

TRIBUNE

MEP Chauvinism Will Divide Country

In spite of its noble protestations about it being a progressive Peoples Government, the MEP Government led by Solomon West Ridgeway Bandaranaike is so fatally consumed by communal fanaticism that it is doing everything possible to set this country ablaze with racial discord. The Sinhala Only Act was bad enough, but even before the minorities have begun to realise that the assurances about guaranteeing the reasonable use of Tamil and English was only mythical, the Government has thought it fit to provoke the Tamils with the Sinhalese Only SRI numberplate.

This SRI numberplate was decided on by the Minister of Transport on the advice of the National Languages Department at a time when the Prime Minister was out of the Island, without, it is said, even Cabinet sanction. The Premier was presented with a *fait accompli*. It is said in knowledgeable circles that the Premier did everything in his power, when he realised that the Tamil minorities were becoming more and more incensed, to withdraw this puerile form of provocation to establish

the supremacy of Sinhalese chauvinism. It is even said that on last Tuesday evening, he had convinced the majority of his Cabinet colleagues that some form of compromise was essential, and the suggestion that the symbol SRI in Sinhalese should not be obligatory seemed acceptable to the Cabinet. However, the Parliamentary Group of the MEP overruled this decision of the Cabinet on Wednesday morning, and decided to wage war on the Tamil minorities over this question.

Tailing

Whilst neighbouring countries in Asia and even in Africa are concentrating all their efforts on building national unity for economic development, the MEP Government seems determined to divide this country along communal lines. The Prime Minister instead of leading his party seems to be tailing behind the worst fanatical communal elements in his camp. The passive resistance movement which is being organised in the North and East led by the Federal Party and other Tamil organisations will undoubtedly have the support not only of the entire Tamil speaking peo-

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ples in the North, East and in the plantations, but also of all democratically inclined elements among the Sinhalese. The communal fanaticism and jingo chauvinism now being exhibited by the MEP cannot but be abhorrent to all sane-minded persons. Reactionaries and other opponents of the MEP will also lend their support, secretly but nevertheless surely, to any mass movement against this Government.

The mighty Raj of the British was brought low in India by passive resistance. The arrogance of the MEP might well suffer the same fate through the passive resistance of the Tamil minorities. A clash, such as the one the stalwarts of the MEP are forcing on the country, can lead only to the division of the country into two. *The only logical outcome that can arise from a chauvinistic and jingoistic Sinhala Only policy is a Sinhala Land and a Tamil Nad. This will be inescapable and inevitable. And it will probably be the only way of resolving communal problems between fanatics.*

Before it is too late, the Government must retract from its stupid and foolish policies on language and motor numberplates. If it wants to see Ceylon remain an undivided whole, it will compromise with the Tamils and endeavour to build national unity on a democratic basis. Linguistic domination is as reprehensible as any other form of domination, and in this age of growing freedom anyone who seeks to rule another through force and compulsion will have to pay a heavy price. The MEP cannot escape the fate tyranny suffers if it persists in its arrogant policies. The fate of Anthony Eden, who once shared a corridor with S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike at Oxford, is only of recent memory.

TRIBUNE

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WEEK by WEEK in CEYLON

★ COMMUNAL ★ CELEBRATIONS

★ UP COUNTRY TAMILS ★ DUDLEY

The government, by its sheer cussedness and pig headedness has set the stage for a possible communal clash on January 19th. On the last occasion when such a clash occurred over 150 lives were lost. This time heaven only knows what the figure would be.

In the June 1956 clash there was at least some justification for the outburst of communal feeling in the country, the justification being provided in the form of the Official Language Act, which was repugnant to the minorities, and which fanatics in the majority community wanted in the Statute Book.

But this time the clash that is likely to occur, will be over the provocation provided by the use of a Sinhalese letter on the numberplate of cars.

We admit that the ground for provocation in itself, is flimsy, but from the point of the view of the Tamils it is a matter of principle. They resent the crude attempt on the part of the Sinhalese fanatics to impose *Sinhalese Only*, on the Tamils, by ordering the letter *Sri* to be used on the numberplates of motor vehicles. Their resistance to the *Sinhala Only* has been strengthened by the action of the government, and their feelings have been aggravated by the persistence of the government in perpetuating this folly.

As far as the government is concerned, there can be no worse provocation offered to the Tamils than this silly move to enforce a symbol which when used on numberplates of cars turns out to be a meaningless symbol. The only meaning that it can have and only to those Sinhalese fanatics, is that it indicates in some way or the other, that what the Sinhalese lords impose the Tamil slaves must bear.

The Prime Minister, at the last Press Conference, said that the Sri affair was really not a serious one, but was being exploited by the politicians of the North to whip up the communal feelings there which were slowly dying down. The Prime Minister needs to strip himself before

the mirror of his own conscience once in a while and see whose actions whip up the communal feelings that are dying down. It is not too late for the government to reverse its policy, on the Sri numberplates. The government has very little or nothing to lose by doing so, and it has everything to gain from the goodwill of the minorities. If however the government is determined to flatter its own vanity and play up to a false sense of prestige, then it will have to face the consequences.

Already the Tri Sinhala Peramuna has threatened violence. Effigies are to be burnt in Kandy on the day of the Independence celebrations, and the burning of effigies will no doubt spread to the burning of homes, and a right royal communal clash is in the offing.

It is time that the government came to its senses and the Prime Minister called a stop to the words and deeds of fanatics. The government is at stake, and unless swift action is taken to settle the Sri affair, it can, in the words of

a fellow columnist turn out to be serious affair.

Independence Day

The Premier summoned officials from different parts of the country this week to discuss how Independence Day should be celebrated. He had a Conference and the news which has appeared in the Press and the statements made by the Premier thereafter indicate that Government has decided to "go slow" on the celebrations.

