

# TRIBUNE

## TWO REPORTS

### Planning Committee Divided

"Tribune" understands that the three man Committee of the National Planning Council entrusted with the work of reporting on the preliminary organisation and administrative machinery required for national planning has been unable to reach unanimity, and that two reports have now been submitted to the Council. It is learnt that basic differences of a fundamental character mark these two reports.

Whilst it is a healthy and welcome sign that differences of opinion should arise on fundamental question right from the very beginning, *Tribune* calls upon the Prime Minister as Head of the Planning Council to release to the press and the public the two reports now before the Council, and also all the other papers that are likely to come before the Council in the future which deal with fundamental questions of policy.

#### Publicity

We have good reason for making this request for the widest publicity for the work of the Planning Council. Unless the entire nation is

drawn into task of national planning, there cannot be a real National Plan for economic development. Policies hatched in secrecy without the fullest public discussion will fail to win popular confidence.

It must be emphasised that the old concept, prevalent particularly during the last regime, that publicity consisted in heavy-handed praise for bureaucratically-devised schemes carries with it the seeds of destruction. Nor is it sufficient publicity for a Government, as the current tendency seems to be, for spokesmen to make fervent emotion-appeals for sentimental causes which may bring temporary popular support but which cannot solve any permanent problems.

The Committee appointed by the Planning Council consisted of Walwin de Silva, D. B. Ellepola and C. Loganathan. Gamini Corea of the Planning Secretariat was also a member of the team. The Committee went on a trip to India to study developments there. Whilst Gamini Corea, it is learnt, has described in a report the administrative and organisational machinery of planning in India, the three other members had the task of suggesting the best way in which the work of planning and development could be started in this country.

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It is on this question that fundamental differences of opinion are said to have arisen. Walwin de Silva and Ellepola are said to have taken one view, and Loganathan another. The result is two reports. It would be premature to discuss the merits of the differences until the public is made aware of what these differences are. It is for this purpose that we have called upon the Prime Minister to release these two reports to the public.

At the present critical stage of the development of this island when there is so much dismay and disappointment with the language and religious policies of the present Government, the country is looking forward to the National Planning Council to produce proposals which will endeavour to solve permanent problems in a fundamental manner. Differences of opinion must and should arise for healthy development, but it is essential that the public should have an opportunity of participating in these discussions so that a truly National Plan may emerge.

#### Urgent

The urgency of the problems now facing the country were brought home in a telling manner by H. V. Perera, Chairman of the Bank of Ceylon, in a speech last week. It is necessary to draw particular attention to two matters referred to by H. V. Perera. He stated that

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# WEEK by WEEK in CEYLON

## ★ CHINESE TRADE DELEGATION

## ★ BUDDHIST CONGRESS ★ GMOA

The Ceylon China Rice-Rubber Agreement has been in operation since 1953, but it was only this time that a Trade Delegation was invited from China to finalise the price agreement for the current year. Until now, the Government of Ceylon, not anxious to have persons from "Red" China on our soil, has insisted on sending delegations from this country to Peking for all negotiations.

The main Ceylon-China Agreement is for five years, and 1957 is the fifth year under the agreement. Every year, or if the situation demands it earlier, the prices at which the rubber and the rice are bought and sold are fixed. The UNP, as long as it was in power, behaved as if it were dealing with a leper when it had transactions with Peoples China, even though Ceylon benefited to the tune of millions under the Agreement. The advent of the MEP has undoubtedly meant a difference, and the coming of the Chinese team to Ceylon is an indication that at least in our foreign relations there has been a marked change.

### Advantageous Again

The agreement signed for 1957 is once again advantageous to Ceylon. As in previous years, Ceylon's rubber is being bought by China at a price which carries a premium over the world market price as determined by the Singapore market. Ceylon, on the other hand, gets her rice at the lowest possible price, i.e. at the same price at which she buys from Burma.

This Agreement not only stabilises the rubber market but provides the necessary money for the replanting which is essential for the rubber industry. It also secures a steady supply of good quality rice at a low price. Both the Minister of Trade and Commerce and the Minister of Food and Agriculture, speaking on behalf of the Government, have expressed the greatest admiration for the result in which the negotiations proceeded and for the prices which

China has agreed to pay for rubber and sell her rice. Similar expressions of satisfaction as well as gratitude has been voiced by leaders of industry and trade in this country.

### Regret

The only regret that has been felt in certain commercial circles is that under cover of "security arrangements" only certain favoured businessmen were permitted to have "private chats" with members of trade delegation in regard to opening other channels and avenues of trade between the two countries. Minister R. G. Senanayake has probably not yet outlived his hangover from the days of the UNP. He may still believe in the theory that persons from Communist countries should only deal with persons like himself (and probably his friends in business); that it would be unsafe, from a political point of view, to permit others to come into contact with persons from Red countries. Business circles are keeping a weather-eye open to see whether any firms belonging or controlled by certain persons have received any

special advantage in the matter of private trade with China.

It was a notorious fact that in the days of the UNP, Governmental circles had unofficially insisted, when Trade Delegations had come from "Iron Curtain" countries, that they should have dealings *only* with certain firms in Colombo. When questions were asked about this, the stock apology was that if trade were permitted with *all* firms, these red countries would pass secret commissions for "subversive" communist activity in the island. This idea was subtly (and even brazenly) propagated by the Lake House which was at that time an echo of the USIS. Under the guise of protecting the country from subversive connection through trade, UNP circles "built up" certain firms and individuals by getting them special concessions to trade with Iron Curtain countries. This also inhibited the development of proper trade relations. There was a classic instance, during the last stages of the UNP, when the opportunity to obtain

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# 1956

The year 1956 was no able for four outstanding events. One was the dawn of civic consciousness among the people of this country which caused a bloodless revolution in the government of the land; the other was the passing of the Official Language Act which caused a bloody revolt among the Tamils and the Sinhalese; the third was the Buddha Jayanthi which caused a religious revival among the Buddhists; and the fourth was the complete lack of economic development during the year, which has brought the country very close to the brink of economic disaster.

As the year ends, racial discord and religious disharmony are at their peak level and the concept of a united Ceylonese nation has been splintered.

To begin with, the change of governments. This was brought about by the rising tide of unpopularity in which the United National Party found itself suddenly immersed. No amount of life belts thrown into the swelling waters, in the form of the Sinhala Only resolution at the Kelaniya Sessions, in the form of Exhibitions and, Jayanthi celebrations, and no amount of tamashas and vague promises could rescue the party. The country voted the U.N.P out of power and in its place sent in the surprise-packet party of the year.....the Mahajana Eksath Peramuna.

For the first time since, perhaps the grant of universal adult franchise, the peoples of this country exercised their votes democratically. There was serious thinking behind each vote and the people demonstrated in an unmistakable manner that they were conscious of their civic rights and duties. Later in the year they confirmed this fact, when the people of Colombo at the Municipal Council election cast an anti-government vote to record their disapproval of certain actions of the government, and their disap-

pointment with a party which they had so recently returned to power.

## Language

One of the first acts of the new government was to order the drafting of the *Sinhala Only Bill*, by which Sinhalese only was to be declared the official language of the country. The minorities who were confident that they would be given a fair deal by the new government were up in arms and swore opposition to the Bill from every platform. But the government went ahead with its Bill and passed it by 66 votes to 29. While the Bill was being debated in the House of Representatives, on the first day of the debate, a group of Sa yagrahis on

Galle Face Green were beaten up by hooligans, and four members of Parliament were wounded seriously. This was the signal for rioting and looting, and Tamil and Indian shops were looted by hooligans who swarmed the Pettah and Maradana areas in hordes. Men and women were mercilessly beaten up in buses and on the streets. Soon the scare of communal riots spread to Gal Oya, Batticaloa and Trincomalee. The disturbances were worst in these areas and it is unofficially reported that about 150 persons lost their lives. The police however estimate the number of lives lost as 22, and about 50 persons missing.

Now that the Official Language Act has become law, the government finds itself hard put to the task of administering the Act. It has come up against difficulties in the field of education in a big way. The educational system is in a chaos, and teachers and students alike are confused as to where the educational policy of the govern-

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# 1957

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# In Retrospect

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ment is leading the country to. The stage has now been reached where instruction in the S.S.C. classes is to be in the Swabasha medium. There are not enough text-books and not enough teachers, with the result that the standards of education are seriously lowered while a large mass of half educated youth is being churned out, and there is no prospect of employment for them.

## Education

Students who pass the S.S.C. in the Swabasha medium will naturally look up to the government to provide them with a type of employment that their counterparts who passed the S.S.C. in the English medium not long ago enjoyed. And if they are not afforded such employment they will quite naturally have a grouse against the government. Already, we have the spectacle of a large number of S.S.C. (Sinhalese) educated youth clamouring for employment and this number is bound to increase by leaps and bounds within the next few years. The monster which the government itself created is finally (bound) to swallow it up. Unless of course the educational policy of the country is heavily weighted in favour of technical education at the J.S.C. level, by which method the country can divert a large section of the educated youth to employment where the use of hands is involved. At present the country has no useful industries where such employment could well be obtained, and that is why perhaps the government finds itself reluctant to adopt a technical education policy at the moment.

