examined. Comments are invited from readers on the views expressed by the Special Correspondent.

The anxiety of the MEP to strengthen its position politically, by isolating the Left, was exploited by language extremists and chauvinists within MEP ranks to stampede the Government to resort to the *Sinhala Only Bill* in its present form. It is believed that the Prime Minister, the SLFP and the sober elements in the MEP now recognise the danger arising from such extremists. But the damage these persons have done will take a lot of undoing. It was because of the fact that Bill was so devoid of any consideration for the minorities that all MEP supporters of the Bill (except those from the group of language extremists and fanatics) were apologetic in their pleading for the acceptance of the Bill. That was why they

continued on page 100

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For & Against

continued from page 99

were so full of assurances. A senior Member of the Cabinet is stated to have confided in private conversation that this was only a declaratory Bill (but why was no declaration made about Tamil?).

Breakdown

This Bill has not received the support of the language experts either. Mr. Julius de Lanerolle, Editor of the Sinhalese Dictionary, and admittedly one of the most learned of Sinhalese scholars, has expressed the greatest concern regarding the implications of the Bill in any attempt to implement it. On the eve of the debate on the Language Bill, Mr. Lanerolle set out the practical difficulties that this Bill would give rise to. It must be mentioned that Mr. Lanerolle, who has been a member of practically every commission on National Languages from 1945, and who had also been co-opted by the Bandaranaike Sub-committee on language, had earlier striven to see that some provision was included in the Bill to give a status and place to the Tamil language.

In his statement to the press before the debate Mr. Lanerolle pointed out that if an attempt was made to implement the Bill with its four-year switch-over there would be a virtual breakdown of the Administration. Mr. Lanerolle also was interviewed by the *Silumina* in its issue of Sunday June 17, and he asserted categorically that it would be practically impossible to make Sinhalese the language of our Supreme Court in anything less than 25 years.

The UNP's attitude to this bill was based on political calculations and not the larger interests of the country. Mr. J. R. Jayawardene, the leader of that Party in the absence of Sir John, proclaimed in a press statement a few days before the Bill was debated that the MEP Sinhala Only bill was enemy No. 1 of the nation. He gave various reasons why it was bad. But during the debate the UNP supported the Bill except for passive statements that some mention of Tamil should have been included in the Bill. It is also significant that outside Parliament language and racial fanatics of the UNP variety (led and financed by a well-known bus magnate) have now switched over their sup-

port completely to the MEP language extremists. A great deal of the trouble caused on June 5th Colombo is being attributed to this group and this is the reason probably why the Premier in a farewell statement to the SLFP mentioned that language extremists were really "enemies of the Government" even if they operated from within the MEP.

Minorities

Direct opposition to the Sinhala Bill came from three sources. The first came from religious minorities. The Christians, only part of whom are Tamil-speaking, seemed to regard this Bill as a fore-runner of a move to make Ceylon a Sinhala Buddhist country, although they did not say so in express terms. The Protestant wing of the Christians came out much earlier than the Catholics against the Bill. Though they re-iterated the main arguments against the narrow language policy embodied in the Sinhala Only Bill, their fear that the Christian religion would be the next target of the language extremists was all too apparent.

The Catholics, who have for long been silent on the language issue, were constrained to come out against the implications of the Bill. It must be remembered that the Catholic Church in the South helped the UNP and D. S. Senanayake by converting a very large number of Tamil-medium schools in the coastal belt of the Colombo-Chilaw region into Sinhalese schools, and for the help they so rendered, it is admitted, that the Catholics benefited greatly at the hands of the UNP. But the provisions of this Bill together with the utterances of the extremists who seek to implement the unofficial Buddhist Commission's Report (directed mainly at the Catholics) has now aroused the suspicions of the Catholic Church. Bishop Edmund Peiris of Chilaw indicated the fears of the Catholics in a cautious statement where for the first time he coupled the language right of a minority with the broader question of fundamental rights. The *Catholic Messenger*, the weekly organ of the Church, also took up the same position.

The Muslims, who are mainly Tamil-speaking, apart from the activities of Sir Razik Fareed and Sinhala Marikkar (who see no danger in this Bill), seem to be opposed

to the Bill on two grounds. Firstly, they still want the reasonable use of the Tamil language, and secondly they are worried that an infringement of fundamental rights in the matter of language would lead to attacks on their religious rights. The Ceylon Indian minority also is perturbed about the Bill. They see in its provisions yet another attack on their position and although they do not seem to have made an issue of it (they have no Parliamentary representatives at the moment) it is abundantly clear that they would be in strong opposition to the implementation of the Bill as it stands.