In fact, it has been officially announced that it is not obligatory for anyone to participate in the celebrations. This is no doubt a way of anticipating the boycott of the celebrations by all the minorities. But to show that Government still has some kick left, the Premier issued a stern warning that any attempt to disturb or prevent those who wish to celebrate Independence Day would be met with severe punishment.

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SOUTH AFRICA

In this short article it is not possible to do more than outline the political, social and economic aspects of the apartheid policy which has been followed by the Nationalist Government since it came to power in 1948, and to suggest very briefly why South Africa's policies are of concern to the people of Britain. And it has, unfortunately, also been impossible to include a survey of the historical development of South Africa from the arrival of the Dutch in 1652: the transfer of the Cape Colony to the British; the Great Trek and the wars of conquest waged by the Dutch and British against the African tribes; the establishment of the Dutch Republics; the discovery of diamonds and gold; the Anglo Boer war; the union of the four provinces; the political changes from 1910 and the rapid industrialisation of the economy. Those interested in these matters will find many helpful books readily available.

Of the 13 1/2 million inhabitants of the Union, over nine million are Africans (natives, Bantu); nearly three million White (European); a million Coloured (mixed) and 400,000 Asiatics. For some three centuries the Europeans have pursued a policy of white supremacy and racial segregation. Apartheid is the latest version of that policy. In theory, it sets out to "maintain and protect the European population as a pure white race, to maintain and protect the indigenous racial groups as separate communities within their own areas, and stimulate national pride, self-respect and mutual respect among the various races in the country" (from a Nationalist Party official statement). In practice, however, when pressed by the Dutch Reformed Churches to apply a policy of "leading and forming the natives towards independence so that they will be equal to Europeans, but in their own territory", Dr. Malan, then Prime Minister, said: "Total apartheid is impractical under present conditions in South Africa where our whole economic structure is, to a large extent based on native labour... Apartheid will not be carried out to such an extent that it harms the need for labour in the European areas". Similarly, the Strijdom government's rejection of the main provisions of the Tomlinson report (on the implementation of apartheid), proves again that apartheid is merely a slogan concealing a policy of keeping the non-whites at arm's length socially, powerless politically and subservient economically.

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Political Rights

In the words of the present Prime Minister, Mr. J. G. Strijdom, 'Our laws vest power in the hands of the white man'. In the Cape *only*, have non-whites any parliamentary voting rights: specially qualified African males elect three white native representatives to the Lower House, and the Coloured voters who were this year removed from the common voters' roll will elect four white M.P.s. There are 156 M.P.s elected by whites on a universal adult franchise. The Senate, the Upper House, consists of 89 members, including four elected by Africans.

By courtesy of the *Movement For Colonial Freedom*, a movement which has Fenner Brockway for Chairman, and Wedgewood Benn for Treasurer, we reprint this informative article on conditions in South Africa. It will provide a proper background to the trial of 150 coloured leaders in progress in Johannesburg now under the apartheid laws.

No non-whites may sit in either House.

In fulfilment of their election pledge to "check churches and organisations seeking to undermine the policy of apartheid", the Government have attacked democratic rights by a series of laws and regulations. The most far-reaching of these is the *Suppression of Communism Act*. This measure banned the Communist Party, empowered the Minister of Justice to draw up a list of 'Communists' sweepingly defined and to curtail at his discretion the liberties of anyone whose activities he considers "further any of the objects of Communism". The Act as amended is retrospective, i.e. anyone may be named who at any time

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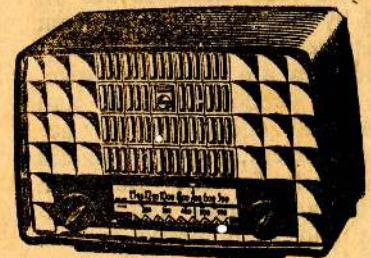
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South Africa

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was a Communist. So far under the Act, a newspaper has been banned, three M.P.s unseated, 574 persons named, 46 trade union officials compelled to resign, 158 persons banned from attending meetings or restricted in their movements. A further clause imposes a sentence of up to 10 years for acts 'furthering the objects of Communism'.

The Government has also refused passports to persons critical of its policies — including a number in no way associated with Communism; carried out widespread police raids on political and trade union headquarters (such raids need no warrant); imposed savage penalties — including lashes — on passive resisters or supporters of defiance-of-the-law protests; legalised the opening of mail for political purposes; made it a criminal offence to leave the country without a passport, and used and provoked violence in dispersing demonstrations. In short, South Africa has commenced a reign of fear within her borders and erected an Iron Curtain around them.

Economic

In only 10-13% of the land of the Union — the Native Reserves — have Africans any rights of land ownership. Although theoretically the national home of the Africans, the Reserves are overstocked, overcrowded unable to support their inhabitants — 42% of the African population. The majority of Africans therefore live outside the Reserves and their numbers are increased by migrant labourers from the Reserves where tribal authority and ties are breaking down. Driven by economic need and taxation and encouraged by active recruitment, the African has had to work for the European on farms and mines and in industries and in domestic service. The African has been fully integrated into the economy and on his cheap labour white South Africa's comfort and prosperity depend.

The African is, however, virtually debarred from becoming a skilled labourer — "there is no place for him in European society above the level of certain forms of labour", said the Minister of Native Affairs recently. He may not work where

he chooses — his labour is channelled and controlled by Pass Laws and other restrictions under which he must at any time be able to prove his right to be in an urban area. Failure to do so is a criminal offence, and 28% of all African criminal convictions arise from these regulations — 230,000 annually. This total will undoubtedly rise now that the Pass Laws are being extended to African women.

The African has no recognised trade unions and may not strike. He is regarded and treated solely as a migrant labourer with neither rights nor status. On the mines — where he is housed in barrack-like compounds cut off from wife and family — he earns less than £60 a year plus board and lodging. A European miner earns nearly £600 per annum. Similar discrepancies apply throughout industry and farming. It has been estimated that the average African family of five in Johannesburg earns less than £16 a month and has a monthly deficit of £7 10s. Of equal interest is the estimate that the non-white 80% of the population receives only 25% of the National income.