Again no attempt was made to solve the problem of introducing the Swabasha medium of instruction into the University, where Engineering, Law, Medicine and Science are concerned. The University authorities have informed the government that they are not in a position to teach in the Swabasha Medium in 1960, but the Minister of Education adamantly insists on the switch over in 1960. As the year ends the University Council has decided to meet the Prime Minister and obtain clarification from him as to how the Official Language Act should be administered as far as the University is concerned, and also explain the difficulties of introducing the Swabasha medium at this stage.

As far as the Public Service of the country and the Official Language Act are concerned, a suitable arrangement has been arrived at by the Minister of Finance and so far there have been no serious objections raised.

## Numberplate

Towards the end of the year however, it seemed that the communal flames were dying out slowly, but right out of the blue almost, came the "Sii" numberplate to fan the flames again. Again the country is sharply divided on this issue, and it is to be regretted that the government allowed such a petty matter to be the subject of fierce controversy between two communities.

The Buddha Jayanthi created much religious enthusiasm not only in this country but also in foreign countries. Meat eating during the period of the Buddha Jayanthi was banned, although Bhikku Kassappa, a Buddhist leader of renown con-

demned the government for such action and in turn appealed to the people to refrain from killing one another during this period. However the murder rate for this year topped all previous years. The death penalty too has been suspended for a trial period of three years, by administrative action, despite the fact that the Senate threw out the Death Penalty Bill after the House of Representatives had passed it with only one member voting against the Bill.

The total lack of economic development and planning during the year is perhaps the most surprising matter as far as the government which was pledged to a path of socialism is concerned. Our trade surplus this year has fallen very low, mainly due to the fact that while our exports have been restricted, our imports have been unlimited. The government has made no effort to bring down the import bill of the country either by increased production at home or cutting down of the bill. On the other hand the Port of Colombo has been strike bound on a number of occasions, causing the Government finally to declare the Port an essential service.

The National Planning Council appointed by the Government has still not produced its blueprint for economic development. The Council's sub-committee recently visited India and it is expected that a plan will be laid before government very shortly.

The government also during the year reintroduced the mid-day bun and glass of milk for schoolchildren. This is no doubt a boon to the

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# EVALUATION

That a People's Democracy, after an outstanding record of Socialist construction and economic and cultural advance from a previous basis of landlordism, fascism and war ruin, should at the end of eleven years have aroused such widespread popular discontent that the regime became untenable on the basis of its own internal forces and support, is an appalling situation, which the undoubted facts of Western externally organised penetration and subversion during the whole cold war period are inadequate to explain.

That the Soviet armed forces, which already twelve years ago had to sacrifice so many of their bravest fighters to rescue Hungary from fascism, should have to make new sacrifices again after twelve years against the same enemy and the same White Terror which had held Hungary in the grip before for a quarter of a century without the people being able to throw it off, and that such intervention should inevitably also appear to come into opposition to genuine grievances of wide popular sections, is a tragic situation alike for the Hungarian people, for the Soviet people and for international Socialism.

## Responsibilities and Action

All the responsibilities and causes without exception, including the record of the internal regime and Party leadership in Hungary, and the relationship of the Soviet Union to Hungary and of the Soviet Communist Party to the Hungarian Workers' Party, will have to be subjected to merciless review in order to draw the lessons and ensure that such an outcome shall never occur again.

After the fall of the first Communist regime in Hungary, thirty-seven years ago, such a review was made, not only of the external causes through the foreign intervention, but of the internal faults of the regime. How much more so today? But such an analysis is no substitute for action.

Is it true that there was a serious menace of fascism and counter-revolution, or the armed force,

which were conducting White Terror unchecked and reviving anti-semitism, and of the reactionary sections associated with Cardinal Mindszenty, gaining the upper hand and taking over control in the confused conditions of the last days of October and beginning of November to restore a new version of the old Horthy regime?

Is it true that the Nagy Government was proving wholly impotent to counter this menace, and was in fact capitulating day by day more completely to the enlarging aggressive demands of anti-Socialist reaction?

And if this is true, and there was a menace of a fascist Hungary arising in Europe, was it just and correct, and corresponding to the true interests, not only of the Hungarian people, but of all the peoples of Europe, of the international working class and of peace, that the Soviet armed forces stationed in Hungary under the peace treaties arising from the war against fascism, should take prompt action to prevent the re-emergence of a fascist Hungary in the heart of Europe?

These are the central questions of controversy, irrespective of opinions on the causes leading to this disastrous situation.

## True and False Sympathies

When the first Communist-Social-

So much of the Western (cold war) point of view has been repeatedly and plentifully published in our daily press that *Tribune* reprints this week R. Palme Dutt's views on the Hungarian situation to enable our readers to know how a Communist commentator, recognised as an astute observer of international affairs, evaluates the developments in Hungary. This article is the part dealing with Hungary from the "Notes of the Month" from the *Labour Monthly*, December 1956.

ist regime in Hungary was smashed by the invading foreign armies of the entente, by the invading Rumanian and Czech armies under the French General, to instal the White Terror that slaughtered tens of thousands, was there the slightest hint of protest against such foreign armed intervention from the statesmen of the West or from the great millionaire Press organs which today rattle their painted faces with counterfeit tears and crack their brazen throats with howls of professed emotional indignation over the intervention of the Soviet armed forces in Hungary?

On the contrary, they gloated and exulted in the glorious victory over Bolshevism. The emoticons of these great 'organs of opinion' are turned on and off as from a tap, not according to genuine feeling,

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# EVALUATION

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but according to the cold, calculated class interests of their masters, the lords of money. They care no more for the sufferings of the Hungarian people than they have cared for the sufferings of the Cypriot, Kenya or Malayan peoples, or the hundreds of thousands of colonial peoples done to death by imperialism.

Every honest democrat and Socialist will, therefore, assess at its true worth the shameless hypocrisy of the clamour raised by these organs against the Soviet action in Hungary. This does not thereby diminish or invalidate the sincere emotions of many progressive people, Socialists and Communists, who are deeply concerned over the events in Hungary or doubt the justice of Soviet action. But it does mean that these elements need to be on guard against allowing their emotional feeling to cloud their political judgement from seeing the international class alignment which is involved in the present situation in Hungary.

Hungary was the first fascist State. Memories are short. Because fascism had ruled Hungary for over a quarter of a century, and had been succeeded by only eleven years of an alternative State, some would like to assume that the possibility of the restoration of fascism had disappeared and could only be a figment of the imagination.

But in fact the internal forces of the Hungarian people had proved incapable of conquering fascism. This is a harsh fact, but true. The Hungarian militant working class, led by the illegal Communist Party, had a glorious record in the fight against fascism. But the militant working class was a handful in a sea of reaction, backwardness and oppression.

The Hungarian Social Democratic party, to its dishonour, signed a treaty with the White Government pledging cooperation for "the Magyar standpoint" and "collaboration with bourgeois society" and opposition to strikes, in return for permission to exist.

Nationalist demagoguery, anti-semitism and anti-Russian incitement were the weapons of the clique of large landowners, militarists and wealthy Church interests which ruled Hungary.

## Unstable Change

During all these two-and-a-half decades of fascism and White Terror in Hungary, spreading over all Eastern and eventually Central Europe did the Soviet Union intervene? Never. The people of every country must conquer their own class enemy by their own internal strength. The hard path must be trodden, however slow and painful. Such is the principle of Marxism-Leninism; and Lenin always insisted that only the overriding requirements of the international situation could ever in abnormal circumstances take precedence of this principle.

Poland tore away and annexed Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia. The entente by armed force overthrew the Soviet Baltic Republics. The Soviet Union steadfastly pursued the path of peace, non aggression and non-intervention. Only when fascism in Central and Eastern Europe, organised in the Axis and under Hitler, became an external menace to the life of the peoples of all Europe and the world, the military destruction of fascism became the inescapable task. The Soviet armies, in alliance with the Western armies, destroyed the military power of fascism in Europe.

What was to follow? It was universally agreed and pledged by the allies, and set out in the Declaration of Europe, that fascism must never be allowed to arise anew—an absolute pledge irrespective of the internal forces within each country. Therefore new types of regime must be established, despite the weakness and immaturity of the popular forces, to withstand fascism. Such new regimes must be on a different social basis from the social basis of the large landowners, militarists and political power of the Church which had maintained fascism. So came into being the Peoples Democracies in Eastern Europe.

It was an abnormal situation. The working people came to power not by their own strength, but through the destruction of fascism by the Soviet armies. The super-human task was set them, despite the weakness of their forces, to carry through the most rapid social reconstruction and political transformation to bar the road to the return of fascism.

It was a superhuman task. The Communist Party at the outset had only ten thousand members. The

rest had to come from those who had accepted or even collaborated with fascism, or from the youth who had never known the conditions of revolutionary illegal struggle. Let us not fail to recognise the gigantic achievement of socialist reconstruction and popular advance that was in fact accomplished.

All the evidence indicates that in the early years there was wide popularity of the new regime and the social and economic reforms. But in later years it is clear that grave evils developed which alienated the people.

It is possible that there were political errors in endeavouring to advance too rapidly from the coalition basis (the Communist Party had only one-quarter of the votes in the first election) to predominance of the United Workers' Party; the Chinese example could now teach much on this.