From the Jaffna and Ceylon Tamils, opposition has been crystallised through the major Federal Party and "singleton" members like Ponnambalam and Suntheralingam. The Federal Party insists that the language and all other minority problems can be solved only through a new Constitution which provides for two autonomous states on the basis of a Federal Union. Suntheralingam seems to stand for a completely sovereign Tamil State, but political observers are uncertain when the next Suntheralingam somersault would take place. Ponnambalam is also breathing fire and thunder, but his politics are far too suspect for him to get any standing among the Tamils or anywhere else.

Opposition to the Bill on a national and political basis came from the socialist NLSSP and the Communist Party. They stand for a united Ceylon as a democratic multi-national Republic. They fought the Bill, strenuously in spite of the fact that what they stated was against the general emotional trend of opinion in both the Sinhalese and Tamil areas, and sought its repeal or amendment. Emotionally, the current trend among the Sinhalese is a Sinhala Only policy, whilst among the Ceylon Tamils it seems to be one of a separate State in a Federal Union. In going against both these trends the Left parties indicated that they were prepared to follow a consistent policy in spite of temporary difficulties. Their main argument was that language was not going to solve any of the economic problems of the country and that ultimately the salvation of the country would come only through socialism.

To be concluded next week

FOR BUDDHISM

May I be allowed to make a few comments on Robert L. Buell's letter in your issue of April 15?

One cannot begin to understand the workings of the Eastern mind nor the culture and the political strivings of the people there until it is realised that the lives of the citizens of Asian countries are inextricably interwoven with their religious philosophy. The difference in the independence won by the Americans from England and that won by the Asians is largely based on this single factor. One came about as a result of aggressive rebellion, people running away from home to establish themselves elsewhere; the other by patient waiting and striving.

It is not the purpose of this letter to evaluate either method. The suggestion is given only as an example of the difference in the temperament of people, the difference in value-judgments and the difference in the approaches which ultimately lead to the same goals.

Implications of Election

The understanding of the recent elections in Ceylon requires a realisation of the yearnings of the people. It is certainly an error to interpret the Ceylon elections as either a blow against the United States, or a leaning towards the Communists, or an indication that the people of Ceylon are too immature and too illiterate to exercise an intelligent vote; as was charged in Mr. Buell's letter.

Democracy, in one form or another, is nothing new to us. And it is quite incorrect to say that Ceylon is 40 per cent illiterate. We have 7,000 schools for our one and a half million children. Education is compulsory to the age of 14 and free education is available from the kindergarten to the university level.

The Ceylon elections were decided on a few very clear-cut issues. The chief of these was the Buddhist issue. Ceylon is predominantly Buddhist, with 75 per cent of the people following the Buddhist religion.

For nearly five hundred years three European powers did their best to relegate that religion to the background, if not to destroy it completely. During the British regime alone, within a space of ten years, 800,000 acres of land belonging to Buddhist temples were taken away without compensation of any kind and sold to planters, sometimes at five shillings an acre.

The Buddhist system of education was completely abolished and the Buddhists were compelled to go to missionary schools for their education.

Rehabilitation Measures

When Ceylon won her independence the Buddhists expected that measures would be devised to rehabilitate Buddhism and to restore it to its rightful place in the country. In this they were disappointed. True, certain things were done, but they were neither adequate nor sufficiently far-reaching.

In 1954 the All-Ceylon Buddhist Congress appointed a committee of inquiry to examine the position of the Buddhists in the country and make recommendations for its amelioration. This committee is-

In the *New York Times* of May 6, 1956 appeared this letter by Prof. G. P. Malalasekara. According to him the victory of the MEP was solely due to the support it extended to the Report of the unofficial Buddhist Commission. Is the learned Professor's analysis correct or is it wishful thinking? If it is the former will this country shortly witness a campaign to make Ceylon a Buddhist State? Prof. Malalasekara's letter is pregnant with thoughts that shall make other religious minorities apprehensive.

sued its report on Independence Day, Feb., 4 of this year. Parliament was dissolved on February 17. The United National Party said it would "consider" the committee's recommendations.

The United People's Front (which won the elections) undertook to implement the recommendations. The vast majority of the Buddhist monks naturally supported the latter,

But that was only one of the issues, though a very important one. Mr. Buell says that the voters in Asian countries vote "emotionally" about issues and do not exercise their franchise intelligently. To us who see the kind of propaganda

continued on page 102

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continued from page 101

now being carried on here for your Presidential election it is amusing to find an American talking with a superior air about the part played by emotion in elections in other countries.