Coloured and Asiatic workers are hardly better off. 75% of Coloureds and nearly 50% of Asiatics receive less than £100 a year (Europeans 16%). Though able to take part in collective bargaining and acquire

skill in certain trades, they too suffer from gross colour discrimination and inequality.

Under the recent Industrial Conciliation Act the government has compulsorily separated all 'mixed' (coloured-white) trade unions into racial branches, encouraged the establishment of separate unions to replace mixed unions, forbidden further mixed unions being formed, and taken powers to reserve entire industries for particular races "in order to safeguard the position of the whites" (Minister of Labour).

Housing

Africans only live in areas specially set aside for them—locations. It was officially estimated in 1952 that there is in the urban areas a shortage of 167,000 African dwellings and that in ten years time this total would have reached 353,000. The consequence has been that the locations have become overcrowded and that illegal squatters' camps of indescribable poverty and squalor — and with a consequently high incidence of crime and delinquency — have sprung up around the Union's industrial centres. Nevertheless, despite these conditions, the government has begun the compulsory re-housing of Africans living in areas where they possess freehold rights or which are too close to expanding European suburbs.

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MACMILLAN

Though the resignation of Anthony Eden was expected, nobody was prepared for it last week. The doctors' report has been made the excuse, but nobody takes this very seriously. It is perhaps true that the strain of the Suez episode must have undermined his "health" but it was thought that he would make his exit with a General Election. The present move was undoubtedly a Conservative tactic to put off a General Election at this particular stage.

Balaraman, reporting to the *Hindu* from New York on January 10, stated:

"Sir Anthony Eden's resignation has caused no surprise either at the United Nations or at Washington. In both places it had been fully expected even since the time his Egyptian adventure had misfired into a catastrophic fiasco. Though everybody uttered the customary tributes to Sir Anthony Eden and expressed regret that ill-health should have forced him to resign nobody has any doubt it was not ill-health but the sorry mess in which he has landed his country which is the real reason for his downfall."

At UN Headquarters, Arab representatives were naturally jubilant and felt that Sir Anthony Eden was hoist with his own petard. In attacking Egypt he wanted to secure the downfall of Nasser, but his actions had led him to his own exit from politics.

Washington

According to Balaraman, American opinion seems to feel that the departure of Sir Anthony would help to bring about a Middle East settlement more easily than before. "There is unconcealed relief too in Washington," he says, "that Eden

is out because it is felt it will now be possible to repair the rift in Anglo-American relations which came in the wake of the Suez aggression."

There were plain indications that Washington was not anxious that Eden should continue as Premier. It is felt that America could have helped him to salvage his tottering position soon after his Suez failure, but did not do so. Reports indicate that when Sir Anthony went to Jamaica he had frantically sought an interview with Eisenhower, presumably in an effort to save his shrinking prestige in England, but Ike refused to receive him. "The President did not want to make the gesture towards Eden which could have been interpreted as his condoning what the latter had done," comments Balaraman.

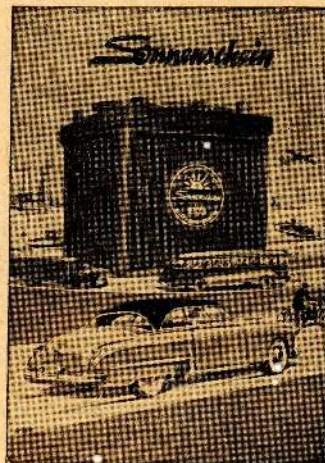
Though Washington did not want to save Eden and British prestige in the Middle East, it has now formulated plans to take over from Britain and France in the Arab region. For this purpose it has let loose a tremendous blast of the cold war in the best style of the heyday of McCarthyism. How will the new British Premier meet this challenge from the new world? Will he submit and agree to become a junior partner of America, or will he endeavour to chalk out a new line?

Storm

But before Macmillan can pay attention to the threat of British economic supremacy in the Middle East from Wall Street, he has to contend with formidable forces of discontent and disquiet at home. In the first place, there seems to be a serious controversy as to whether Macmillan was the right choice as Premier. The reception has been mixed, but the general trend of opinion seems to be that "the best that most people are willing to say being that the new Prime Minister is a courageous and tough man but whether he can give the right lead to Britain in her crisis only time and events can show."

Labour and Liberal opinion seems to be that Macmillan is the worst possible choice as Premier, but even

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World Affairs

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moderate and conservative opinion reflected in papers like the *Manchester Guardian* and the *London Times* make no secret of serious misgivings. Shelyankar writing to the *Hindu* from London on January 10 summed up:

"They are agreed in holding that Mr. Macmillan represents the unprogressive, backward-looking elements in the Conservative Party and that it is by no means certain that he will be able to force them tread a different path. As *London Times* puts it "There is no doubt that the old guard of the Party will be encouraged and fortified to try to turn their rearguard action into an offensive one" and the paper adds that the Macmillan Government can only be a success to the extent that it follows "Butlerite" politics.

"Such comments imply recognition of the fact that the Tory Party is now split into a Right-wing and Left wing, the Left standing for a modernised and democratic type of conservatism while the Right is attached to the old class structure of British society and would like somehow to revert to the pre-1914 policies in home and foreign affairs. The difference between these factions came to a head during the Suez crisis when the Right backed Sir Anthony Eden in his adventurist course while the left is believed to have tried to discourage and restrain him. According to a Tory commentator, "The choice of Mr. Macmillan is a refusal on the part of the Conservatives to abandon the principles of policy which Sir Anthony Eden pursued, however, tragically unfortunate he was."

Butler

But even greater controversy seems to have arisen over the fact that Butler has been superseded. Shelyankar reports with his customary insight into British politics.