There were economic errors in the endeavour to press too hard the pace of industrialisation, the essential basis of economic independence. The Soviet people also had to go through hardships to carry through the necessary accelerated industrialisation; but they had deep revolutionary strength and experience. There was no such revolutionary maturity in Hungary. So the methods of bureaucracy and repression began to displace the methods of persuasion and conviction.

The cold war exacerbated this situation. It was in 1947 that Pres-

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# EVALUATION

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ident Truman proclaimed the cold war. It was in 1948 that the special security police was established in Hungary. During the later years of Stalin it is clear that the evils and excesses of the administrative and police apparatus which developed in the Soviet Union were reproduced in Hungary.

*A menacing situation developed which profoundly weakened the Party and struck at the essential links of the Party, the class and the masses of the people.*

## Correction and confusion

After the death of Stalin a drastic review and correction was imperative. Such a review and correction had proceeded in an orderly fashion, step by step in the Soviet Union, during the three years preceding the 20th Congress. It would appear that a similar process was begun in Hungary in the summer of 1953, with the replacement of Rakosi by Nagy as Premier and the shift to increased production of consumer goods to raise standards; and some economic improvement of conditions followed.

But the clock was then again turned back; Rakosi returned; the priority for heavy industry was resumed, with the necessity of new sacrifices. We cannot yet know from here the reasons for these shifts. But it is clear that in the outcome the process of necessary change and reform of the regime was dangerously delayed. A destructive fight of factions developed in the Party.

On this situation broke the 20th Congress, not after three years' preparation as in the maturer Soviet Union, but like a bolt from the blue in the still immature People's Democracies. The Soviet people were strong enough in revolutionary experience to take the shock without shaking. In the less stable People's Democracies considerable confusion and some anti-Soviet tendencies followed.

## Paralysis of the Party

In the Hungarian Party the battle of opposing forces reached extreme forms; some leaders resisted necessary changes; masses of idealistic youth, furious against bureaucratic and repressive abuses, and without previous experience of re-

volutionary struggle and fascism, were swept forward with torrential demands for freedom in all spheres, with no realisation of the hard conditions of class dictatorship or the menace of reaction. The Party became paralysed and destroyed as a political factor.

In these conditions the great anarchic confused popular upsurge developed with no effective organised party of the working class to lead it, but only the compact, highly organised, long-prepared groups of counter-revolution ready to take advantage of the confusion.

Was the Hungarian upsurge a popular mass movement or an attempted *coup* of counter-revolution? The question presents a false alternative. Both elements were present. The masses who surged on the streets were demanding reforms of evils; there is no reason to believe that the majority desired the destruction of their Socialist achievements or the return of the big landlords and capitalists. There were genuine grievances and deep national feeling; there were also factors of backwardness affecting sections, the continued political influence of the Church, or the susceptibility of sections to the old traditional nationalist anti-Russian and anti-Jewish slogans.

## Mass Movement or Counter-Revolution?

But in this mass ferment there was also at work, as the only organised force ready to exploit the confusion, the armed gangs of revolution, with the key forces previously trained and equipped from the West, and with a manifest conscious and unified political and military strategy. There was a manifest military strategy with the concentration on the Western frontier and Western Hungary. There was a manifest political strategy, which began with echoing the popular reform slogans, and day by day began to insert the slogans of reactionary demagoguery, of nationalism, anti-Russianism, anti-semitism, Western orientation, and finally freedom from Socialism.

The Nagy Government capitulated step by step, until finally reaction was in the open, with a non-Socialist majority in the Nagy Government. Cardinal Mindszenty's broadcast for the restoration of capitalism and landlordsism and the political powers of the Church, and the

White Terror roamed the streets. The battle opened.

"There was never any real danger that the Hungarian revolt would end in the restoration of the Horthyite fascists," announced the *New Statesman* on November 10. No danger?

*WHY IGNORE* the declaration of Premier Nagy who already in his broadcast on October 25 stated that 'counter-revolutionaries have carried out an armed attack against the People's Democratic order? Why should they know more than Anna Kethly who hesitated to join the Nagy Government because, as she declared on October 30, 'among the revolutionaries there was Right-wing fascist extremists who would dearly love to capture our national revolution?'

*WHY IGNORE* the warning of West German Social Democracy in their organ *Vorwaerts* that 'Nagy was without authority' and that 'the insurgents were being excited to extremism under the influence of reactionary and fascist elements?'

*WHY IGNORE* the boast of the *Daily Mail* correspondent on October 25 that he dined in Budapest with the leaders who for a year plotted this week's revolt?

*WHY IGNORE* the *Daily Express* correspondent's report on October 31 that 'ynch law' ruled in Budapest, and that the White

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# EVALUATION

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Terror was slaughtering, not only security police, but Nagy supporters, and that 'innocent people are being killed'?

**WHY IGNORE** the warnings of the *Jewish Chronicle*, through its Vienna correspondent, that 'dark elements' were 'stirring up hatred against Jews in general,' (it should be explained that Rakosi, Gero and other prominent Communists were Jews, and the agitation against them bore a certain anti-semitic character) and that 'at the outbreak of the insurrection the crowds shouted "Turn Out the Jews"?

*Bonfires of Marxist literature in the squares and streets. White Terror stringing up the corpses of men and women suspected of Communism. 'Turn out the Jews.' But of course no 'real menace' of fascism, says the New Statesman. Perhaps those who wish to deny the menace of fascism imagine that in these circumstances a nice good Social Democrat would have come along and put everything right. Vain illusion. So also after the smashing of the Communist regime in Hungary in 1919 a Social Democratic Government was installed for a transitory instant to give place to Horthy fascism.*

## Soviet Role

But even if it has to be admitted that there was a real menace of a fascist Hungary, it is argued, the Soviet armed forces should not have intervened to support the Kadar Government in its fight against fascism and counter-revolution.

We have not discussing here the more controversial question of the first intervention in response to the appeal of the preceding Government (a question which would require a much fuller examination of the facts to reach a final judgement); since whole present international controversy has turned on the armed assistance to the Kadar Government.

It not this, it is asked, interfering in the internal politics of another nation, 'exporting revolution', 'imposing Socialism by foreign bayonets,' etc.—all contrary to the elementary principles of Communism.

Certainly any such action would be contrary to Communism. The Soviet Union has no wish to intervene in the internal politics of any other nation. The Soviet soldiers would prefer to stay at home.

But the question of the restoration of a fascist Hungary is not a mere Hungarian question; it is a European question, affecting the lives of all the peoples of Europe.

*The Soviet Union stands pledged, since 1945, in solemn agreement with all the allies, never to allow the restoration of fascism in Europe. The Soviet Union is more faithful to its pledges than the Western allies have been in respect of Adenauer's Germany, where Hitler's Generals are back in power and rearmed. If a fascist Hungary were to arise alongside Adenauer's Germany, as the first step to a new fascist bloc of Central and Eastern Europe, the Second World War would have been fought in vain.*

In that hour of mortal peril those who are so loud-spoken today to denounce the Soviet armies, just as they did over Finland, would once again be thanking heaven for the Soviet armies as their saviours. Let us not tread that path again.

## For a Political Settlement

The military destruction of the menace of fascism and counter-revolution in Hungary is only the first step. On that indispensable foundation follows the decisive task, the political task, to create the conditions for the political forces of the Hungarian people, after the danger of fascism has been dealt with, to find their way forward to build anew their democratic order and their national independence, purged of the

evils and excesses that stained the record of their first People Democracy, to restore their shattered economy with the willing help of the peoples of the whole world, and to maintain and carry forward their Socialist achievements. That task is no easy one after the bitter conflicts of the preceding period. We shall not help them best by fanning the flames of cold war.

Let us strive rather, not only to approach the problems of the Hungarian people with understanding and sympathy and practical help, but above all to seek to create such conditions in Europe as shall banish for ever the curse of the cold war, which has had such adverse effects on the internal development in every country, end the opposing sectional military pacts and all foreign military occupations in Europe, East or West, and open the way to the peaceful advance of all the peoples of Europe in cooperation.

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I am also one of those who has so far believed that Ceylon should exist as one single political and geographical unit, whatever be the differences between those who live in the North and East and those who live in the other parts of the island.

But the jingoistic, autocratic and totally undemocratic behaviour of the MEP Government in regard to the question of the official language, and the way various Ministers are seeking to force their reactionary policies down the throats of the people, compels even persons like myself to wonder whether the only way to bring *this Government* to its senses is not to resort to "direct action".

Workers in the harbour and other places have had to "strike" in order to make this Government realise its responsibilities. The GMOA had to threaten "strike" in a big way before the Government climbed down from its high pedestal of supreme indifference.

In the circumstances, I can see no other way for the Tamil minority to secure recognition for its rights except by resorting to various methods of "direct action" of a peaceful but effective nature. The great nationalist non-cooperation movement in India was triggered by the salt satyagraha. This salt satyagraha was only symbolic of what a people felt against its oppressors, but it is only from such symbols that mighty movements arise. The campaign against *Sinhalese Only* "Sir" can lead to a powerful movement!