Basis for Choice

I was in Ceylon during the elections. I am proud of the way in which my people voted. The majority of them voted with intelligence and discrimination. They understood the meaning of party poli-

tics and in more than one instance voted against a popular favourite because he belonged to the "wrong" party.

The people of Ceylon wanted a government which did not follow too slavishly the ways of life which they wished to see abolished. I repeat that the results of our elections does not mean that we are anti-American or Anti-British or pro-Communist.

At the same time we want to be free to make friends with all the nations in the world. We seek no power for ourselves; and we therefore think that this is possible. We are not extremists in either direction. As Buddhists we have followed the middle path for two thousand years and more, and we propose to continue on that same path.

As a small country we cannot hope foolishly to compete with larger and more powerful nations. We do not, however, wish to allow their influences to become so strong as to smother our own individuality and integrity.

We feel that it is not correct for the United States to take our elections so personally as to consider that if we are not voting the way they think we should, then we are "against" them. We admire the United States for many things. But we should be forgiven if we prefer to follow our own way of life.

G. P. MALALASEKERA.

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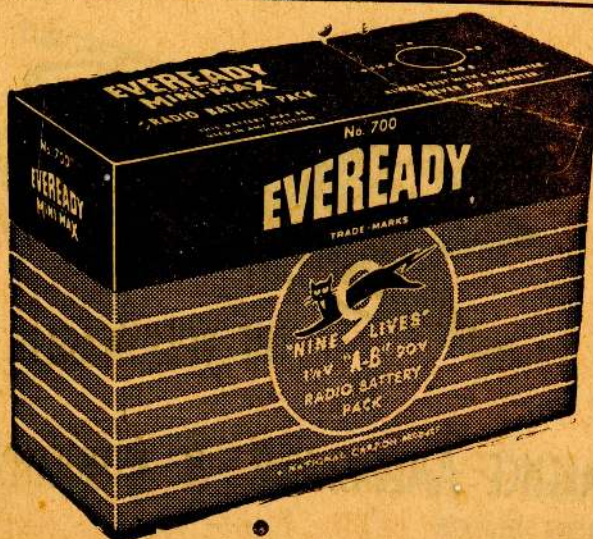
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The Prime Minister S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike left for London last Saturday June 23 to attend the Commonwealth Premier's Conference. It was said that for the first time since Ceylon was granted Independence in 1948, a somewhat new foreign policy distinct from the pro-British (pro-American) course chartered by D. S. Senanayake would be followed. Whatever Bandaranaike's vacillations may be on the domestic political front, even his critics are willing to admit that it is likely that he would tenaciously follow an independent foreign policy, somewhat on the lines of Nehru.

Extremists

Before he left, the Prime Minister delivered himself of a number of speeches and statements pertinent to the communal tension prevalent in the country today. At Mihintale and Anuradhapura on Poson Day he appealed for communal peace and impressed on the Buddhist Sinhalese that it was their duty to show tolerance to the other communities. He repeated this in Colombo before his departure, particularly at a meeting of the SLFP Executive Meeting, reports of which appeared in the daily Press.

According to the *Times* group of papers the Prime Minister in addition to an appeal for "brotherly" love, condemned the action of language extremists within the MEP and on the side of the Government. He is said to have characterised these persons as "enemies" of the Government and had said that they were as dangerous as enemies outside, who were anxious to discredit the Government and throw it out if possible. Significantly, the *Daily News* and other Lake House publications did not refer to this part of the Premier's address to the SLFP Executive. It is not known whether they did not receive a full report, or whether they did not want to publish the condemnation of a group which Lake House had played up before and during the language debate and tension.

Tamils

Although the tension arising from the violence has somewhat lessened last week, the Tamils of the North and East are in a very disturbed state. It is apparent that the separatist trend has gained tremendous impetus owing to the discriminatory aspects of the Sinhala Only Bill as it stands now.

The Federal Party, now more authoritatively than before, asserts that what it wants is a new Constitution with two separate autonomous states linked together in a Federal Union. It has gone so far as to re-emphasise that no justice could be expected from any Government "dominated" by the Sinhalese majority, even if that Government be a socialist NLSSP one. Many feel that this desire to insist on a pre-condition of a Federal Constitution is tending to isolate the Tamils of the North and East from the main current of progressive politics in this country. To have stressed that even a Government formed by N. M. Perera would mean no difference to the Tamils as compared to one by

Bandaranaike, Kotelawela or a Senanayake, at a time when the NLSSP courageously withstood the onslaught of Sinhalese jingoism, is to say the least political amateurishness and immaturity of the worst kind.