"Mr. Butler was regarded as Mr. Eden's natural if not automatic successor and the fact he was superseded is generally explained on the ground that there was less likelihood of the Conservative Party uniting behind him than behind Mr. Macmillan. Mr. Macmillan, it

is said, has fewer enemies in the Party than Mr. Butler, and 'Butlerites' are less militant and less likely to revolt and cause trouble than 'Macmillanites.' (It may be mentioned, that Mr. Amery one of the most extreme members of the diehard Suez group, is Mr. Macmillan's son-in-law. Leaving a side the Right-wing Suez group Tories, who are strongly hostile to Mr. Butler, many of the moderate Conservatives who sympathised with Mr. Butler's cautious attitude on Suez feel that he should have carried his opposition to the point of resigning from the Cabinet and are disgruntled with him because he failed to do so. That was the turning point when a progressive-minded Tory should have come out into the open and Mr. Butler missed his big chance, they say.

"Another factor which seems to have counted against Mr. Butler is the opposition of both Marquess of Salisbury and Sir Winston Churchill—not to mention Eden—who were the only three statesmen consulted by the Queen, so far as the public knows. In this connection it is recalled that Sir Winston Churchill, Sir Anthony Eden, Marquess of Salisbury and Mr. Macmillan were all critics of Mr. Neville Chamberlain's policy in the years immediately preceding last Great War, when Mr. Butler was a member of the Chamberlain Government.

"Whatever may be the real reasons for passing over Mr. Butler, observers here have noted with interest, that members of the Salisbury and Churchill families have again played a decisive role at the critical moment in British politics—as they have done for centuries—and that in their role as "Kingmakers" they they have picked out a politician whose wife belongs to an equally ancient family of Dukes of Devonshire and whose social background is impeccably upper-class."

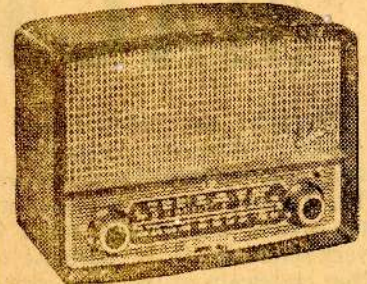
The *Ceylon Daily News* in an editorial on January 15, expressed the worst misgivings possible about the choice of Macmillan from an Asian point of view.

The editorial declared:—

"The composition of Mr. Harold Macmillan's new British Cabinet is

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WEEK by WEEK

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It is a sad and tragic commentary on the sorry mess into which the language chauvinism of the MEP has landed this country that Independence Day is being celebrated as a Day of Mourning by about a third of the population of of this country. And even the Sinhalese two-thirds cannot enthuse very much with the growing unemployment and the deteriorating financial position of the country. All that the MEP has given the country so far is an unnatural and anti-democratic supremacy and dominance for the Sinhalese language over the Tamils, and a SRI numberplate to flaunt in the face of the minorities. This is a sorry record, and unless the MEP Government does something pretty soon to launch a nationwide programme for economic development, this country is doomed to a bleak and horrible future. And it has been stressed that without national unity, that without the support of the Tamil minorities who now contribute greatly to the production of the national revenue, there can be no real National Plan.

Up Country Tamils

Perhaps one of the most significant things that have happened recently was the three-day tour organised by the Thondaman-led Ceylon Democratic Congress in the Vavuniya and Mannar Districts. Last week-end, over 400 workers from the plantation areas, in a fleet of buses, not only visited places of interest like Dambulla, Sigiriya and the like, but also toured the Tamil areas in the Vavuniya and Mannar districts. They were received with tremendous enthusiasm by the people in these areas and they held two mighty mass meetings in Vavuniya and Mannar.

This is perhaps the first time that there has been such direct contact between the Tamils in the North and the plantations. In the past, there has been mis-giving and suspicion, but in the face of the *Sinhala Only* apartheid of this Government, there seems to be growing unity between these two sections.

Dudley Senanayake

The Times group of newspapers persist in repeating that Dudley Senanayake is on the verge of re-entering politics. Reports emphasise that he will be ack in the fray by the March of this year. It is not known whether it is that the *Times* astrologer who has "predicted" this date or whether there is some factual basis for this suggestion.

What has been emphasised is that Dudley Senanayake has indicated that he would re-join the UNP if he were given a free hand to cleanse the party of undesirable elements. Otherwise, it is said he is planning to organise a liberal democratic socialist party. Dudley

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Senanayake is bound to receive wide support if he will outline a truly progressive democratic policy. But Dudley Senanayake's besetting sin has been indecision. Has he turned a new leaf?

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While welcoming the Prime Minister's new outlook towards the languages of the minorities — Tamil and English — despite the *Sinhala Only Act*, we feel that the Prime Minister's request to the University authorities to be ready to conduct their courses in the Swabasha by 1970, is too tall an order.

The various faculties of the University (with the exception of the Oriental Languages Faculty) and the All-Ceylon Union of Teachers, have already expressed the view, that in as much as they would like to implement the educational policy of the government, it would be impossible to effect the switch over to Swabasha even as early as 1970. The main grounds of objection for the switch over in 1960, they have explained, is the total lack of text books in the subjects named for the switch over, and the total lack of teachers capable of teaching in those subjects.

But the Prime Minister and the Minister of Education have overruled these objections, which come from educationists of the highest order, and have decreed that the H.S.C. and University Entrance forms should start teaching in the Swabasha, and the University should take the students up in the Swabasha in 1960.

Unfair

We feel that this is grossly unfair by the generation of students that are coming up, and that the government is guilty of wanton destruction of educational standards in the country. Preparation for a University education is something more than the cramming of a few text books and the passing of examinations. It is the building up of an attitude of mind which will soon be open to instruction of a different sort from what is given in the secondary schools. The student begins to read widely, acquires for himself knowledge other than what can be gained from the texts prescribed for the examination and generally attunes himself to a university education. At the University he will be

given bare lectures and notes, from which he is to proceed to "read" the subject. This he does on his own, always conscious of the fact that a university education does not merely mean the passing of the degree examination, but acquiring knowledge through research. Text books prescribed at the University are merely to help him along, his research, and his study is directly aimed at obtaining knowledge through research.