It matters not just what symbol is used on a motor number plate. But when a symbol is selected as an adjunct to a chauvinistic language policy and when such symbol is forced down on an important sec-

tion of the people, then the symbol on the motor number plate assumes political significance. Whereas the MEP Government does not seem able to make its *Sinhalese Only Writ* in regard to language reach out effectively throughout the length and breadth of the island, it now seeks vicarious satisfaction by wanting *Sinhalese Only* to be recognised in motor number plates (and possibly currency notes, later on, if it succeeds with the number plate).

The only answer to this is to see that cars bearing the *Sinhalese Only* "Sri" number plates are not permitted (through peaceful but effective methods) to run in the North and East of the island where the Tamil minorities live. Already Insurance Companies have indicated that they are unable to cover vehicles with *Sinhalese Only* "Sri" number plates which will be used in the North and East of the island.

It is only when direct action makes the Government realise that the *Sinhalese Only Writ* and/or *Fiat* cannot be forced down an unwilling people through compulsion (*Sinhalese Only Official Language Act*), or through subterfuge (*Sinhalese*

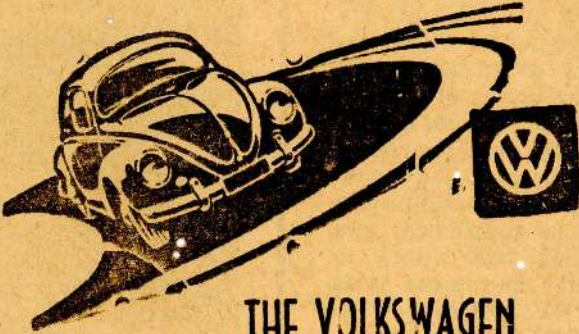
*Only* "Sri" number plate) and that its authority would become farcical on an all-island basis the present Government would reverse its anti-democratic policies.

Already, the worthy Minister of Education has made a madhouse of the educational system. He has made a farce and a mockery of the power vested in a Minister. The Minister of Transport, who has so far shown restraint and caution in his utterances, delivered himself of a such a bombastic homily on the use of the *Sinhalese Only* "Sri" number plate, spiced with pseudo-Hitlerian threats, that it is becoming clear that the disease which afflicts Dahanayake has infected even other Members of the Cabinet.

Dr. Naganathan wants to "picket" Tamils who own "Sri" number cars. This is insufficient and inappropriate. He should picket all vehicles, belonging to Tamils, Sinhalese, Government, Bus Companies, — in fact everybody — bearing the *Sinhalese Only* "Sri" number plate which seek to travel along roads in the areas where the present *Sinhalese Only* policy of the Government causes heart-burning owing to its inherent injustice.

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# SIR RAZIK & UNP

Sir Razik Fareed and his politics have always intrigued me. But his recent letter of resignation from the U.N.P. and his accusations of that Party have left me with a veritable jig-saw puzzle to work out. And reading through Sir Razik's letter of resignation, all that I have been able to piece together is the conclusion that Sir Razik is the type of gentleman who wears the political cap that suits him best at any given moment of time.

I do not hold a brief for the U.N.P. In fact, following Sir Razik's revelations of some of the happenings in that Party when it was in power I think it is the duty of this government to inquire into some of the abuses of power during the previous regime. And Sir Razik Fareed should be invited to be chief prosecution witness!

Sir Razik Fareed states categorically: "It (the United National Party) lost its 'National' character when dishonourably nationalising undesirable non-nationals overnight became its main hobby and pastime; if not trade." This is too serious a statement to be passed by lightly. Firstly there is the accusation that the previous government made money out of granting citizenship rights, and this accusation is tantamount to a charge of bribery and corruption. Sir Razik, I am convinced would not level such a charge unless he had ample evidence, to prove it, for otherwise would not Sir Razik be opening himself to an action for defamation. The Leader of the Opposition, Dr. N. M. Perera, himself without levelling such a charge asked the government to inquire into the granting of citizenship rights by the previous government and here is Sir Razik now willing to make the charge and prove it as well. What is the present government waiting for?

## Money

Secondly, are not our citizenship laws nullified by the granting of citizenship to "undesirable non-nationals", when the laws require that citizenship will be granted to distinguished persons? Sir Razik's accusation that "undesirable non-nationals were turned distinguished

citizens overnight", by the changing hands of rupees and cents, has been common talk for a long time. And there is nothing to prove that a stop has been put to that practice for the same public servants who worked during the U.N.P. regime continue to work today and there is every reason to believe that the practice is being continued. The present government, just as it takes the business of preventing illegal immigrants from entering this country, seriously, it should ensure that "undesirables" are not made distinguished citizens. For otherwise the citizenship laws of this country would be a mockery of the right of citizenship which the people of this country enjoy, and claim to be proud of.

Sir Razik who claims to be interested in the welfare of this country should himself lay before the country the expert knowledge he has gained of the happenings with regard to the granting of citizenship rights, and prove the sincerity of his actions thereby. For otherwise the people will be inclined to think that Sir Razik had joined in sharing the spoils which the U.N.P. had

gained and is now crying "Thief Thief" in order to clear his own name.

Thirdly there is the stigma cast on a number of distinguished persons who were granted citizenship legitimately and whose honour Sir Razik should vindicate in all fairness. In as much as I exclude Sir Razik Fareed from my list of persons who were 'honoured' by the previous government for stoogery, and bootlicking, so must Sir Razik Fareed exclude from his allegations the distinguished persons who were granted citizenship rights legitimately. And this he can only do by naming those persons who were made citizens of this country through bribery and corruption.

What passes my comprehension therefore is that a gentleman like Sir Razik Fareed, chose to be in a government (and for so long), which practised bribery and corruption at the highest level. Why did he not resign from the "den of intrigue and conspiracy" earlier?

Secret

Sir Razik refers in his letter to a secret pact between the U.N.P. and

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sugar from Poland was lost because Government circles wanted the sale to be put through a particular individual (securing for him commission which amounted to a sizable fortune) whereas all the preliminary negotiations had been conducted through another business firm which was not in high favour with the UNP.

The opening of embassies and trade consulates by communist countries in Ceylon, it is expected, would prevent such situations arising, but there is speculation now whether in the era of the MEP there has been any such "intrigue" when the recent Chinese trade delegations was in Ceylon.

**Buddhist Congress**

Holding a loaded pistol at the government's head seems to be a fashion with the people of the People's government. And the latest to join this pistol-packing bandwagon is the All Ceylon Buddhist Congress, whose President is Dr. G. P. Malalasekera, the government's envoy-designate to Russia.

At the meeting of the Congress last Sunday, a resolution that "unless the Government implements as early as possible the recommendations of the Buddhist Commission Report, the Congress and the Maha Sabha would rearm themselves for intense propaganda in every village home, to prepare people for a Mahajana Eksath Peramuna of a more sincere hue", was adopted.

The delegates at that meeting are also reported to have authorised the Central Executive of the Congress to organise propaganda meetings in every village and town in the country and to create public opinion on the subject while members of the Maha Sangha who took part in the proceedings assured the congress of the support of the 12,000 strong Sangha in any "war of attrition" to save Sri Lanka from alien faiths.

Another important resolution at that meeting was that all assisted schools should be taken over by the government on or before January 1958, and this recommendation of the Buddhist

January 5, 1957

*Commission be given priority by government.*

It is with the latter resolution that we wish to deal. The Minister of Education has wisely referred the matter to the Prime Minister for decision. In a press interview he stated that as the law stood at present he could only take over assisted schools with the consent of the managers. He added that at the moment he was taking no steps to get the law amended on the particular question, and that the amendment of the law was a matter of policy and could only be decided upon by the Cabinet.

Apart from all this business of the amendment of the law, the fact remains that All-Ceylon Buddhist Congress aims at closing down denominational schools of other religions. This cannot be gain-said, when one reads the two resolutions together. What does the Congress mean when it says that it wishes to save "Sri Lanka from alien faiths." This coupled with the speeches that were made on the occasion of the meeting leave us to draw the indisputable conclusion, that the Congress wishes to take over denominational schools of other religions and convert them into Buddhist schools.

We quote from the speeches that were made at the meeting:- "The

implementation of the recommendation would end the stampede of Buddhist children at entrance examinations at Buddhist schools which were full up at present and further prevent Buddhist children being educated at non-Buddhist institutions." Kotahena Pannakirti Thero. Mr. P. de S. Kularatne:—"Christian missionaries were openly criticising the recommendation on the ground, according to them, that Buddhists insisted on the government taking over assisted schools because Buddhists were unable to put up the necessary Buddhist schools. I can tell these critics they are mistaken. We Buddhists can do what it takes time. But what will it open is that Buddhists, Protestants, Methodists and Catholics will end up in water-tight compartments if all of us have denominational school *ad lib*. For unity and peace among all religionists in this country, I say without fear that all children of all religions should be educated together to end strife and competition. We Buddhists do not believe in hitting below the belt because if it is our aim to destroy other religions we can still do it by opening up Buddhist schools side by side with Christian schools."

That was Mr. P. de S. Kularatne, and educationist, speaking, dear reader. And we allow you to judge him and the aim of the Congress by his own words.

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# WHY?

