

# TRIBUNE

## INDEPENDENCE DAY

A Government cannot hope to survive for very long only on the strength of a progressive foreign policy just as a business firm cannot hope to flourish only by maintaining cordial relations with firms in other countries. Correct foreign contact and orientation can have meaning and substance only if domestic and internal affairs are sound and satisfactory.

The MEP Government of S.W. R.D. Bandaranaike undoubtedly has a foreign policy about which any Asian country can be proud of. From being an echo of British and American die-hardism surreptitiously fanning the flames of the Cold War in Asia, Ceylon has now moved to a position of following an independent foreign policy in keeping with the line adopted by countries like India, Burma and Indonesia in Asia, and Egypt and Syria in the Middle East and Africa. This is no mean achievement, and this development has been hailed by independent and democratic Governments all over the world. The visit of Chou en-lai next week to Ceylon is an indication of the re-

gard with which this country is now held in international circles. Dulles has already been here, and it is possible that Eisenhower may think fit to include Ceylon in his itinerary when he visits India this year or the next. Friendly contact with all countries, irrespective of ideologies, is what is essential: and that was something which the UNP had consistently refused to have in its foreign relations;

### Domestic

But as we have stressed, the MEP cannot justify its existence only on a correct foreign policy. On the domestic front, the MEP has so far failed badly. By its short-sighted policy on language it has divided the country into two communal camps, and unless something is done soon to repair the damage a situation may arise when some form of division may constitute the only way of resolving the communal problem — for as we have explained, in past issues of this paper, division is perhaps the only way of containing fanatics and chauvinism. *Tribune* has consistently fought for the development



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of a United Ceylon on the basis of a democratic unity of all communities inhabiting this island, but the chauvinistic attitude exhibited by a controlling section of the Government Parliamentary Party has led the country into the worst communal tension and disharmony it has known in modern times.

The communal and racial tensions have also been increased by the MEP continuing with the reactionary and unenlightened policies initiated by the UNP in regard to the settlers and residents of recent Indian origin. The administration of the Indian and Pakistani Residents (Citizenship) Act has gone from bad to worse in the matter of indiscriminate and frivolous rejections, and the attempt to deport large numbers of "temporary" residents *en masse* contrary to elementary principles of common humanity and natural justice will ultimately lead to the creation of a large class of stateless persons and disgruntled elements, and this will militate against the ideal of a democratic united Ceylon.

*And, what is most unfortunate of all, is that the MEP has not yet done anything in the matter of economic development plans. Only a comprehensive National Development Plan, executed without communal bias, can not only relieve the communal and racial tensions, but also help to alleviate the poverty and unemployment which is stalking the land. "Tribune" hopes that the first Independence Day celebrated by the MEP Government will be made an occasion to initiate domestic policies which will stabilise the country and carry it forward to greater prosperity and happiness.*

### TRIBUNE

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# WEEK by WEEK in CEYLON

★ ANTI-SRI

★ COMMUNISTS

From all accounts, the *anti-Sri* campaign launched by the Federal Party, the Tamil United Youth Front and the Tamil Congress was started with gusto and enthusiasm on Saturday January 19 in different centres in the North and East. The newspapers and the political leaders of the Tamils made a great deal of noise about what was to happen, but it would seem that their calculations were chiefly based on the belief that the Government would take some retaliatory measures.

The Government, however, acted with far greater circumspection than they had shown in imposing the *Sinhalese Only Sri* numberplate. Instructions were issued to the Police not to prosecute anyone flouting the law in this matter. All *anti-Sri* "resistance" on January 19 and thereafter was taken by Government to mean nothing more than symbolic demonstration against a particular law. The Premier has taken the position that it was "constitutional" to protest against an act of the Government in this way, but he has issued a warning that he would take action if the campaign persisted to the inconven-

ience of the public and in contravention of the law.

But the fact that Government took no action cut the ground under the feet of the *anti-Sri* campaigners. What they had expected were a few arrests, a few prosecutions and the like, and they had probably hoped to build up a resistance movement thereafter on the basis of the "repression" they had expected Government to launch. With the Government refusing to be drawn into this game, new problems for the Tamil leaders have been created as to what they should do next. This dilemma has found expression in a lull in the movement which has been described as a "fizzling out" of the campaign. The leaders of the Federal Party are due to meet on Sunday to decide what they should do next.

It is significant that although there is widespread discontent in the Tamil areas about the language policy of the Government, the motor car owners do not seem anxious to be drawn into any major mass campaign.