• Anyone with a pretence to a University education will be able to appreciate what we have said on the subject of university education and the preparation for it. That is why perhaps the Minister of Education has failed to appreciate the plight of students in the H.S.C. forms and the University Entrance forms whom he has decreed by a Gazette notification shall be taught in Swabasha, when there are no facilities for study either in the form of teachers or text books.

We feel that this particular Gazette notification has forced the hands of the Prime Minister into requesting the University authorities to be ready to teach students in the Swabasha in 1960. Already there are moves in the University Council to oppose the introduction of trilingual media in University studies. We are not surprised and welcome such a move. The University Council we feel must openly resist dictation of such arbitrary nature from the government and in the interests of education in this country, must refuse to give instruction in the Swabasha medium. Then and then only will the government open its eyes to the situation and realise that education should be education for the sake of knowledge and not for political convenience or political opportunism.

Parents too (whom the Prime Minister said, would like to have their children educated in English at the University if they are given the option) should rise up in arms against the government's education-

al policy and back the University Council in its moves to retain the *status quo* at least for another ten years, by which time the government and the University will be ready for the switch over.

Tamil

Otherwise we will have the sorry position of half-prepared students entering the University, which is less prepared to receive them. Educational standards will be set at naught, and the whole purpose of maintaining a University will be lost. The taxpayer has every reason to refuse to pay his taxes if it is to be wasted in maintaining a University that brings nobody any good.

It is for this reason perhaps that the deputation from the Tamil University Movement stressed the need for a fully-fledged University for the Tamils in the Tamil-speaking areas. The Prime Minister has categorically told them that he would not grant them a University. The Tamil University movement has been gaining ground of late, and we will not be surprised if a University is established in the North with public donations.

The Minister of Education was emphatic that the government should not give assistance for the establishment of such a University and suggested the establishment of a "Cultural University" for the Tamils on the lines of the Pirivena Universities that are being set up. The Tamil University rightly rejected the offer, which we feel was only a sop to the Tamil speaking people. The government whilst laying down the broad lines of educational policy should leave education to the educationists. Now education has been left to politicians and it has resulted in this sorry mess. The government has a sacred duty by the people of this country, and until it realises its duty the people might as well stop sending their children to school. This we state in all seriousness.

ROCK 'N' ROLL

I have always been a fairly regular reader of the *UNP Journal*. In the old days when the Lake House (even the *Times*) did the work of publicity for the party, the *UNP Journal* was a dry as dust party sheet with a superabundance of lucrative advertisements.

After the downfall of the UNP Government, the *Journal* free-wheeled along on these advertisements and also began to publish scandals about the MEP. The scandals were of the same calibre as those which had prompted the UNP regime to invoke Trials At Bar and the like, but nobody seemed to take the paper seriously and did not bother about these attacks.

But with the victory of the UNP at the December Municipal Elections the *Journal* has been getting a little cockier with the same kind of cockiness that sent the UNP to its doom earlier, though an endeavour is made to camouflage the arrogance under a huge placard proclaiming "we're a reformed party."

But it is not about this I want to comment this week. The latest copy of this paper dated January 4th and which came to my hands only a few days ago indicates a major organizational change. The publisher continues to be the same individual, but the printer has been changed. All these years, ever since the *UNP Journal* was started, it was printed as a commercial job at the Lake House Printery. The latest issue has been printed in a press in the heart of Pettah.

I do not wish to refer to the quality of printing and the like, but I am curious as to why the Lake House Press does not print the paper anymore. Is it that the Lake House refused to do the printing once the contract period was over? Or is it that the UNP chieftains have decided to break all ties with Lake House, even for commercial printing, because Lake House papers no longer pay pooja to the UNP as in the old, old days?

If it is Lake House which gave up the printing job, was it because

it wanted to cut off all ostensible connection with a political party in regard to its publicity? Or was it because it was getting apprehensive of the increasing number of scandals verging dangerously on libel which was being published in the paper? These questions best remain unanswered.

I also noticed another change in the paper. The change may have taken place in an earlier issue, but as I do not preserve the back numbers I cannot tell. The January 4th issue shows that the paper is no longer the *UNP Journal* but plain and simple *UNP*. Does the change of name donate anything? Or is it a mere journalistic trick?

Journalistically, the UNP is the same paper. Apart from a few scandals about MEP personalities (and these worthies do provide a lot of ammunition to be fired back at them), the paper is mainly filled with USIS and Voice of America (Dulles) propaganda stuff on international affairs.

Civil Servants

I find that many good and old friends of mine of old have rushed to the Prime Minister for "protection." Unable to put up with the "nonsense" that certain Cabinet Ministers have been saying about them, they have (through their trade union) registered a protest. The Prime Minister with rare tact has assured that one should not believe everything the Press reported, and also indicated that he would request his Cabinet colleagues to be more cautious and genteel in condemning bureaucracy.

As individuals I am aware that a good many persons in the Civil Service are excellent gentlemen. Some of them even entertain progressive views. A few of them were anti UNP even when it was dangerous to be that. But the true position is that what is really wrong with them is the system into which they have grown. There is no doubt that there is really far too much "bureaucracy" in our Civil Service. I know the snootiness and iciness with which these gentlemen of the

Civil Service deal with persons even in their own class and social hierarchy, and from this behaviour it would not be difficult to judge how they behave to the vast majority of humanity in this island which does not come within the charmed circle. They are nice and cordial to a very few. I can quote instance after instance of discourtesy, harshness, inhuman callousness and mental depravity exhibited by members of the Ceylon Civil Service (top brass at that) in their dealings with the public.