The year 1956 is perhaps the most momentous in the recent political history of the island. Being an Asian country which was granted adult franchise (in 1931) and political freedom (in 1947) without the trials and tribulations of an active national liberation struggle against Imperialism, Ceylon has been lacking in an alert civic and political consciousness similar to what has grown up in India. One of the most important consequences of this was that the family caucus, trusted by the British, and popularly known as the Senanayake-Kotelawela clique, and which knew no other politics than to continue the die-hard and reactionary policies of British colonial administrators under new guises, successfully exploited the enfranchised voters to retain itself in power for over twenty five years. By expending vast sums of money on futile agricultural colonisation schemes, by token symbols like the mirage of "free education", and other such tamashas, the United National Party (which was the political garb assumed by the Senanayake-Kotelawela coterie in 1947 when the public began to react against family bandyism) cleverly bamboozled the voters of this country without doing anything concrete towards national development or transforming the basis of the stagnant colonial economic structure which was slowly plunging an overwhelming majority of the population of this country into the morass of unemployment, poverty and misery.

The year 1956 saw the defeat of the United National Party. The voting masses of Ceylon had awakened sufficiently to reject a Party which had decided on a "snap" election in a bid to increase its already large parliamentary majority and to ensure its rule for an-

other term of five years. *Tribune* was the only newspaper which had anticipated, in some measure, the results of the April 1956 General Elections and it was the first to hail the ushering in of the MEP as a new era in the political life of this country. The Lake House press, which until recently had acted as the unofficial organ of the Senanayake-Kotelawela clique and the United National Party, has now awakened to the true significance of the defeat of the UNP. A commentator in the *Sunday Observer* of December 30, 1956 in his over-enthusiasm declared "1956 will go down to history as the year of the Ceylon's Glorious Revolution." Whether the term "revolution" can be used for the events of April 1956 is another matter, but the Lake House writer went on to assess the situation thus: "Ceylon's April revolution was an event probably unparalleled in any country. For what other example is there of a ruling party commanding an overwhelming majority in the legislature going to the country in a mood of complete self-confidence at a time of its own choosing only to be soundly beaten and reduced to a fraction of its former strength? Like the hero in an old Greek tragedy, the UNP paid for their downfall for the sin of pride. Years of power had imbued them with such cocksureness that they had not only grown unresponsive to public opinion; they did not even know what public opinion was ... .." The writer of the comment, however, conveniently forgot that it was Lake House, which claimed to be the watch-dog of public opinion, that not only misled the UNP into the belief that it was invincible but also helped the UNP for a long time to hoodwink the public with its various political stunts and tamashas.

The *Sunday Observer* writer then proceeded to record correctly that the MEP Government was welcom-

ed with enthusiasm. Aptly he summed up the position: "The peasants who trekked to Colombo for the opening of Parliament to see their Government being inaugurated, the harbour workers who welcomed the dawn of the millenium, the clerks in a government department who met and decided that in future they would serve the public better, the civil servants who hoped that they would at last be able to build up a tradition of the political neutrality of the service — all of them shared it. Even the minorities (ordinary citizens, not the politicians) felt a great deal of goodwill towards the new government, in spite of its commitments on language and religion."

The *Sunday Observer* commentator then declared, as we have so often done, that: "thus it was that the MEP took up office with an opportunity such as few governments have ever had ...." But the MEP Government has dissipated this fund of goodwill within eight short months. Except for the re-orientation in foreign policy, the MEP has chalked up an inglorious record far worse than all the misdeeds of the UNP. To quote the *Sunday Observer* writer once again: "the spirit of sacrifice, the capacity for fresh effort which was there in April, died for lack of encouragement. All that was left was the conviction that *ape anduwa* had an obligation to give the people more. Instead of harder work there were strikes which damaged the economy further. But meanwhile, with every month of office, the old, old practices of the UNP were creeping back into the new Government ....."

The list of the misdeeds of the MEP have been cited at length and repeatedly, and commentators have drawn satisfaction from the fact that the people who turned the UNP out of power in April would not hesitate to throw the MEP out. Few, however, have paused to ask: why the MEP has failed so miserably? The answer is simple. The MEP, like the UNP, has no leaders steeled in struggle with a record of sacrifice. This is once again the result of the fact that Ceylon was given its freedom on a silver platter (owing to the upsurge of liberation movements in other parts of South-East Asia) and it still does not possess cadres of political leaders who are capable of ruling the country

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## RAMPALA

I spent the Christmas and New Year holidays in what the Prime Minister would describe as the "rural" parts of Ceylon. It is in these areas the Premier claimed that the MEP had the greatest support, and that, in spite of the reversal of opinion in the urban centres, the MEP was still very popular in the rural regions.

All that may be as true as the Prime Minister has insisted, but in my wanderings in the rural regions I have found that the peasant and ordinary dweller has already begun talking about the misdeeds of the MEP; how it was no different from the UNP, and how in some aspects it was much worse.

To remove all possible misunderstanding I must say straightaway that my remarks refer only to Sinhalese people in the rural regions.

I found that these people were undoubtedly excited by the fact that the Sinhalese language has been given a place of honour and that the Buddhist religion was being "revived", but they were greatly disturbed that the Tamil people had been offended by the actions of the Government. Their attitude was that Tamil should also be given a place as long as the first place was not denied to the Sinhalese.

But the language question was not the most urgent one in their view. They have begun to realise that language was not going to solve the question of employment, food and money. They also have realised that MEP Ministers talk foolishly and stupidly, and that their efforts to play to the rural gallery was only a repetition of what the UNP stalwarts had earlier done.

### Popular Pastime

In the urban as well as the rural areas, I found that the most popular pastime among politically conscious and thinking persons today was to list the misdeeds of the MEP and compare them to the actions of the UNP.

Everybody seems to be agreed that the besetting sin of the MEP, like that of the UNP, was that "sup-r-lative degree of pride known as arrogance."

Pride leads inevitably to sin, but it seems to be the general view that "whilst the UNP sinned in private and apologetically, the MEP sins in public, brazenly and without so much as an apology.

The first sin the MEP has fallen victim to is that of lionising its Cabinet Ministers. The Prime Minister is now received with all the pomp and glory that Sir John received when he returned from his trips abroad. Individual Ministers strut about (in cloth and banian instead of dinner jackets) like vain jackdaws and demand obeisance from all sundry.

The second major sin of the MEP is that its members "use their official positions as Ministers, Parliamentary Secretaries, and even as MP's to bring undue influence to bear on public servants to further their own ends, or those of their friends and relatives, at the expense of their electorate." A whole heap of instances of misdemeanours under this category have been cited: hospital chits, trips abroad, misuse of telephone and postal facilities and the like.

### Eight Months

A columnist in the *Morning Times* 21/12/56 very tersely put it that ".....but whatever the MEP's sins, lethargy is not one of them. It did in eight months what the UNP took eight years to do....." And acidly commented that "celebrity is not a virtue from a political party's point of view. The UNP marched to its grave. The MEP seems to be galloping towards its end."

But in my view the most serious default on the part of the MEP is that it has taken over the entire Public Security machinery of the UNP under a new garb. The tapping of telephones continues, and

Public Security officials dog the footsteps of those not favoured by the party in power in the same way it was done under the UNP. There seems to be only one difference: in the old days the excuse for the Public Security to tap one's phone and keep one under political surveillance was the cry of "Communism." Anyone whose views were distasteful to the ruling clique was branded as a RED. Today, the same methods are employed but the labels have been changed. So damn anyone it is now thought sufficient to label him UNP or an enemy of the Sinhalese race. Once this is done, the coterie in power think that the Gestapo can be let loose.

I know officials in the Public Service who hated the guts of the UNP (and voted anti-UNP in the April elections). Because they have now refused to stooge for certain MEP stalwarts (in the same way they refused to oblige UNP chieftains), accusations are made that they are "UNP" villains and investigations have been launched to frame evidence to punish them.

This kind of witch-hunting brought the UNP to its grave. The MEP cannot escape the same fate simply because it is shouting aloud about the Sinhalese language and forcing the *Sinhalese Only* "Sri" number plate on the entire population. I can only end with this wish expressed by the *Morning Times* columnist ATTILA....." The UNP is mending its ways in exile. All we ask is that the MEP mend its ways while it is still in office....."

### Can It Be Done?

The question will naturally be asked whether it is possible for the MEP to reform itself whilst in office. The answer is YES. Even the worst criminal can reform, and a political movement can do this even more easily.

Firstly, the Prime Minister must develop more backbone and lead his party more effectively. He can-

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# Just Briefly

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not permit the sorry spectacle in having a bunch of Ministers who arrogate unto themselves all the powers of the Prime Minister.

Secondly, he must bring into the MEP, or even a wider popular movement, all the available political talent in the country who will be willing to work on an agreed programme towards national reconstruction. For this purpose, he must formulate a programme which can bring into the movement the best elements from the UNP, the SLFP, the LSSP (this party should stop following its present ostrich-like policy), the CP and the political parties of the minorities.

Thirdly, he must openly and publicly fight all forms of selfishness in politicians, Ministers and MP's. It must be brought home to them that sacrifice and selflessness cannot be acquired by shouting *Sinhalese Only* or flaunting a *Sinhalese Only* motor car number plate.

Unless the struggle for such a virile political movement is launched immediately, I cannot see any way for the MEP to reform itself whilst in office.