**Communist Party**

Perhaps the most significant change in the alignment of parties

since the MEP came into power was a change of policy effected by the Communist Party. In a sense it was a concrete clarification of the earlier position which was vague, uncertain and indefinite. In a statement released on January 17, 1956, Pieter Keuneman, Secretary of the Party stated:

"At its meeting on January 13-15th, the Central Committee of the CP adopted a resolution entitled 'Defend and carry forward the gains of April 1956'.

"The resolution stresses the danger of the UNP and other reactionary forces being able to stage a come-back. This situation has been created by (a) the disunity among the anti-UNP forces; (b) the failure of the MEP Government so far to evolve a plan to fulfill its election programme and to inspire and enthuse the people of such a plan; (c) the NLSSP's policy of sterile opposition to the Government; and (d) the division of the country into hostile communal camps.

"The resolution reiterates the CP's view that the progressive aims for which the people voted in April 1956, can only be realised if the unity of the anti-UNP forces is maintained and consolidated. In view of the serious threat of the UNP re-establishing itself in power, the CP declares that the immediate aim of the progressive forces is to prevent this at all costs.

"The resolution therefore states that the urgent tasks of the anti-UNP forces are:—

"(1) To evolve an economic plan for national construction and the improvement of the people's livelihood;

"(2) To unite and mobilise all anti-imperialist and anti-UNP forces to fulfil such a plan.

"Welcoming the fact that, after centuries of oppression and neglect, the Sinhalese language has been given its rightful place, the resolution states:

"The CP welcomes the growing realisation among sections of the MEP and the Sinhalese people that, now that Sinhalese has replaced English, steps should be taken to remove the grievances of the Tamil-speaking people and win their cooperation.

"The Government should now take steps to ensure that the Tamil-speaking people can participate in

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# DON PHILIP GUNewardENA

"Vacillating, backboneless nincompoop from Horagolla" was how the scion of Boralugoda, Mr. Don Philip Rupasinghe Gunawardena described his present Prime Minister way back in 1947 at a meeting on Galle Face Green. The same description would have fitted Mr. Philip Gunewardena, when on the 13th of April 1956—ominous date that it might have been—he took office as Minister of Agriculture and Food, revealing in the process that his lust for office was the one governing influence in his life. Perhaps he reminded himself of Hamlet's words which he quoted in his Budget speech in another context: "To be or not to be, that is the question" and decided "To be". And in the meantime he tied himself a similar label of "Vacillating, backboneless nincompoop from Boralugoda."

This grandfather of the revolution (that is how Collette cartooned him a few days ago in the sense may be that he is pensioned off), this overture champion of might and freedom, for whom people of all races in this country cherished warm feelings of friendship, has become, as alleged by those close to him—sensitive to feminine suzerainty in the house. What passes my understanding is that this man who could thunder like angry Jupiter, could raise fire in his speech and at the same time who was the darling of the masses and was loved almost to the point of idolatory by even people on the other side of Elephant Pass, could have stooped so low as to be an instrument of petty government policy and became a full-blooded apologist of sectarian politics sowing the seeds of communal discontent.

### Communal

Communal politics have ostensibly become a valid passport to office today. All efforts to develop the country will prove abortive as long as this canker of a Gunewardena is allowed to remain in the body politic, and as long politicians of that type dabble in politics the

country will not be developed in any sense of the word. Mr. Gunewardena's relentless disregard of basic human relations between the two major communities can only bring ruin to the country. In the perspective of our conditions all his actions have shown a gross lack of magnanimity towards the minority communities. He has not the courage of his convictions (and courage is reckoned the best of all virtues), for unless a man has that virtue he gives no assurance of preserving any other.


In the first flush of victory Mr. Philip Gunewardena announced that the Senanayakes had been politically buried for ever and that the country was now safe. Hardly had a few days passed by, when Mr. R. G. Senanayake joined the Cabinet and Mr. Gunewardena joined the Senanayake who had been politically buried for ever along with those bearing his name. Where did Mr. Philip Gunewardena's convictions to?

Where again was the courage of his convictions when he asked that the rural development movement should be scrapped altogether only to find that the entire Cabinet bar himself stood up as one man for the continuance of that movement. Did Mr. Gunawardena resign? No Sir, not he.