So whilst our Civil Service friends have a cause for complaint when a Cabinet Minister threatens that they should be put up against the wall and shot, the members of the Civil Service must not forget that such a fate may overtake them, as it has in certain countries, if the majority of them go on in the way they have in the past and continue to do so at present. I have myself felt like shooting some members of the Civil Service tribe for their rude and inhuman behaviour. I had not gone asking them for favours, I had only wanted them to do their job. If these are the feelings that an impeccably middle class person like myself entertains towards Civil Servants as a group, and the system they glorify I can well imagine what others not so favourably placed must feel. The point is that one has to "know" them to get anything done, and not everybody has a chance of knowing these "dis gods".

It is time that our Civil Servants stop taking refuge behind constitutional precedents and customs. There is nothing sacred in the British system, though there are a great many things to commend in it. Instead of pretending that they are only "servants of the government", it is time they realise their duties to the public. If they do not change, they will not have a Bandaranaike to save them or to protect them in a few years time. If there is a Gallup Poll today in this country, there will be an overwhelming vote in favour of sacking the vast majority of the Civil Servants

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JUST BRIEFLY

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I myself, weighed down with the memory of the acts of bureaucracy of the Civil Service in the days of the UNP and even in the MEP era, will vote for the ending of this vestige of colonialism. For that is what it is. What may replace it may be worse for a time, in that it may be anarchic, but there would be at least some chance of moulding it into something useful under pressure of public opinion.

My friends in the Civil Service are fond of consoling themselves by saying that criticism levelled against them arises either from jealousy) about the power wield) or from bitterness arising from disappointment due to refusal to do favours. To think that is the basis of public antipathy against them is to live in a Fool's Paradise.

If the members of the Civil Service, as presently constituted and motivated hope to survive the next ten or fifteen years they should immediately induce their Association to analyse the public antipathy against them and seek to remove the causes thereof. If this is not done, I can assure that a Prime Minister will soon arise who will sack the whole lot of them. Donning cloth and banion (jacket and cloths for their wives too) and hanging around MEP personalities at kiribath treats (as many of them had hung around UNP stalwarts at egg hopper tamashas) will not save them.

I know the state of public feeling. I have seen the writing on the wall about our Civil Service. Unless its members undergo a tremendous change - which they very well can - they are doomed. The opportunity to "retire" prematurely with fat pensions will not be given by any Government that is serious about serving the public.

I do not usually say Amen. But on this occasion I feel I should.

Rock "N" Roll

From Civil Servants to Rock 'N' roll may seem a far cry, but as I see it there is not much to choose between the mass hysteria which this new dancing craze has set in motion and the mass antipathy which our Civil Service has engendered in the public.

I am not wanting in this note to examine and analyse the new craze from the Freudian angle or any other, but I only want to make a few points that strike me as relevant. I have known during the last thirty years or thirty five years a number of "crazes" that has emerged from Hollywood and America.

I remember in the old days, there was a craze for a dance called Charleston, then it was tap dancing and so on.....I can recount a great many crazes that came along and went the way of crazes. But what struck me is that every craze cost money to the victim. And this meant profit for somebody. I would not have minded the cost if it was for something permanent in the cultural sense, but these crazes had no more culture than the chewing gum habit.

I was therefore looking out for the profit motive in this Rock "N" Roll. The other day I chanced to see a European journal which had something sensible to say about this dancing craze. I quote below relevant extracts.

"Convulsions of the body, not described in any medical text-books, to the accompaniment of savage shouts, is probably a fair description of rock "n" roll....."

"Originating in America, the home of many other specimens of Western civilisation, rock 'n' roll has had a lightning career in Europe and even in Asia. Its spread has been truly amazing, thanks largely to the efforts of a group of enterprising showmen. One of them, Elvis Presley, seems to be very much in the news lately.

"Presley is the rock 'n' roll king. His net profit this year (1956) is one million dollars, and the next year it is expected to top the two million mark. 'Only the steel and oil kings make more,' writes the Paris *Dimanche*. Where does all the money come from? Some of it, of course, come from public performances,

but most of it is derived from other sources — phonograph records, TV programs and motion pictures in which he is featured.

"Mr. Presley has discovered another rich source of revenue — advertising. There are already Elvis lipstick, Elvis combs, even Elvis hamburgers. Presley's sponsors anticipate an "Elvis boom" next year, and more profits for Elvis himself in the form of royalties. It is estimated that in 1957-58 his rake-off will amount to a million dollars net....."

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THE STRUGGLE

Does it matter from where you start? End or the beginning or the middle - it is just a continuation of what was and what is and what will be. That is the quality of time that he dreaded. Dreading he lived in fear until fear mastered him and wove a mesh of outer covering round him. He thought this sheltered him from outside.

But he had to continue moving, moving.....life demanded that. Once you stopped he knew what that meant. He had seen his mother, his father and then his sister lie still - stilled for ever.

So he moved because he dreaded, and dreaded because he moved. He moved, moved, moved, moved, till he felt utterly exhausted; till the mesh of fear woven round him enlarged and enwrapped and formed all the world about him. His world of fear that held no colour no sound no breath but this mesh. He could feel it round him about him every time he stretched his hand. It was not like a wall. It was not hard; it was not solid; it was not stationary. It moved with him, it grew large or small according to his strength and passed him like a vice.

He was aware of it as he moved. He moved engulfed in utter blackness without sight or sound love or hate. There was no room for any of these things. There was room only for fear. He moved. He panted. Still he moved. His nostrils dilated, eyes searched for some object. Hands tried to grasp something solid.

He knew he was not moving alone. The mesh round and about him moved, moved, moved. It could not be still since he would not. He could not, since he knew what it meant, when his father, when his mother, when his sister, stopped moving. He moved labouringly but still he moved. As he lifted the right foot, the space where it was, as engulfed in darkness. It searched, searched, searched, blindly for foot rest. Then his other foot searched, the darkness. Endlessly, endlessly it went on, this search,

this movement, this penetration of the darkness and movement not alone but with the mesh about.... He lifted his hand and swung it round. No wall, no trees, no rock.... absolutely nothing. For a moment, he could see the red and white spotted hen in the pen left to lay its egg. How calmly it sat in the pen. End of the sitting it produced an egg. It did not move and move and move within it.... within a mesh round and round and round and no calmness. He lifted his foot, lifted the other, lifted and lifted and searched and moved.