## Rampala

It is no doubt a little distressing and heart-rending to think about the present situation in the country, and I therefore found it very refreshing to meet a dynamic personality, who is keen about doing a good job of work under most trying and difficult circumstances.

Although I have had occasion to refer to the marked improvements in the Railway after Rampala took charge of its affairs, I had not the pleasure of meeting him. Accidentally and unexpectedly, I ran into him a few days ago. We did not have much time for conversation, but in the few minutes we had I asked him a number of questions.

Rampala knows his C.G.R. and also seems to know just what is needed to improve matters. But what struck me as significant was that he was fully conscious of the role of road transport in an agricultural economy like that of Ceylon.

Whether he will have any say in the proper co-ordination of road and rail transport is yet to be seen (the vagaries of Ministerial bureaucracy in Ceylon are notorious). But after listening to his answers in reply to my questions I feel certain that the C.G.R. will be pulled out of its rut in a few years. Already, as I have said on so many occasions in this column, things are moving better and faster in the Railways.

Rampala has a scheme for modernising the suburban services with colour signalling (I hope I have got the term correct) which would enable several trains to use the track at the same time. *Commuter*, who writes a weekly column in the *Times of Ceylon* is one of the most incisive critics of the transport system in this country, but I find that he has very enthusiastically praised Rampala's efforts and commended some of his proposals. *Commuter* knows very much more than I do about transport problems (I know nothing at all about the technical aspects), and his praise for Rampala's schemes for improving the Railway have impressed me a great deal.

A few more persons like Rampala, dedicated to their work, in key posts in Ceylon will make a great deal of difference to the national development programme, as and when it is drawn up. In fact, it is men like Rampala who should be on the National Planning Council rather than some of the moth-eaten old bureaucrats who are now on it.

Rampala took charge of the Railways at its lowest ebb. Apart from the C-Plan help from Canada which has supplied about ten locomotives he has had to rely entirely on the resources of the near-bankrupt C.G.R. The temptation to maintain the *status quo*, with a few *tamashas* to justify one's appointment, as so many other Heads of Department in Ceylon do, has not inhibited Rampala, but he has set about cleaning Aegean stables in the C.G.R. with commendable enthusiasm. Nor does he seem to be one of those gentlemen (who received their training in Europe) who believes that all good things must come from the West.

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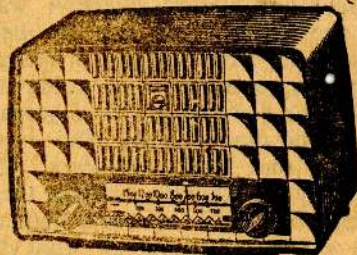
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# Comment

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wisely and well. If Dahanayake had spent some years in an imperialist gaol, he would not be galloping about like a Don Quixote gone raving mad and behaving in the irresponsible and autocratic manner he now does. If the Ministers of the MEP Government had spent years in building national unity to fight imperialism, if they had struggled to win the support of all sections of the people to mould a progressive national movement, they would not have dared to launch their chauvinistic jingo policy on language and religion and drive different minorities to a dangerous mood of frustration and despair. Ceylon is today paying the price for not having undergone the trials of a political struggle for freedom which would have thrown up leaders of maturity and responsibility. History cannot be by-passed, and what this country is witnessing today is the painful struggle towards the creation of a mature political movement which will be led by leaders capa-

## LETTERS

All democrats, all those opposed to the reactionary *Sinhalese Only* policy of the MEP Government should support the campaign which will reduce the *Sinhalese Only* "Sri" number plate to a veritable farce.

VIJAYA.

Colombo,  
31 12 56

## "JUSTICE"

Sir,

This is a reminder of one of the samples of Sri Lanka justice.

A very large section of the minorities produce the major wealth of this country, which is being spent for the maintenance of the Government and public services, quite apart from the fact that the state

ble of ruling the country, without falling into the pitfalls dug by the UNP (into which the MEP has fallen), on the basis of a programme which can create a united nation and lead it to prosperity and happiness.

administrators and their appendages also thrive on it

But the right royal reward of the State for the blood and tears of these wealth producers is that they were first made voteless and later stateless since the gift of Independence to this country in recognition of their national service. The present stand of Sri Lanka brand of "Efficient Socialism" and the "Democratic Socialism" of the "People's Government" in respect of these top national workers is on the pedestal of "we take your plums and you take the crumbs that fall from the master's table". The Government appears to feel that this type of justice is very legitimate.


Treatment of this kind will be considered utterly unethical by other countries. On the other hand, such national service will get for such workers top preference for their happiness and contentment.

A. M. Devasagayam.


Uduwawala,  
Katugastota,  
14th December, 1956.


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# SIR RAZIK . . . .

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the Northern and Eastern Province members of Parliament for them to contest as Independents, and re-join the party if they were elected. In his letter he states: "If you were really convinced of the Language policy, why could you not have put up candidates in the North and East? You wanted to deceive both the Sinhalese and the Tamils". Sir Razik is getting warmer and warmer and it will be in the best interests of the people this country and will perhaps unite the Tamils and Sinhalese more if Sir Razik came clean and told us all about this secret pact. And then it will be really hot. Double dealing of this type, I am all for exposing, but what puzzles me more is that Sir Razik should have kept mum all this while, and remained in the party. At least, now, Sir Razik can tell us every thing, and if he does not, the people will be justified in presuming that Sir Razik is the type of person who will grin and bear when the going is good, but shout abuse like a common fishraonger when he is thrown out on the streets.

Sir Razik further states in his letter: "At the outset I must remind you that the term 'United National Party' has now no significance and is a misnomer for the group of which you (General Secretary) are proud to be the Big Man. You will know that it ceased to be 'United' for some good time and it turned out to be a den of intrigue and conspiracy". There is no doubt that the U.N.P. ceased to be united a long time ago, in fact, immediately after the Tamil speaking members of the Party resigned, but, Sir Razik chose to stay on. On Sir Razik's own admission the party was no longer national in character but still Sir Razik stayed on, which leaves me to draw the conclusion that Sir Razik stayed on because there were advantages to be gained from the Party by staying on.

Sir Razik then comes up with the following argument: "You went to the polls on the Sinhalese Only pledge unconditionally. When the party was beaten, you proved your insincerity not merely by permitting, but by encouraging members both of the House of Representatives and the Senate to vote against the Language Bill. Two of the leading members of the Party and that too Sinhalese, will not deny that they pleaded with me for

nearly two hours not to support the Bill. I did not want to be a party to the fraud perpetrated by you on the public. And hence my unequivocal stand in voting for the Bill as the only elected minority member in Parliament (beside the government Minister Marikkar)".

Sir Razik apparently therefore, and on his own statement voted for the Language Bill, not because he was convinced that Sinhalese Only should be the official language of the country, but because he did not want to be party to a fraud by the U.N.P. What a dishonest exercise of a vote, on the part of Sir Razik Fareed. He exercises his vote not in the interests of the country, but merely to prevent someone else from perpetrating a fraud, and in the process commits a fraud in the exercise of his vote. And he alone of the minority members of the United National Party votes for the Official Language Bill. All other minority members were too ashamed to vote for the Bill.

### Smarting

Sir Razik must be smarting under the defeat of all the candidates he sponsored at the Colombo Municipal Council elections. He says: "Just because you have a handful of so-called Muslim sycophants hanging on to you to pick up any left over crumbs, you shall not fool the entire Muslim public of Ceylon that you are their saviours". Now Sir Razik who was the chief Mus-

lim sycophant in the ranks of the U.N.P. all these days should not talk of his erstwhile colleagues in this fashion. If Sir Razik thinks that the Muslim people did not get a fair deal under the U.N.P. and that they would get a fair deal from the M.E.P. he should disillusion himself. The M.E.P. especially the Minister of Education is doing all in his power to woo the Muslims. Once he and the M.E.P. have got what they wanted from the Muslims, they will jolly well kick them out. Or perhaps Sir Razik is using this "poor poor Moors" cry to join the M.E.P. in which case he is selling the Moors for a mess of pottage.

Sir Razik may have certain principles and it is still not too late for him to stand by those principles. I admire men who stand by principles, but when they turn and twist to suit their own convenience they should be condemned.

Sir Razik's actions it cannot be said are above board. He should declare once and for all what side of the fence he belongs to, and should stay on the side he elects to belong to.

Apart from all this, Sir Razik's letter to the U.N.P. is a condemnation of local politics and is perhaps a worthy document to preserve. Some day it will prove that all is not well in this country.

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# BANKRUPTCY

The abortive "Greater Syria" project envisaged the establishment of an Arab state under British aegis; the Baghdad pact was an exact replica of the Middle Eastern program of the British imperial reactionaries duplicating all its errors, self deceptions and contradictions. A British oil empire, a system of British military bases, an iron colonial cage for tens of millions of Arabs and Iranians — all these objectives remained. The pact was to embrace all the countries between the Red Sea and the Caspian and a European power, Britain, was to be their high patron. She was to exercise the supreme political, military and economic leadership of all the members of the new bloc. The diehards of the Curzon school again thought the Middle East was in their pocket.