At the moment, the Tamils of the North and East stand isolated from the Ceylon Indians on the plantations and the bulk of Tamil speaking Muslims, although the Muslims and the Ceylon Indians are gravely perturbed about the language issue and are willing to fight the Sinhala Only Bill as question of a fundamental right, (just like the NLSSP and CP), but are unwilling to support a demand for two autonomous states.

Missionaries

The fact, moreover, that a number of Christian priests are the most ardent and open supporters of the separatist trend have caused deep misgivings not only among the progressive forces of the Centre and the Left but also among the Ceylon Indians and the Muslims. Nehru's warning of

continued on page 106

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HIDDEN

Prime Minister Nehru's warning about foreign intrigue in Asian countries, which is published on page 107 of this issue, should provide a great deal of food for thought. Nehru is a responsible statesman of world significance and it is admitted even by his sternest critics that he chooses his words with care. At a time when he is anxious to establish the closest relations with all countries in the East and the West it is not likely that he would have ventured to criticise easily indentifiable "foreign Powers" for secret interference in Indian and Asian affairs unless he had good material to base his charges and unless he felt that there was no alternative but an open exposure of alien intrigue in order to curb the spread of violent anarchy. Even the greatest of statesmen are known to have been silent about evils to be able to achieve greater good for the greater number; but Prime Minister Nehru must have had very good reasons for speaking of the hidden hand of foreign interference at this particular juncture.

What he stressed was that some foreign Powers were busy sowing the seeds of disintegration "in the name of language" for the purpose of making India weak. This was done he said by reactionary forces in order to distract people from the path of socialism. He named three rabidly communal organisations and said they were using the "masks of the same reactionary forces which sought to capture power in the wake of the partition of the country." The sinister significance of this statement can be fully appreciated only when it is remembered that it was the activities of the same kind of reactionary communal forces (coupled with the fact that the Congress then appeased them to some extent for political support) that led to a situation where partition became inevitable.

Nehru, after stressing that violence was not the way to settle differences over language or any other matter, declared that certain newspapers in India, which encouraged chaos and conflict, were being financed by foreign organisations. He

also indicated that the recent disturbances over language in Ceylon, like many of the disturbances in the newly-independent countries of South East Asia, may have stemmed from the same kind of foreign intrigue. *Many persons in Ceylon, who should know better, tend to regard urgent problems with that easy apathy that has made this island famous for being a land of lotus eaters. And this same spirit makes these and many others who echo similar sentiments to think that this cry of foreign interference is the product of a disordered mind perpetually burdened with an obsession about alien intrigue. Prime Minister Nehru's outspoken statement should make those, who have so far insisted on burying their heads in the sand of the naive belief that "foreigners" have no interest in secretly interfering in our affairs, to sit up. And if they do, as they must, if they are honest and seek the welfare of this land, they will see that a great many happenings in this land cannot be explained by any other means than by realising that the hidden hand of foreign inspiration and foreign money has played a menacing role.*

The communal problem, be it the Ceylon Indian problem or the language tussle, did not acquire any special political disruptive force until Ceylon began asserting a demand for greater independence politically in foreign affairs and economically in domestic problems. Violence erupted over language only when an endeavour was being made to adopt socialist policies in regard to economic development and a neutralist *Panch Sila* foreign policy.

Evidence is not wanting to satisfy those who are prepared to view matters objectively that foreign intrigue has already done a great deal of

damage in this country. In the first instance, the growth of reactionary fanatical communal ideology among the Sinhalese can be traced to certain secret societies which seem to obtain funds from the most mysterious sources. A feature article in the *Silumina* last Sunday draws pointed attention to these societies and to some gentlemen who operate in a big way without having any apparent income to justify all that they are doing. The number of "legal" news-sheets that have appeared (and continue to appear) in the Sinhalese areas in the last four years, spreading the poison of communalism, will be a revelation if a proper investigation is made. But more serious are the "illegal" handbills (without the name of a printer or publisher) that are distributed far and wide (and this has been done for over four years). After the MEP came to power such legal news-sheets and illegal handbills have increased in quantity and the tempo of their propaganda has become more venomous. The tragedy is that the MEP, instead of standing up against these reactionary trends, have sought to appease them, and this has led, as in India (before Independence), to a situation where a cry for partition is able to gain the sympathy of even non-communal sections of the minorities.