He would not stop, he would not stop. He did not want to lie a log, did not want to be put in a coffin, did not want to be nailed, did not want to be put under the earth before he had cleared the debts and regained the land.

He lifted his foot again and turned his head sideways thinking it would strike against the mesh. He tried to peer in the darkness for some sight. He screwed his eyes till they narrowed to slits. If he could see a little - just a little. How

ever dark it was he knew the land, the jack tree at the gate, knew the stunted coconut, trees, the house with its crumbling walls, the foundation laid and walls incomplete. He could not be still. He could not. Would the walls be still? He has seen them crumbling before his very sight. They could not be still till he was ready. They would move move back to earth and he would move.....move back to.....earth? No, No, he will move because he could not be still. Movement is life and life he must have to finish his work. He would not let them say that he did not reclaim the land. He could see the place where his father said he would plant a king coconut tree because his sister liked the king coconuts. There was no longer a king coconut plant there now. There was only a slight turn of the earth which indicated a pit had been cut. Grass was creeping over it fast. He wiped his eyes but there was no difference. It was darkness that stared at him, not a plot of land. Were his feet moving? How frightened he got. One could not afford to wonder when one was fighting such a battle. Must keep firmer hold of the mind. Supposing the feet stopped moving when the mind forgot to keep a firmer hold over it? Mind must think of the feet only - the feet that must move,

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Fiction

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first one then the other. Move and move and move.....not think of land nor half - built houses now crumbling nor jak trees nor a father who was stilled her mother nor sister.....There is only one thing that he must think of. One thing only, one thing. Eight letters O-N-E T-H-I-N-G. Letters intrigued him. Now with fear mastering him his feet full of uncertainty his mind seemed like butter in the sun. O-N-E T-H-I-N-G, O-N-E T-H-I-N-G, O-N-E T-H-I-N-G They were all getting stuck in the melting mass of his mind. The circle of the O was getting sunk in the far corner and the top of the T was like a cross incomplete. The H looked upside down and he thought of turning it straight. He tried and tried. It was strange that he could not use his hands to straighten


it. How could he? It was stuck right in his' head. He shook his head and the letter tossed about. He tried to hold his head in his hands to still the movement within and then remembered that he must move, move, move. It was in movement - not being still. His head spun about and he became less sure whether his feet were moving or not. Then it stuck him that an H was an H whatever way it stood. It could not be turned up-side down. Why did he think it was up-side down? May be it was not the H he was used to. Supposing nobody understood his H. Supposing everybody else called it N?. Supposing all his letters were nobody else's. Supposing he was not merry? Supposing nobody believed he was merry? Supposing everybody thought he was still and nailed him and buried him and he was left right under earth.....Darkness about was no longer still. It was spinning


round and round him. He could see its movements because it left a trail a white trail which enclosed him. Where was the mesh he was in? Was it outside the train or inside? And where did the letters lodge themselves? Why did he think of letters? What letters by the way did he think of? And now see his feet were no longer moving. They were standing still and he could see them. There was no darkness about them. He could see his toes dirty and clutching the rock he stood on and they were standing still. Still like the way his father and mother's and sister's would have been if they stood up instead of lying down on a mat. Still.....Still.....and surely there was no more struggle? He heaved a sigh and his taut finger fell limply by his side.


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Fattening Foods

The popularity of high-calorie foods not only tends to make some people fat — it may also keep other people from getting enough protective foods, according to diet studies cited by the U. S. Department of Agriculture.

This conclusion is drawn from the results of research on diet patterns of people in the western and north central states, conducted by state experiment stations in cooperation with the U. S. Department of Agriculture.

States participating in the work were California, Iowa, Michigan, Missouri, Nebraska, South Dakota and Wisconsin. The people studied were 30 to 90 years old and represented varied levels of income and education. Their intake of calories and of important nutrients such as calcium and vitamin C were surveyed.

Popularity

These studies of food-intake patterns leave no doubt about the popularity of high-calorie foods, which are often low in nutrients other than fat or carbohydrates. One thousand and seventy-two Iowa women were interviewed to determine the foods they had eaten during one day.

Results showed a consistent preference among those women for high-calorie items — fats and desserts — along with bread, meat, and potatoes as the main food in their diet. For women in South Dakota, sweets and desserts, cereal products, and table fats supplied more than 60 percent of the day's calories.

Diet patterns of people at all weight levels were studied. Main diet differences lay in the amount, rather than types, of food eaten. Persons with high-calorie diets stand a better chance of getting enough minerals, vitamins, and proteins than persons on low-calorie diets. But a diet with more calories than the individual needs to meet his energy requirements will lead to overweight.

Overweight

It is generally accepted that people should maintain in later years

the weight that was ideal for their height and bone structure at age 25. Although the studies emphasize the many disadvantages of adding pounds with years, they show also that a large number of older people are seriously overweight. It appears that practical ways should be found to help people with low energy requirements plan diets that eliminate surplus calories but do not curtail essential nutrients.

The National Research Council recommends a daily intake of 0.8 grams of calcium as necessary for good health. Less than one-fifth of the Iowa and South Dakota women studied had taken that much calcium.

Thirty percent of the women reported that they had consumed no milk on the day studied.

The studies imply that greater calcium consumption should be encouraged through increased public education on the value of milk products and perhaps also through development of new calcium-rich foods.

It is well established that vitamin C is important in maintaining healthy teeth and gums. Studies cited by the department reveal a high intake of vitamin C among adults in California, where citrus fruits are plentiful. However, intake levels for women in the Midwest, South and Northeast averaged 10 percent below National Research Council recommendations. This seems to suggest that food rich in vitamin C might well be made more attractive to adults, and that frozen and dried citrus concentrate and other dependable year-round sources of vitamin C deserves more attention.