## Indirect

True the sponsors of the Baghdad pact affirmed that it was in no way linked with British colonial policy and that it pursued purely defensive aims in the interest of the Arabs. In proof, London and Washington christened the bloc the "Northern defence tier". But the fiction was too transparent. It was only too obvious that the British authors of the pact were least of all concerned about the "northern" defence of the Middle East countries. Defence was hardly needed against a non-existent enemy. But on the pretext of defence, it might well be possible to shackle the "defended". Whoever controlled the armies and bases of the Middle East countries would be in a position to dominate the countries themselves. *Influential English newspapers made no bones of confessing that the Baghdad pact was conceived as a new and indirect form of establishing British control over the Middle East. Indirect instead of direct colonization; a branch of NATO instead of a Hashimite empire that was the supposedly revised program put forward by the imperial politicians in 1955. This time too the aim was clear. By changing frillings, and by roundabout means, they hoped to make good their losses and achieve their old objectives. But their hopes were to be dashed again,*

*and in the very same year. It was the old story: they were reckoning without their hosts. Again the Arabs said: "No!"*

The biggest of the Arab countries — Egypt, Syria, Saudi Arabia — emphatically opposed the Baghdad pact. In Jordan, long considered the personal domain of General Glubb spiritual successor of Colonel Lawrence the people deposed the government for daring to advocate adhesion to the new British bloc. It was plain that the Baghdad pact was not suppressing or weakening, but stimulating an unprecedented upsurge of the national anti-colonial movement of the Middle East peoples. This was directly reflected, in 1956, in the decision of the Egyptian government to nationalize the Suez Canal. The second round of the imperial reactionaries, postwar Middle East policy was ending in even worse defeat than the first.

## Ricocheted

For the third time since the war the men of the Curzon school were faced with the necessity of making a cardinal decision on Middle East

This is the third and concluding part of the article which we have reproduced by courtesy of *New Times*. The author shows how the imperialist designs of British policy-makers have led to a complete exposure of the futility and bankruptcy of the die-hards of Britain.

policy. Neither the "Greater Syria" project nor the Baghdad pact had worked. Each time the anti-Arab policy of the modern colonialists had ricocheted back on themselves, putting Britain in a worse plight. And the enforced British retreat in the Middle East was taking on speed. This time it would seem that the hard facts of the situation should have suggested that the only sensible course was to stop playing the "positions of strength" game in the Middle East, to abandon the idea of colonizing the area and to make peaceable arrangements with independent Arab nations for the supply of oil to Britain through normal commercial channels. All the premises pointed to the wisdom of such a decision. The Arab states had publicly announced their readiness to settle all disputes, the Suez

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# BANKRUPTCY

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issue in particular by negotiation, on a basis of equality. The door was wide open for Britain to settle the Middle East problem painlessly.

The Curzon school declined this course. It was decided for the third time to act against the Arabs and this time with the help of warships, machine guns and hired saboteurs. This last convulsive act throws Britain's policy in the Middle East straight back to the nineteenth century. Whatever may happen in the Suez zone in the next few weeks, the consequences of this desperate move are already apparent. Firstly, British imperialism has itself dug a deep gulf between Britain and the Arab world. Secondly, Britain has with her own hands torn up the Baghdad pact, which had cost her so much effort to negotiate, and in which she had seen the cure for all her ills in the Middle East. Even those pillars of the pact, Iraq and Iran have come out in opposition to Britain's policy. Thirdly, the foundations of the British Commonwealth have again been shaken. Not only India and Pakistan, even Canada and South Africa condemn Britain's policy. Fourthly, Britain will again have to pay through the nose to the United States. The American oil barons were hoping anyhow to make a good thing out of the Suez conflict at Britain's expense, and they will certainly demand compensation in one form or another for any further "assistance" they may be called upon to render in Middle East affairs. Fifthly, Britain's policy has stirred the rancour of the world and has been condemned by the United Nations. Sixthly, indignation is growing in Britain itself against the actions of the government. Not only Labour and the Liberals, even many conservatives are seriously perturbed. Seventhly, Britain has herself jeopardized her Middle East oil supplies which has dealt a severe blow to her economy.

## Bankruptcy

The third balance sheet of British postwar Middle East policy is the worst of all: it looks very much like a statement of bankruptcy. On

February 17, 1953 Michael Foot M.P., Labour, declared in the House of Commons:

"THERE IS NO SUBJECT ON WHICH THE FOREIGN OFFICE HAS BEEN MORE CONSISTENTLY WRONG THAN THE AFFAIRS OF THE MIDDLE EAST". On November 1, 1956 the widely circulated London *Daily Mirror* wrote: "THE ATTACK ON EGYPT IS THE CULMINATING BLUNDER IN EDEN'S DISASTROUS MIDDLE EAST RECORD".

Between these two statements lie three and a half years. In this interval British Middle East policy has plainly revealed that it is at odds with the times. It does not seem able to tear away from the nineteenth century to abandon the old concepts, outworn habits and vicious methods. The result is one blunder after another, a record of defeat after defeat.

The past cannot be resurrected. The events of the past weeks have shown clearly that imperialism is no longer strong enough to dictate developments in the former colonial world. It is the will of the peoples, not of the imperialists that becomes the decisive factor at critical moments. This explains the fact so surprising to many, that a whole number of bourgeois governments, including close allies and even direct partners of Britain and France have declined to support their Suez venture. A large section of the bourgeois camp is forced to reckon with the new alignment of forces both in the international arena and within the capitalist countries themselves.

It is a profound mistake to believe that the old-fashioned imperial politicians have scored a victory because at the moment they have again entrenched themselves in the Suez Canal zone. The value of strategic adventures like the Suez action must be measured by what they hold in store for their instiga-

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tors in the future. Britain has sown the wind in the Arabian Peninsula; she will reap the whirlwind. The Arabs will not forget. The armed struggle for the Suez Canal has not paralyzed their will for national emancipation; rather it has strengthened the Arab world's consciousness of its own might. The last doubts and illusions have been dispelled even of those Arabs who believed in the possibility of "voluntary concessions" on the part of the imperialists. Can it be called a victory for Britain when she is faced with the prospect of a prolonged and bitter struggle with the Arab world supported by all the Asian and African nations, and by lovers of freedom everywhere? It is hardly to be doubted that the British peoples will draw their own conclusions and see to it that an end is put to the policy of "gambler's throws" and "folly on the grand scale".

TRIBUNE



# The American Woman

by Dr. Eric John Dingwall

**She gets blamed for everything—including the troubles of American men, according to this latest assault on the conduct of women**

The trouble with American men, thinks Dr. Eric John Dingwall, is that they are brought up by American women and in *The American Woman*, his recent book, he attributes all that is wrong with American civilization to that very simple cause.

Dr. Edward A. Strecker, chairman of the Department of Psychiatry at Pennsylvania University, once spoke of "the Great American Mom—a juggernaut whose toll of crippled lives is greater than all our wounded in two world wars."

Dr. Dingwall quotes Dr. Strecker approvingly, and proceeds to analyze this juggernaut, delving into her past history and present habits in ruthless detail and never using one word where two will do.

What's wrong with America, according to his thesis, is first the power of women, who rule society although admittedly men hold the economic power; and—very subtle this—that they are deeply imbued with the Puritan tradition of the Pilgrim Fathers.

Yes, strange as it may seem, the goings-on we are accustomed to deplore in American youth, the sexiness, the petting parties, the bobby-sox follies, are all due to Puritanism and the reactions it produces.

## The Three B's

This leads to intensified interest in piano legs—and other legs too, and so on to concentration upon what Dr. Dingwall blandly refers to as "breasts, belly and buttocks".

The American woman strong in rarity value until early in the present century, won power by playing upon this Puritan dirty-mindedness (which I find hard to distinguish I, must say, from the ordinary variety), and developing her own poss-

ibilities of glamour till the American male was a drooling wreck.

Being a Puritan herself, however, she despised him for it, regards him as an inferior because he is the sexual aggressor, and though forced to put up with a certain amount of sex to maintain her dating popularity and secure a husband, remaining icily attached to "the nice, scrubbed feeling of chastity"

## Guffaw

As a result, sexual relations though frantic, are unloving; women prefer their sons to their husbands, and sons have mother fixations which carry on the blight to the next generation.

That is Dr. Dingwall's case, which he illustrates with a wealth of spicy detail, quoting from books on the etiquette of petting, which makes one shudder, to offering a sexual analysis of the True Meaning of the hats worn by the American mom that make one guffaw.

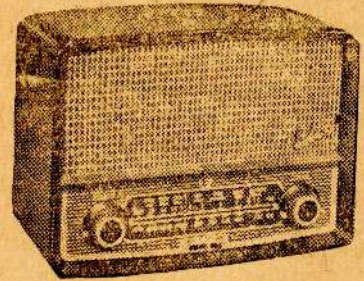
Having duly shuddered and guffawed, however, I hope no reader will be led to accept Dr. Dingwall's old-fashioned theme of *cherchez le femme*. Men have been carrying on like this ever since Elijah denounced Jezebel.

I don't question the existence of the unpleasant symptoms listed by Dr. Dingwall, though I strongly suspect that there are millions of happy and devoted families in America as well as the sex-ridden beings he describes.

But I doubt if the situation is really so different from that in other capitalist countries: it is just a little more so, like everything else American.

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# Common Cold or.. ?