Over and over again we have stressed in *Tribune* that the cry for complete separation was first secretly inspired by foreign influences among the minorities. Today with the situation even more ripe than before for disruption, persons weighed down under such foreign influences have come out openly pleading for complete separation at a time when the basic opinion of even the most communal-minded Tamil is for an autonomous Tamil state in Federal Union.

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Newspapers reported last week that the Archaeological Commissioner had discovered some pre-Vijayan remains at a point near Puttalam (Kalpitiya) which revealed that the method of burial was the same as that practised in South India. The discovery is important in that it was found near the legendary landing place of Vijaya: and that the method of burial was the historic urn-burial. It was also reported that the remains were found in a pre-Vijayan layer.

The Archaeological Commissioner has also indicated that this method of urn-burial was practised in the Trinnevely district in South India and that he was investigating this matter further. There is need for a great deal more research and archaeological investigation than has so far been done into the pre-Vijayan period in this island. There, however, seems to be an impression in certain circles that all pre-Vijayan investigation has been ignored to the extent that a charge of deliberate and wilful neglect can be made. This is a matter that not only the Archaeological Department but the University should take an interest for the sake of history and research.

It is also necessary to educate research and other students that history must be viewed objectively and that it will be only a short-lived triumph to subvert truth for the purpose of establishing ancient history as one would want to have it (sometimes for contemporary political reasons).

Russia

According to a press report, the USSR has made an offer of two scholarships at the Moscow Institute for Higher Studies, and that the Government of Ceylon has accepted this in principle and has circularised educational institutions calling for applications from students who would like to avail themselves of this offer.

This is the first time that any offer from Russia has been accepted, apart from the offer through the

WHO for hospital equipment which was also only finalised after the MEP government came into power.

Like many studentships in America, the offer has come through the Government. The only exception to this has been the grant of such benefits as travel grants, scholarships, and even financial aid for research inside Ceylon from the US organisation known as the Asia Foundation. This unique organisation, as has been pointed out often, has an office in Colombo and this office not only grants money to Youth Councils for various projects, but has also set up a magnificent printing press and publishing house. It has also been said that Asia Foundation has helped individuals to set up other printing presses. Further, it is known that Asia Foundation has given money for local research to individuals and it would be interesting to find out just how many of them have spent the money so given on research. The Saman Press also acts as a publisher. Has it given advances to writers (or persons who claimed to be writers)? And here too it would be interesting to know how many of them have already fulfilled their undertakings. Finally, an investigation as to how many language enthusiasts and extremists have received such aid would be most revealing!

Doubts on the lines indicated above are troubling thinking sections in the city. All doubts can be set at rest if the Asia Foundation (and the Free Asia Committee as it was known before) publishes the full list of donees who have benefited from the Rs. 4 million which they claimed they have so far spent in Ceylon.

Tribune has always pressed that all aid from Asia Foundation should be channeled through Government. A report in the *Times* last week indicated that the Prime

Minister had taken a similar view and that he had conveyed this attitude of the new Government to Asia Foundation in Colombo.

Press Blackout

Are important matters being "blacked out" in the Press? I am told that there is pending in our Courts at this time a case where a member of the Government is facing certain charges together with others. Why has this case not been reported? Is it because the reporters of both newspaper organizations in the outstation court where the matter came up thought that it was not an important case and that it was not newsworthy. Or is that the sub-editorial desk in both newspaper offices felt that this case should be blacked out?

Any matter concerning a Member of Parliament is newsworthy as far as I know about journalism. But if it concerns someone a little more important than an ordinary M. P. it becomes even more significant from a news point of view.

Why has this rather interesting case been "blacked out"? Will this self-imposed ban continue?

Bookies

Bookies have now become a respectable tribe. In a recent news-report about a routine murder, the deceased was described as a bucket shop assistant and his employer was described as a bucket shop keeper. There was also reference to the fact that the deceased was carrying a few thousand rupees to pay out to the winners.

I have been under the impression that bucket shops are illegal and that this trade had no legal status. The news report indicates how wrong I am. Has there been a *de facto* legalising of bucket shops? Was this the reason why bookies met in conclave sometime ago and started a Liberation Fund?

Week by Week

continued from page 103

the hidden hand of foreign intrigue ("invisible" to those who refuse to know the course of history in South East Asia and other parts of the world) has caused many to ponder on the merits of the case for separation.