South Africa

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Under these housing conditions—in most squatters' camps there is no proper sanitation, light, heating or drainage—it is not surprising that the life expectancy of a non-European is little more than half that of a white South African—35-40 years

compared to 66. The Tomlinson Commission declares that "between 1/5 and 1/4 of (Bantu) children die within the first years of life".

Education

School education is rigidly segregated. Free compulsory education from 6 to 16 is provided only for Europeans. For non-white States education is supplemented, and in the case of Africans, largely run by missions. A 1954 estimate gives the cost per head of education as Europeans £50, Coloured £25 and African £9. Only 41% of Africans receive any schooling and most for only two to three years. 3% of Africans, 4% of Coloured and 16% of Europeans receive secondary school education; 5% of the 20,000 university students are non-European.

Under the Bantu Education Act apartheid has been applied still further. African education is now placed under the control of the Union Department of Native Affairs. The Minister is given power to decide syllabuses, teachers conditions and to register or close schools. The contribution from general revenue to African education is pegged at its present level (additional amounts are to come from the African taxpayers). The Minister has stated that "Education must train and teach people in accordance with their opportunities in life..... The school must equip the African to meet the demands which the economic life of the country will make upon him. They must not mislead him "by showing him the green pastures of European society in which he is not allowed to graze."

After considerable controversy most mission schools have surrendered themselves to the Department and agreed to execute what the Methodist Church called a policy of "conditioning the African to predetermined subordination." Some which have refused to do so and remained independent of State subsidy have been compulsorily closed.

The government is also seeking ways and means of compulsorily removing Africans from the racially mixed universities and setting up segregated African tribal colleges.

Social Colour Bar

South African life is permeated with colour discrimination and colour bars, both customary and legal. The Nationalist government

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has sought to enforce this discrimination with even greater thoroughness and to this end has, *inter alia*, imposed:

The Group Areas Act under which residential segregation is being carried a stage further and the way prepared for a complete demarcation of the country into racially exclusive 'pockets' and zones.

The Act has seriously attacked the trading rights of the Indian community and imposed much hardship on non white groups being compulsorily removed from white areas.

The Immorality Amendment and Mixed Marriages Acts making

miscegenation (already illegal between African and White) and mixed marriages between Coloured and White criminal offences.

The Population Registration Act compelling every adult to carry an identity card stating, *inter alia*, his race. This measure has the effect of making the colour-caste system rigid by preventing 'passing' from one group into another and of enabling the government to enforce its other apartheid laws. To determine the race of many persons, fantastic means are used, e.g. hands or pencils passed through hair.

Reservation of Separate Amenities Act permitting those in charge of public vehicles or buildings to provide services for one race exclusively without making any provision for other races. (previous such facilities were usually segregat-

ed, but in law, to be available to all sections).

Resistance to Apartheid

The history of the struggle against White Supremacy and the Colour Bar (supported by all the main European parties, including the present United Party Opposition) is a fascinating one. Today, as never before, the various non-white groups are finding a greater unity and formulating with greater clarity the democratic alternative to apartheid and segregation. The most recent large-scale resistance was the Defiance of Unjust Laws (passive resistance) Campaign of 1952, in which over 8,000 resisters were gaoled. Today, under increasing police tyranny the opposition to the government faces a critical stage. Most of its leaders are either 'named' as Communists' or forbidden to

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WORLD AFFAIRS

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scarcely encouraging to those who had hope that the change of Government would bring with it also a change of policy in international affairs. If Sir Anthony Eden had to go, it was not because he was personally unacceptable but because his policy had failed—and failed because it did not take account of the view of political forces in Asia and Africa. What was needed, therefore was not just a replacement of the man at the top but a reorientation of British foreign policy.

“The succession of Mr. Harold Macmillan to the Premiership seemed already an indication that the right wing of the Conservative Party was still strongly in the ascendant. Mr. Macmillan unlike Mr. R. A. Butler, was believed to have been firmly in support of Sir Anthony’s action in Egypt. The team which Mr. Macmillan has picked confirms this interpretation of this appointment. In particular, the retention of Mr. Selwyn Lloyd as Foreign Secretary, who was the immediate executant of the previous Prime Minister’s foreign policy, has been taken as ‘a further indication that Britain’s Conservatives adhere firm-

ly to their contention that the British and French armed action against Egypt was justified.

“It would be sad indeed if the British Government and the Conservative Party have failed to assimilate the lessons of Suez. For Suez was far from being an isolated or unique event. With the sharpening of national consciousness in Asia and Africa, as well as the increasing pressure of the masses of these continents demanding higher living standards, there are bound to be other such issues in the future. The political empire on which, it was once thought, the sun would never set is now in its twilight, but even the afterglow of economic colonialism which it has left behind cannot last indefinitely.”

nation of all non-whites to achieve racial equality.

South Africa poses a challenge to the conscience of the world and in particular to that of the people of Britain. At the United Nations, where South Africa’s policies have been censured, Britain has consistently supported South Africa, causing the colonial and ex-colonial nations to question her sincerity in espousing democracy, and embittering relations within the Commonwealth.

Of even greater moment is Britain’s reaction to the claim of South Africa to the High Commission territories the British Protectorates of Basutoland, Swaziland and Bechuanaland. South Africa’s leaders are pressing for their incorporation as part of the grand apartheid design and the matter may be raised in the Commonwealth Prime Ministers’ Conference.

So far Britain has not acceded to the Union’s demands but can we be confident in the light of the banishment of Serets Khama in patent conformity with white South African prejudices that she will not seek to retain South Africa’s goodwill, with its strategic and economic advantages, by acceding to Mr. Strijdom’s demand?

South Africa

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attend any gatherings. Nevertheless those in opposition—including a handful of European sympathisers — are building up their organisational strength for the next stage. As yet the final form and leadership of the struggle is undecided, but whatever differences exist are subordinate to the unanimous determi-

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