Poverty is the cruelest killer of all. The death certificates of its victims list hundreds of different illnesses as "cause of death." Heart disease, high blood pressure, tuberculosis, pneumonia, alcoholism, suicide—all share in the grim toll. And its victims are in all age groups.

Now medical science comes up with a new system of death classification which shows that many of the victims of poverty meet death at a time outside of the conventional age calculations. This new classification - perinatal death - has been devised to include not only the newborn but those children who die before birth. Perinatal means around birth; it includes fatal life from the 2<sup>nd</sup> week after conception, birth itself and the first 27 days after birth (neonatal).

It is estimated that there were 165,000 perinatal deaths in the U.S. in 1955. Only heart disease, cancer and strokes claimed more lives during the year. A report of the New York Academy of Medicine estimated that 35 per cent of these deaths (about 57,000) were preventable with present medical progress will make the preventable portion much higher before many years pass.

And New York City's Health Commissioner, Dr. Leona Baumgartner, has pinpointed the most

challenging aspect of perinatal death in her declaration that:

"A striking correlation exists between high incidence of prematurity, high incidence of fetal and neonatal deaths, high perinatal rates, and high incidence of late and no prenatal care. All these are in turn associated with the lower socioeconomic groups, especially among the non-white and Puerto Rican population."

In other words, it's among people who haven't the money to afford proper medical care, who either have to do without doctors or who go to doctors too late to prevent tragedy, that the greatest number of fetal and infant deaths occur. And of course, the reference to "non-white and Puerto Rican population" pointedly indicts discrimination as poverty's companion in mass murder.

## The Common Cold

With the cold weather months approaching, the season of the common cold is upon us. In view of this, it might be well to discuss what a cold is. The fact is that many of us are prone to dismiss many potentially more serious illnesses as 'just colds.

When the symptoms are confined to sneezing, runny and and stuffed up nose, light coughs at night and in the early morning, then it may be all right to assume that the cold virus, or more correctly one of the cold viruses, is the culprit. In such cases, it makes sense to try the common sense rules for self-cure rather than to hasten to call for the doctor. These rules include plenty of rest, avoidance of over-exposure, use of standbys like aspirin, a diet which includes plenty of citrus fruits and vegetables, and in the case of children avoidance of extensive social contact (keep them out of school).

If these things are tried and the cold persists or worsens, than it's time to get help from the doctor. Certainly any cold lasting more than a week or 10 days needs medical attention.

However, some symptoms immediately take an illness out of the common cold category and should prompt an immediate call to the doctor. One combination which we

# REVIEW

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## Exploiting Glamour

Here is a country of enormous and expanding wealth, which early developed mass consumer industries and mass advertising of their goods.

Dr. Dingwall quotes some of the "March of Time" documentary films—on teenagers, for instance, in evidence against the American woman.

Yet he notes the huge industry that has been built up on creating and then supplying the wants of modern teenagers.

He notes in Hollywood the biggest glamour factory in the world, and the vast cosmetics and clothing industries that have hitched themselves to Hollywood glamour.

Can we expect either girls or boys to be totally unaffected by living in this built-up atmosphere of bosomconsciousness?

But it wasn't women who created this world; it was American capitalism, the first in the world to exploit glamour as a commodity for mass sale.

## Depends on Pop

Since the sale of glamour involves exploiting the sex of women almost as barefacedly as in "Mrs. Warren's Profession," this great American industry has necessarily increased the discord which must exist between men and women while inequality between the sexes remains.

And it does remain in the United States, however dictatorial your upper-class Mom may be in her drawing-room. For she still depends for her success upon holding on to Pop—the grey-faced little man with the stomach ulcers, who spends his days and nights brooding about money, and doesn't give a damn for the female bosom or any other female attribute, except her purse.

should be particularly alert for in children is that which includes sudden sore throat, the most common door opener to rheumatic fever in school age youngsters.

Let's not forget that strep infections are not difficult for doctors to treat these days, but medical science has still not devised any method of curing rheumatic fever or preventing permanent heart damage that may follow in its wake.

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# MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS

In 1954, the UNP contested 25 seats and won only 12 whereas in 1956 it put forward 28 candidates of whom no less than 18 have been returned. The total number of votes secured by the party shows a marked increase, from 32,191 in 1954 to 39,380 in 1956.

Already the stalwarts of the UNP are jubilant that they have scored a great victory and are no doubt looking forward confidently to be returned to power once again at the next General Elections.

However, a careful analysis of the results reveal the altogether different story that the UNP was able to secure an overwhelming majority because the anti-UNP votes were split and not

because of any sudden increase in popularity of the UNP! This can be demonstrated in two ways.

Let us take the 18 wards where the UNP candidates were returned. In six of these, the combined votes of the LSSP, MEP and CP was very much greater than what the UNP candidates received. In two other wards, the difference was less than 100. In other wards if the CP, LSSP and MEP had put forward joint candidates, instead of contesting each other so bitterly, the UNP would have succeeded only in 12 wards. If we take the other two wards with narrow majorities into consideration, this number is likely to be 10 only.

### Losing Ground

This is brought out clearly if we

take the aggregate votes polled by the UNP, on the one hand, and the anti-UNP parties, on the other, at the last two elections.

Total Votes Polled 1954 1956		
UNP	32,291	39,380
anti-UNP	38,636	54,748

At first sight, the increase of nearly 7000 votes polled by the UNP during the recent Municipal Elections would seem to indicate that its popularity is on the increase. However, for a proper comparison of the results we must take into consideration the fact that in two wards - Aluthkade and San Sebastian - two sitting members who were returned as Independents in 1954 have now succeeded as UNP candidates. Again in Kotahena West the present UNP candidate contested as a Labour candidate.

Taking these three wards only we find the equivalent vote for the UNP in 1954 being 38,760. Some very interesting conclusions can be drawn from this.

	1954	1956
Total number of voters	149,437	166,652
Total polled by UNP	38,760	39,380
Percentage polled	26%	23.6%

From the above figures it would seem that the UNP, far from regaining its popularity, is in fact losing ground.

## JUST BRIEFLY

continued from page 525

He has recently obtained the services of a railway designs engineer from Japan. I am told that in the Land of the Rising Sun railway compartments and coaches are built at a fraction of the cost of similar equipment from the West as a result of revolutionary variations in design and materials.

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# WEEK by WEEK

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The government, Prime Minister, Cabinet Ministers and all must kneel at the feet of Ketepitimulla Sanghapala Thero for this gem from the learned monk:—"I say from this platform that the members of this Cabinet should be whipped in public if it fails to implement the recommendations of the Buddhist Commission early."

Need we say more? At the beginning it was *Sinhalese Only*. Now it appears to be *Buddhism Only*. What next?

## GMOA

Fresh negotiations between the Government and the Government Medical Officers' Association on the question of the abolition of private practice and the readjustment of

salary scales are reported to be proceeding satisfactorily.

The Prime Minister is himself presiding over the negotiations and it appears that both sides are able to understand each other's point of view better now. The Prime Minister has been quite frank as to the financial position and background of the country, and the doctors themselves have been quick to see the point of view of the Prime Minister. So much so, that it is quite possible that the doctors will accept a salary scale much less than what they had asked for but slightly more than the scale recommended by the Canckeratne Commission.

On the other hand the Prime Minister himself has learnt that the G.M.O.A. was not so much out for

increased salaries as for the abolition of private practice. In fact he explained to them that he had misunderstood their demands and had imagined that the Association had placed the emphasis on salaries, whereas their primary aim was the abolition of private practice.

The Prime Minister has now agreed to the total abolition of private practice, with the proviso that an interim period was necessary to try out a form of consultation practice between doctor and doctor as originally suggested by the G.M.O.A.

The Prime Minister has also agreed to the creation of a unified service for all medical officers, that is there should be no separate preventive and curative service.

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# In Retrospect

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children but what is feared is that children attend school not for the instruction they get there but for the bun and the glass of milk.

The price of rice was reduced by the government from sixty cents to fiftyfive cents and sugar from fifty cents to forty cents. But this did not seriously benefit consumers as the price of foodstuffs, such as onions, chillies, and maldive fish shot up. Potatoes too went up in price and it could hardly be said that the reductions in price in rice and sugar have altered the family budget in any way.

# TWO REPORTS

continued from first page

"the declining income from our exports, chiefly tea, and the increased expenditure on larger, and some times more expensive imports, have necessarily reduced the balance of trade in our favour in comparison with the record results achieved last year." Statistics show that the present balance of trade position is deteriorating at a rapid rate. This is reflected in the financial position which has been objectively described by H. V. Perera in the following terms: "for the financial year 1955-56 the Government had an estimated net cash operating deficit of Rs. 49 million, quite a contrast to the financial position in 1954-55 when a surplus of nearly Rs 129 million was recorded. If adjustments for the Government food transactions

and food stock are made, the current year's estimated deficit would amount to Rs 87 million compared with the surplus of Rs 110 million after similar adjustments for the previous financial year."

This, taken together with the growing unemployment in the country should make the present Government wake up to realities. The public too must be made fully aware of the desperate situation facing the country. A publication of the problems discussed by the National Planning Council would be a first step towards the creation of a conscious public opinion willing to participate in the task of economic development ready for the sacrifices essential to make any National Plan a success.

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