It is also significant that whilst the Tamil Arasu Kadchi emphasises the need for the Federal Union to preserve the geographical and national unity of the island, these Christian missionaries and even the pseudo-political weekly of a foreign Mission in the North speak only of a necessity to separate. If language parity is not immediately granted, the Tamils have no alternative but to separate, is the line of these persons. The question has been asked whether these gentlemen and their missionary predecessors wanted a separate territory for the Depressed classes for Jaffna when it was not

possible to achieve parity of social status for the unfortunate sections condemned by the caste system to a sub-human existence. Why this anxiety for separation now? Are they Christians first, with their belief of One God, One World and One Brotherhood of Man, or are they Tamils only? Or is there something more sinister than meets the eye? These are questions which are being asked in politically informed circles in the city of Colombo.

Silumina

The Lake House Sunday paper *Silumina* had a special feature by a staff correspondent, Elmo Gooneratne, in last week's issue on the question of foreign intrigue in the island. After setting out the general picture of foreign interference in the light of Nehru's warning at Rohtak, the writer speaks of his special investigations which have revealed the existence of foreign-inspired secret societies

among the Sinhalese set up for the purpose of fostering ill-will between the communities and against the Republic of India. This article refers to a number of unnamed individuals who seem to be playing leading roles in some of these secret societies. According to the report these individuals seem to be in possession of funds which neither present employment (or the lack of it in practically all cases) nor their family resources can suitably account for. There is reference in this article to two ex-journalists, one lawyer and a small-time businessman (who claimed to have given a contribution of Rs. 20,000 to one of these secret societies).

The strangest part of the business, according to other observers, is that this group of secret societies seem anxious to throw dust into the eyes of the public by pretending to be anti-foreign and are accusing political parties they do not like to be foreign-inspired and financed.

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Nehru's Warning

All those interested in the healthy development of democracy in Ceylon should take serious note of Nehru's warning. The hidden hand of foreign intrigue pulls many strings in Ceylon. It is a danger which cannot be minimised. The comment on page 104 draws attention to matters troubling thinking sections of the people in Ceylon.

ROHTAK, June 14,

Prime Minister Nehru to-day asked the people to beware of "elements sowing seeds of disintegration in the country in the name of language"—a game suited to the interests of some foreign Powers which, he said, wanted India to become weak.

Mr. Nehru, in a hundred-minute speech at a crowded public meeting here, said that the recent outbursts of violence in the country were a calculated attempt by reactionary forces to distract people from the path of Socialism.

The Prime Minister said that the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh, the Bharatiya Jana Sangh and the Maha Punjab Samiti were using the masks of the same reactionary forces which sought to capture power in the wake of the partition of the country.

The Prime Minister said that when India was poised for a bigger offensive against poverty, vested interests sought to divert the attention of the people from the basic issue of liquidation of the social and economic injustices. These elements used violence and if they succeeded in their effort, the country would fall to pieces. There were some foreign Powers, he said, which did not like to see Asian nations grow strong. They spent money to encourage things which would spread chaos in these newly independent nations and thus weaken them against these Powers.

Mr. Nehru said that the way to solve differences which existed among the people was by mutual discussion, and not by breaking each other's heads. To try to convert the opponent with the use of a stick was not the way of democracy. He said people should not forget the lessons taught by their history—the vanquishing of valiant Rajputs because of disunity and the over-running of India by the British because the Indian people were not united.

Financed

Prime Minister Nehru said that he knew some newspapers particularly in Delhi and Punjab, which encouraged chaos and conflict in the country were being financed by foreign Powers.

"And why are they doing this?" he asked and added "Some foreign countries wish to see conflict and

dissension spread in our country because they do not agree with certain policies of ours. They provide funds to some newspapers and through such bribery try to create chaos in the country.

Mr. Nehru said that Ceylonese newspapers had remarked that foreign money played a role in the recent disturbances in that country over the language issue. They had said that the countries who supplied this money hated to see Asian nations growing and becoming prosperous.

Mr. Nehru said he did not wish to name the newspapers in India which received foreign money, but "they are well-known"

He went on to criticise the RSS, the Jan Sangh, and the Maha Punjab Samiti, which, he said, were indulging in stone-throwing, beating and abusing their opponents. These were the same elements which "spread pernicious venom" in 1947 resulting in killings, and leading to the murder of Mahatma Gandhi. Reactionary forces like princes and jagirdars were behind them and even some foreign Powers were interested in encouraging them. The same "pernicious venom" was now being sought to be spread in the country again.

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RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Sir,

One useful step of the U.N.P. Government was the creation of the Rural Development Department. Had this movement been wisely directed, it could have made a valuable contribution towards the emancipation of the villagers. Its failure is chiefly due to faulty organisation.