Much has also been made of the fact that this Government is a People's Government. It requires not much intelligence to ask oneself the question whether the U.N.P. was not a people's government in the same sense that they were elected by the people. Tomorrow the Communist Party for example can call itself the United People's Front and its government the People's Government. These examples of s'ogan thinking born of political expediency are right down Mr. Gunawardena's street. Actually he is so intoxicated with power that, if I may be permitted to mix my metaphors, I think he is suffering from a serious constipation of

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**THE PEOPLE'S CAR**



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# D. P. Gunewardena

(continued from page 571)

thought. After joining the M.E.P. bandwagon all his faculties appear to have been benumbed and he has now become impervious to the growing unrest in the country.

Now he was suddenly cultivated a love for Gal Oya. He has wanted the Gal Oya Development Board scrapped and Mr Kanagasunderam the Chairman sacked for no other sin than that he is a Tamil. Apart from this, I suspect that there is still life in Philip to think of the glorious revolution. Gal Oya could well have been the cradle of Ceylon's bloody revolution and its future possibility cannot be still ruled out.

Terror cannot conquer the spirit of people and violence cannot enslave them. What was the lesson of those incidents? It is a mistaken belief to imagine that whole people can be made submissive by brutal assault or cold blooded murder. Mr. Gunawardena seems to have forgotten the elements of his ideology, after he joined the government.

## Paddy Lands

Countless rumours are current today that his one-time hope of a revolution and the formation of a workers and peasants' government still haunt his mind. True to the assertion of the Prime Minister that the strength of his party lay in the rural areas, Philip has thought up a master plan to consolidate his position among the rural areas by way of the Paddy Lands Bill. It is even said that he took no risk even as far as the drafting of the Bill was concerned, and had the Bill drafted by his private secretary (a former lecturer in economics) and examined by one of his very close lawyer relatives. The Bill affords indubitable proof that agriculture is still Philip's forte, but at places it shows that Philip's concern for the Peasants' Government had got the better of his reason. The Paddy Lands Act of 1953 he considers to be too weak where the security of tenure and fixation of rents are concerned because its provisions are too elaborate.

Although the intended beneficiaries of the bill are the peasants serious repercussions are likely in the rural areas which can quite well turn this government out. The Bill is revolutionary in character and hence the orthodox and conservative villager will view the changes with extreme disfavour. The Prime Minister having perhaps realised this has suggested amendments to the Bill before it is presented in Parliament.

Sources close to Mr. Philip Gunawardena seem to think that he would not hear of an amendment to the Bill. The entire Cabinet could easily be coerced into favouring an amendment to the main provisions of the Bill, and therefore it would appear that Philip would not be in a position to carry the whole Bill through intact. The whole country will no doubt have sympathy for him.

Like an able performer on a bad instrument he is out of tune in the M.E.P.—another party with all the faults of the U.N.P.—and the only sensible thing for the man who was a sworn revolutionary who cared for the injustice, oppression and the misery of the masses, is to step aside, bow out gracefully and join his erstwhile colleagues in the revo-

lutionary camp. How can one fit a car axle to a bullock cart and make it run like a motor car. That is Philip Gunewardena's problem. As a man trained in the manners and maxims of a socialist concept, Philip can never be at home in this Pan Sinhalese communalistic Cabinet. This is in Philip Gunewardena's socialistic past and a concealed present.

Communalism and socialism can never go hand in hand. It will warm the cockles of Philip's admirers' hearts to see him join his erstwhile colleagues and become a symbol of the fraternal association of the many people living in this land. It is no use seeing one ranged against another.

Philip Gunewardena holds the latch-key to minority hearts. Let him not forget that the hearts of all the races in this country beat as one. Instead of being a mere chatel he could make himself more useful outside the state machine.

The phrase Thomas Paine used about Burke: "He pities the plumage, he forgets the dying bird", sums up Philip's present attitude. He has gone in for the ornaments and trappings of office, and forgotten his purpose in life.

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# C. I. D. Watches Press

With the victory of the UNP in the Colombo Municipal Elections, certain sections of the C.I.D. which still look fondly back to the old days under the British colonialists and later the UNP, have plucked up courage and have started snooping around in territory where angels will fear to tread.

The activities of these gentlemen seemed to be directed not by those in charge of the political section of the present C.I.D. but by persons who were in the Kotelawela-UNP Public Security Department, and who, on the premature termination of their employment after the defeat of the UNP, were given lucrative posts in certain foreign mercantile firms and other foreign agencies in this country.

These persons all now seem agog with excitement, stirred up with the hope that the UNP may come back, and that they too could stage a come-back to their former positions of power in the secret police. Confabulations and secret discussions, some of the with foreigners, are going on, and various groups are being and have been formed to help the UNP to stage a come-back.