About 75 percent of our population live in rural areas. Suppressed for a long time by three successive alien nations, neglected by a small section of their own people, who had risen to power on the heads of the foreigner, their economic condition deteriorated. They gradually lost their morale and were content to bear up their lot with stoic indifference. Every effort should, therefore, have been made to inspire them with a desire for self-improvement. R. D. Officers should have, by fraternising with the people, endeavoured to win their confidence in order to influence them to take concerted action in their own interest. Instead, tied

to the apron strings of the D.R.O.'s, they go about patronisingly addressing a few meetings, as a rule got up at the instance of headmen who are generally not enthusiastic about progressive activity in their divisions. An essential step is then to divorce the R.D.O. from the D.R.O. and to insist on the former going among the villagers persuading them to rouse themselves from their lethargy. The construction of an Edanda, good in itself, is not of such importance as changing the outlook of the people. So far, nothing has been done in this direction. An overhauling of the work of this Department is imperative. Rural Development is a mass movement and unless the masses themselves are influenced to take the initiative no lasting progress can be expected. Having seen at close quarters the work of some of these officers I feel that the expense now incurred by Government is not justified.

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TAMIL ALSO

When we adjourned, I was at the stage of speaking about the right of a Tamil-speaking citizen to communicate with any Government department in Tamil and receive a reply in Tamil. It is to me a very small matter but I know that it has been agitating the minds of very many distinguished persons. After all, I can lay claim to some experience in the sphere of administration and I do not envisage any greater difficulty than the employment of just one clerk or more in every department to conform to this rightful demand of the Tamil-speaking peoples but I am also envisaging a situation when the Tamil-speaking persons themselves may not take advantage of this right because they will in course of time find that this translation, unless the Government machinery changes beyond recognition, will take a day or two and they will be surer of expeditious reply by sending it in the language that is current in the department.

So that it does not derogate from the position of Sinhalese as the only State language if the right, the legitimate right, of a Tamil-speaking person in the light of the history, in the light of the position it was occupied for over so many centuries, if that right is recognized. It should not create an insuperable problem.

Then a similar right like that for the use of the Tamil language in the Parliament as it happens now, for the use of the Tamil language in the local authorities, should be recognized. And here, again, we will see that the Tamil-speaking member himself will, after a period of years, prefer to speak in the language that is understood by the large majority, who compose that assembly or those assemblies and I am sure no Tamil-speaking member will adopt the attitude that has been adopted by one of the Ministers of the present Government who deliberately made himself dumb in order to make others deaf.

Tamil & English

I do not think I have exhausted

This is the third and concluding part of Senator Azeez's statement on the language question. He shows just what the Muslim support for *Sinhalese Only* means. It really amounts to claim for *Tamil Also* whilst acknowledging the principle of *Sinhalese Only* coupled with of charter of Fundamental Rights.

the enumeration of all the problems that are connected with the legitimate and the rightful status of the Tamil language. I have indicated some of them and I am sure there are many more of them because, as I have stated before, this question affects not one department but all the departments, not one Minister but all the Ministers.

As I have pointed out before, I do differ from the speaker who preceded me, in that, I am prepared to accept Sinhalese as the only State language but that alone would not

satisfy me or the Muslim because we want Tamil given such a position that there should be no fear of the sure emasculation of that language and its final extinction. It is no use saying that language is found in another part of the world. The Tamil-speaking people of this country would like to preserve that language in this country as well. After all, the Tamil-speaking peoples of this country have made their own contributions to the growth and development of the Tamil language.

Then the resolution of the All-Ceylon Muslim League and the All-Ceylon Moors Association I referred to earlier also deals with the question of due official recognition given to English. I need not labour that point because some recent happenings have convinced me beyond all doubt that the status of the English language is quite safe because in the personality of the present Hon. Prime Minister we see that the acquisition of English under the best of surroundings does not in any way retard one's progress in

continued on page 110

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Tamil Also

continued from page 109

Sinhalese, and we also find that there is absolutely no incongruity in the eating of kiribath with the help of fork and spoon nor with the additional embellishment of a dark bow. If there is no such incongruity, surely there cannot be any incongruity in the simultaneous development of the Sinhalese and English languages in this country.

Section 29

Our resolution also refers to the fundamental rights of minorities. With regard to the fundamental rights there was a time when we were under the wrong impression that Section 29 of the Constitution Order in Council gave us all the rights that we are entitled to. Now we are disillusioned. We even thought that the Sinhalese language as only State language of this country could not be introduced without an amendment to that Sections 29 which many of us thought gave us all our rights. Now we are disillusioned I repeat and I am rather surprised to find — of course I am no lawyer — I am surprised because it is now stated that you can introduce the Bill as a simple Bill and if you get a two-third majority it is considered incorporated in the Constitution. I do not know the legality or otherwise of it but it would not be very satisfactory to introduce the Bill as an ordinary Bill and when it is passed by a certain number to regard it as part of the Constitution. Further it is also stated that a drastic amendment of the whole Constitution is contemplated and all these matters may be taken up by them. Why cannot this Language Bill be embodied as an ad hoc amendment to the Con-

stitution? In this matter, I am glad to find myself supported by the very influential organization of the Eksath Bhiksu Peramuna. I believe according to the newspapers they, too, are not quite satisfied with a simple Bill. As we are dealing with an important question, namely the question of the rights of minorities, it is best such matters are dealt with in the form of an Amendment to the Constitution.

Section 29 of the Order in Council is no longer the Magna Carta of the minorities; and our leaders were wrong. Our leaders were also wrong in thinking that obtaining a place in the Cabinet — was the surest form of safeguarding minority interests. I now say deliberately that is no safeguard. That does not mean that we Muslims are not grateful to the present Hon. Prime Minister for having given the Speakership to a member of our community and having given a Portfolio also to a member of our community. However, once some of the cultural questions are solved — and I am sure they will be solved quickly — the economic questions will come on top; and I feel that every Muslim could not necessarily think alike on economic questions. After all, there are lawyers, there are poor men, there are schoolmasters and all sorts of people in every community. Therefore, when economic questions come to occupy the foremost place in the deliberations of the Cabinet, things may change. Whatever our positions may be — while we appreciate the fact that there are Muslims holding high positions like that of Speaker and Minister — we want whatever rights we have, incorporated in the Constitution because the present Constitution has proved inadequate.

Fortunately for us, two big coun-

tries, our neighbouring countries, have addressed their minds to this question. They have produced two Constitutions where fundamental rights are enshrined. We can have the benefit of their experience. I am not suggesting that we should incorporate them line by line from their Constitutions.

I should like to assure the Members of the present Government, who are very keen on establishing in Ceylon a democratic form a society not only in its political aspect but also in its economic aspect, that we are equally keen about it, and that is why we request them to solve this problem quickly, so that the march towards democratic socialism may not be halted; otherwise, the march will be definitely halted by the kind of frustration caused, by the kind of fears engendered.

And this question of giving due recognition to Tamil is not only a matter of purely cultural and religious interest but also a matter of economic interest for the reason that I have stated, namely, if you solve this question the chances of establishing democratic socialism in this country are much brighter; otherwise, those efforts are bound to be retarded.

So that, in the matter of fundamental right this resolution, which I spoke of, refers not only to language, but also to religion and culture; because, just as this language controversy has arisen all of a sudden, there are fears expressed in certain quarters that a similar controversy may arise in respect of religion. Therefore it is best that all these problems which are very important — important not only to the minority communities but also to the majority community — are solved expeditiously.

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Capricornus (14th Jan. to 11th Feb.)

Worries, anxiety with regard to work or profession, useless expenditure, trouble from associates, assistance from friend towards end of week.

Aquarius (12th Feb. to 13th March.)

Setback in professional reputation, disputes, disappointments over finance or delay in recovery of monies, good-will of friends and acquaintances.

Pisces (14th March to 12th April)

Frustration, fear of enemies, adventitious income, voluntary assistance from friends.

Aries (13th April to 13th May)

Journeys, trouble from friends, co-operation from subordinates, gain in reputation, anxiety with regard to enterprises, financial difficulties.

Taurus (14th May to 13th June)

Success in work, subjection to influence of others, financial pros-

perity, domestic troubles and journeys.

Gemini (14th June to 14th July)

Surprising news, self confidence, defeat of enemies, loss through vehicles, fear of sickness.

Cancer (15th July to 15th August)

Profit, envy with regard to occupation, peace moves by enemies, journeys.

Leo (16th August 15th September)

Changes in occupation, assistance by friends, worries with regard to family, debts, troubles from employers.

Virgo (16th Sept. to 16th Oct.)

Sickness, loss of reputation, obstinacy over some matter, animosity of superiors.

Libra (1 th October to 15th Nov.)

Misunderstandings, sickness in family, slackness in work, restlessness, problems, with regard to



friends and associates. Situation improves as the week passes.

Scorpio (Nov. 16th to Dec. 14)

Good news and general happiness, good reputation, helpful to friends and associates, recognition by employer.

Sagittarius (15th Dec. to 13th Jan.)

Indecision, numerous problems, bad news, recovery of lost property, journeys.

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