For this purpose, they have "mobilised" their old friends who were in the Public Security Department and are now in the C.I.D. to help them. These persons are now on the warpath. It is difficult as yet to know the various types of secret

## For Sir John

work being undertaken by this secret rearguard of the former Public Security Service, but about one thing it has been possible to establish purposeful activity.

### Lake House

A very careful watch is now being kept by these persons on the two big newspaper groups to spot and single out persons who are supporting the present Government, or in the alternative are journalistic enough to publish all the news whether it hurts the UNP or not. The plan seems to be simple. Pressures of various kinds, including bribery though certain foreign agencies, will be brought to bear upon those who insist on playing the anti-Sir John/anti UNP line. If such pressures do not bear fruit, it is proposed to brand them "communists" and then compel the management to deal with them.

In this, the conspirators will be assisted by the fact that the management of at least one of the newspaper groups still continues to maintain the close *laison* with the C.I.D. in respect of its own employees, as in the heyday of the UNP. At that time, the management of this newspaper group called for any file it wan-

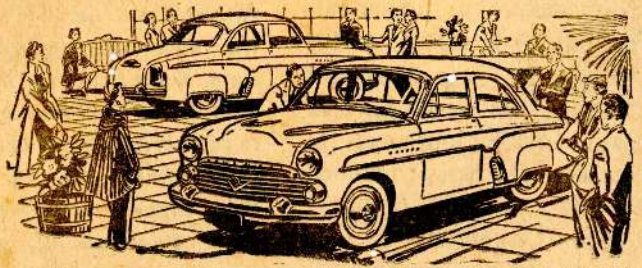
ted from the CID or Public Security. What was worse was that with the consent of the management the Public Security had planted a "clerk" in the editorial section to keep a tab on the activities and gossip of members of the editorial department. But journalists being a fairly well-informed tribe spotted this spy in their midst and his reports must have been mainly what had been purposely dished out to him.

Very recently, however, last December, to be precise, the printing and business departments of this press (Lake House, to let the reader into a secret) became unionised and certain demands for bonus and the like were made. The management of Lake House, which advocates recognition of healthy trade unionism by other employers was aghast at this development. Part of the bonus demanded was paid, and other part is now under arbitration. But everything, from bribing certain sections of the Union to secretly intimidating other sections, is now being tried out. To help them in this anti-trade union activity, it is reliably learnt, that CID assistance as in the past was invoked. As result of this a CID man, pretending to be worker, has been planted in the works and business side of Lake House. It will be interesting to know whether this person continues to draw any allowance from the CID after he be-

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# C. I. D. Watches Press

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came an employee of Lake House, or whether he is satisfied with Wages Board wages that are being doled out to him. It will also be interesting to know whether the CID exists to help out employers in their disputes with the employees in this way.

## Fox-Hunting

But whilst the CID "unofficially" assists Lake House in this war against its workers, certain other sections are secretly watching the inside developments in Lake House. For instance, there recently appeared in some Lake House publications pictures of Sir John fox hunting in England. These appeared in the Lake House Sinhalese papers a long time before the English papers of the *Times* group picked them up. The caption and the footnote which appeared with the pictures in the Sinhalese Lake House papers were none too flattering about the sport of fox-hunting. It was pointed out that there was a movement in England to abolish fox-hunting as a cruel and inhuman sport.

Surprisingly enough, this news item in the Sinhalese papers of Lake House provoked great activity among these die-hard Public Security old guard. With the assistance of stooges in Lake House, these snoopers are trying to unearth the "crypto-Communists" responsible for the outrage of showing Sir John in a bad light to the Buddhist public. It has not yet been possible to find out whether a similar surveillance has been thrust on the *Times* group, but it is likely that such sleuthing has been directed against anti Sir John journalists in the *Times* who are being branded by the CID (Public Security) as "crypto-Communists". This phrase "Crypto-Communists" is Scotland Yard- FBI jargon. But the difficulty about Lake House seems to be that it is so full of "crypto-Communists"

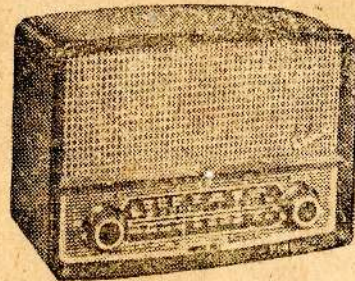
(a la McCarthy) from the very top of the journalistic ladder to the bottom that the sleuth seems to be in trouble writing his report.

## Crypto - Communists

The person most active in this snooping game is a protege of a former member of the defunct Purple Brigade. He received training abroad on the difficult subject of "fighting Communism". This person did not get pushed out of the Public Security Department when the MEP come to power owing to very fortuitous circumstances. This person is now going about, a little too pompously for a secret service policeman, making inquiries about "Crypto-Communists" in Lake House. It is also learnt that he has persuaded his bosses to allow him, among other duties, to keep his eye on all journalists and newspapers, and it is believed that he is more interested in sending reports about his "discoveries" to a foreign secret police service than keep his present bosses informed. His real masters are his former bosses in the Public Security, now in Mercantile Service, and a certain organisations abroad.

The MEP Government must wake up to the situation. Very foolishly, that Government did not disband the Public Security Department as such, but called it by colonial nomenclature of C.I.D. What is now happening is that the hard core of the C.I.D., which is still loyal to the UNP and certain foreign agencies, is busy serving its old bosses in every way it could. A great many items of news in the *UNP Journal* in the the column *IS IT TRUE?* is said to be supplied by certain members of the C.I.D. who are working overtime to snoop on MEP Ministers and listen to their telephone conversations. *Whilst the Prime Minister and the Cabinet think that the telephone tapping, which they have permitted, is being directed against the "enemies of the State," it will break their hearts to know that additionally the phones are being tapped to keep Sir John and UNP informed of all the MEP gossip. If the MEP should lose to the UNP at the next elections it can at least have the satisfaction that the C.I.D. which it permitted to flourish assisted in its downfall.*

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# HUNGARY IN 1919

The Hoover Family is plotting against Hungary again. In 1919 Herbert Hoover, Sr., organized the coup d'etat that drowned the first Hungarian Socialist Republic in blood. And his son, Herbert Hoover, Jr., is directing the State Department's maneuver against the Second Hungarian Socialist Republic in November, 1956... Yes, the hated Hoover dynasty is guiding Ike's foreign policy in Hungary and the oil-rich Mid East. For Herbie, Jr., has been Acting Secretary of the State Department since October. And he is the "dead, spittin image" of his Dad, politically speaking..... The elder Hoover once told the *San Francisco News* that "The ambition of my life is to destroy the Soviet Union." And he almost succeeded in 1919 when White Guard armies were overrunning the workers' land from the North, South, East and West. For the invaders were living on Hoover's flour, bacon and beans. And they would have quickly collapsed without imperialist aid.

Hoover had personal reasons for his anti-Bolshevik frenzy. His estimated fortune of 30 to 40 million dollars might be 10 times as great

but for the Socialist revolution. For the Soviet people took over the vast Russo-Asiatic Corporation concessions that Hoover and two friends had won from the Tsar. The Hoover concession included two and a half million acres of timber and mining lands in Siberia. His corporation owned sawmills, steamships, blast furnaces, rolling mills, gold refineries, railroads and mines. Its reserves of gold, silver, copper, lead zinc and timber have been estimated at one billion dollars. And much of this wealth would have come to Herbert Hoover, Jr., but for the workers' and peasants' revolution.

## Food

The Older Hoover often boasted that he used "food as a weapon" against Bolshevism, when he had charge of European "Relief" in 1919. He also used other weapons in Hungary, however. For he was organizing a Hungarian fifth column on the inside, while he was feeding the interventionist armies that broke in.

This story of blood and treachery is a matter of record. It was written by one of Hoover's chief aides. You will find it in *The World's Work* magazine of June, 1921. It is featured under the title — "Overthrowing a Red Regime." And it is signed by Thomas C. Gregory, a San Francisco attorney, who boasts that he organized the counter-revolutionary coup under Hoover's direction.

Gregory says the Allied leaders in Paris were much alarmed by the Hungarian revolution. Hungary occupied a strategic geographical position, and they feared the revolt would spread to other lands. But they couldn't agree on how to stop it at first.

Marshal Foch of France urged armed intervention. An Allied Army of 250,000 would crush Hungary, he said. But such an army was hard to find in 1919 (when Allied troops were in Russia and the masses were rebelling). And Hoover objected. He had a better way, he said. Hoover was Chairman of the Allies Supreme Economic Coun-

This article throws profound light on the anxiety exhibited by some Americans in regard to Hungary. The failure to crush the socialist regime in Hungary today in spite of many mistakes made by the Rakosi-Gero clique has infuriated Wall St. In the context of the events of 1919, though history has repeated itself in 1956, the results have been different.

cil, with American dollars behind him. So the assembled imperialist leaders agreed to let him do the job in his own way.

And Agent Gregory was rushed to Vienna to begin hatching the plot. Gregory's official job was "Relief." But "relief" was merely incidental to the fight against Bolshevism, as Gregory admitted.

Other agents were speeding to Rumania meanwhile. Their job was to feed the Rumanian armies that would invade Hungary when the conspirators were ready.

## Double-Cross

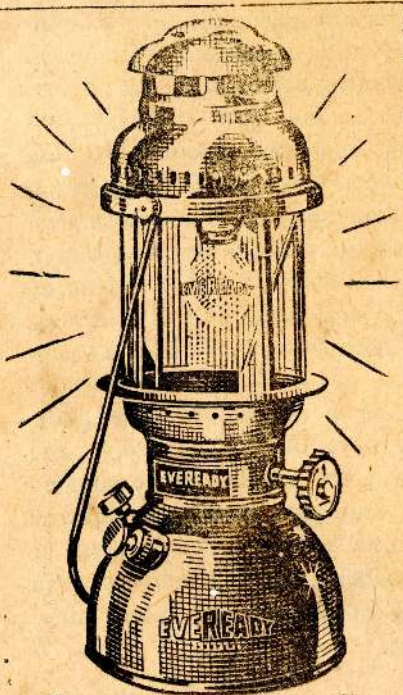
Money passed freely in hatching the plot. For Hoover's agents were in the market for traitors. There are some potential traitors in almost every revolutionary camp. And Gregory's job was to find them and buy them.

His first buy was General Boehm, the Hungarian Minister to Vienna. Gregory said he discovered quickly that Boehm was a conceited fellow. So "we offered him the enticing plum of glory, fame, honor and power if he would join the counter-revolution," said Gregory.

The plotters double-crossed Boehm later. But he took the phony bait and gave them the names of other venal men. The new traitors were bigger prizes than Boehm. For they included several popular leaders, who might swing some masses behind them. Gregory hooked them by promising to back them in the leadership of a liberal, democratic regime when the Bolsheviks were ousted.

Hoover had no intention of installing a liberal, democratic re-

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The Gratien Report, which was released 'unofficially' to the public last week through a scoop by the *Observer*, has provoked strong resentment and protest in certain quarters, particularly among the trade union supporters of Minister Don Philip Gunawardena. Whilst it is not possible to comment on the Gratien Report without examining it with some care in regard to details, it is necessary to utter a word of warning that the MFP Government should avoid the habit of the old UNP regime of pigeon-holing reports made by experts and others when their recommendations do not suit the convenience of party supporters and adherents.

But whatever may be the recommendations which have been made by Mr. Gratien to improve the working of the port, it is necessary to draw attention to one salient fact about the port of Colombo which many people, who should know better, conveniently choose to ignore, and many others, who should be more concerned, choose to forget. It is time that the Government and the people of this country realised that the port of Colombo has serious limitations, and that whatever is done the present congestion can never be fully remedied. The size and extent of the port is limited and circumscribed by the two breakwaters, and we have it on the good authority of persons who know that the far more ships than the port can conveniently accommodate call at Colombo. Even if the labour force is doubled, even if there are no strikes, and even if the landing equipment is modernised, still there will not be space enough within the confines of the breakwaters for all the ships that call here. In the circumstances, ships must wait outside harbour midstream for berths inside even at times when the port is working efficiently.

#### Mirage

Those who seek to hide this fact are those who have wasted millions for the so-called Port Develop-

ment Plan which has just been completed. To think that the port of Colombo can cope with all the shipping that will now increasingly touch Ceylon is to be deluded by a mirage. Colombo was good enough as a port in the old colonial days with a population of five millions with limited income and a restricted purchasing power. Today the population is very nearly nine millions. The exports of this country have grown, in value if not in quantity; and imports have more than proportionately increased. In addition, the volume of imports of capital goods and machinery for development purposes has increased and will keep increasing. All this will make congestion in the port of Colombo even more acute.

What then is the remedy?

The answer is simple. Galle, Trincomalee, and Kankasanturai should be immediately be opened as commercial ports. The bottleneck which now exists in Colombo, owing to the fact that the managing agencies and exporting houses of our tea, rubber and coconut are crowded into this city, must be broken. British commercialism found it convenient to concentrate all its eggs in one city, however inadequate the port. Today, the national development plans of the country demand that other ports be immediately modernised and developed. There must be a "decentralisation" of business houses in respect of the four ports. The tea, rubber and coconut of the Southern areas should be exported from Galle, and the imports for that area should find their way through that port. The produce of part of the up-country, the N.C.P. and N.W.P. can be diverted through Trincomalee; and Kankasanturai can easily handle the trade and freight of the North.

#### Numberplate

Unless this is done, the congestion in the port of Colombo will continue to be a headache. And

the result would be that the leading shipping companies, afraid of the delays caused by waiting midstream outside the breakwater, would tend to avoid this port, and the trade of this island would suffer thereby.

Instead of being concerned about problems like these, the Minister of Transport seems unable to do anything better than to conceive of a *Sinhalese Only* SRI motor numberplate to keep Sinhalese voters occupied and to make them feel that Government has done a great deal for them. This game of bluff and cheating the masses brought about the downfall of the UNP, and the MEP seems determined to follow in the unworthy footsteps of its predecessors in office. Not only Maithrapala Senanayake, the Minister of Transport, but also the entire Cabinet and the Government Parliamentary Party, who insisted on provoking the Tamil minorities by a meaningless symbol on a motor numberplate, will do well to realise that it (SRI NUMBERPLATE) cannot solve the congestion in the port of Colombo or prevent freighters from refusing cargo for Colombo. The enthusiasm and jubilation now being exhibited by the chauvinists in the MEP over the SRI numberplate will dissolve into thin air when fewer and fewer ships call at Colombo, and trade progressively declines (as it is now happening). All that the MEP and its fanatically chauvinist racialists will then have for consolation could be a few *Sinhalese Only* SRI numberplates as significant mementoes of the glorious days of *Sinhala Only*, and among the glories can be counted the Transport Minister's supreme heroism and unlimited courage in introducing the SRI numberplate in spite of protests by Tamil minorities.



At the time the Government Parliamentary Party decided to make no concessions in regard to Sinhalese Only *SRI* numberplate, they also decided that the number of portfolios in the Cabinet should not be increased. The necessity for such a decision arose because I.M.R.A. Iriyagolle, one of the architects of the MEP, was clamouring for a Cabinet post.

It will be recalled that the MEP came into existence on the initiative of S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, Don Philip Gunawardena, Dahanayake and Iriyagolle — at least, the notice announcing the formation of the MEP was signed by these four gentlemen. The only one of the four who did not become a Minister was Iriyagolle. He was dissatisfied with the post of Parliamentary Secretaryship bestowed on him, and ever since the MEP came to power he has been clamouring for a promotion to Cabinet rank.

The Premier, probably admitting Iriyagolle's claims, in the context of the calibre of persons already in the Cabinet, had it would seem promised to make him a Cabinet Minister by October (he had, it is believed, expected certain changes which had not come off). In October, Iriyagolle had "kicked up a row", and it is known that the Premier had undertaken to see that Iriyagolle was made a Minister with the New Year. Apart from the fact that Iriyagolle acted for the Home Minister for three days (when the latter went to Bombay), the ambitions of Iriyagolle remained unfulfilled. The Premier too was not able to keep to his side of the bargain, and it was found that Iriyagolle could be made a Minister only if the number of Cabinet posts were increased from the present number of fourteen. At the meeting, the Premier it is said, set out the position very clearly and frankly, and declared that if the number of Cabinet posts are increased it should be made sixteen, because there was one other besides Iriyagolle who had strong claims to the post of Cabinet Minister. The Parliamentary Party therefore decided there should be no increase.

Iriyagolle is naturally a disappointed man. He has taken two months leave from Parliament, and there is now a great deal of speculation about what he would do next. Being a one-man show, Iriyagolle's bargaining power is weak. Is he now having confabulations with Dudley Senanayake? Will Iriyagolle join Dudley when he erupts once again into politics sometime in March (as predicted by the *Times* group of newspapers?)

#### Marikkar

Whilst Iriyagolle has gone into a state of semi exile, Marikkar, the ebullient Minister of Posts, Telecommunications and Broadcasting, is doing everything in his power to impress upon the Sinhalese voters not only on how strong he is on *Sinhala Only* but also how overawed he is by the Buddhist religion. At all recent religious ceremonial Buddhist functions at the Kandy Matigawa and other places, Marikkar has been one of the most prominent. He is probably the first Muslim in history to spend so much time and energy on establishing that he is an avowed admirer of the Buddhist faith.

He started the New Year by climbing Adam's Peak. The pilgrim season starts usually with Thai Pongal and the Full Moon in January, and Marikkar accompanied by a full contingent of newspapermen and press photographers climbed the Peak. The papers were thereafter full of stories of this great feat, and photographs were published of Marikkar at various stages of his progress up the pilgrims' path to the Peak.

But newspaper publicity alone was not enough. The newspapers were given a text of the telegram he had sent the Chief Whip of the Party. "CLIMBED ADAM'S PEAK — IN DELICATE STATE OF HEALTH — PLEASE INFORM ALL CONCERNED." The Prime Minister to whom the telegram was referred, according to press reports, made the following minute: "MINISTER OF HEALTH —

PLEASE SEND MIDWIFE IMMEDIATELY."

The English speaking section of the population had a hearty laugh, because our Oxford-returned Premier is sensitive to the niceties of English idiom, but to *Sinhala* Marikkar the whole episode was just another opportunity to win "fame and popularity".

#### Kariapper & Razik

Another Muslim who is doing his best to catch the eye of the Sinhalese voter is Mudaliyar Kariapper from Kalmunai. After beating Sir Razik Fareed in the game of "crossing-over", Kariapper is going from strength to strength by being even more Sinhalese than the most fanatic *Sinhala Only* adherent.

Whilst Sir Razik Fareed has been content to shout for *Sinhalese Only* from the wilderness proclaiming that the Tamil-speaking Muslims should adopt Sinhalese as the (foster) mother tongue, hoping thereby perhaps to be "invited" to join the SLFP and the Cabinet, Mudaliyar Kariapper had no compunction about deserting the Federal Party (which had ensured his victory in the last elections) and joining the Parliamentary Party. Sir Razik, when he found that the SLFP was not falling for the bait went one step better and created a situation by which he was thrown out of the UNP (he resigned before expulsion). By this manoeuvre, Sir Razik (he had supported MEP candidates against UNP nominees in certain wards in the last Municipal Elections) had hoped that whatever reserves the SLFP had about him would vanish. But the SLFP, more arrogant in power than before, did not want to "invite" anyone to join the Party when so many Muslims were falling over each other to proclaim their loyalty to the Buddhist-Sinhalese credo.

Kariapper has now suggested that all currency notes should be in *Sinhalese Only*, even though the Government has decided to print the next set of notes, in all three languages giving precedence to the

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# Just Briefly

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Sinhalese. Though Kariapper has beaten Sir Razik by several lengths in this race, he is still miles behind *Sinhala* Marikker who is doing everything to maintain the lead he has, by climbing Adam's Peak (7000 odd feet above sea level) even though "in a delicate state of health." Kariapper being an older man cannot hope to emulate Marikker, and the latter can therefore feel safe from any hard competition from any other Muslim.

Unless, of course, Sir Razik Fareed decides to make the supreme sacrifice and return his knighthood and become plain Mr. Razik Fareed once again. Such an act will certainly catch popular imagination. But an even better stunt would be if Sir Razik decides to become a Buddhist. The age of miracles is not past, and an inward revolution, such as the one Krishnamurti has been preaching these days at the Colombo Town Hall might impel Sir Razik to accept the Eight-Fold Path.

## Rajaratne

Speaking of personalities like Iriyagolle, Marikker, Kariapper and Razik Fareed, reminds me of the vociferous K.M.P. Rajaratne who shortly after he became Parliamentary Secretary when the MEP came to power attempted to become Ceylon's most popular demagogue by shouting *Sinhala Only* in all matters. It will be recalled that it was on the agitation carried on by Rajaratne (and his *xuru* Felix Jayasuriya) that the statutory concessions to the Tamil language contemplated in the *Sinhala Only* Act were dropped. But he carried his game too far, and he wanted to be in a position to dictate to the Premier. But the latter being a far more experienced campaigner out-manouvred Rajaratne and drove him to a position where he had to tender his resignation.

Rajaratne had hoped to blackmail the Premier with his threats of resignation, but when Bandaranaike called his bluff, he collapsed like a balloon. With the election petition case, which went against him, now in appeal, Rajaratne is not in an easy situation. But from what I

# WEEK by WEEK

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the political economic, social and cultural life of the country without handicap, discrimination or grievance on account of their language so that the attempts of the UNP and other reactionary forces to exploit their grievances can be defeated and the widest national unity can be forged to develop the country's economy and thus solve the problems of the people.

"In order to enable the CP to play its role more effectively in realising the tasks mentioned above, the Central Committee instructs the CP group in Parliament to withdraw from the Parliamentary Opposition and function as an independent group."

The statement has been reproduced in full (although it has been published in all dailies) to enable

observe he is endeavouring to stage a come-back.

In the *Bombay Blitz* of December 22, 1956 I read a full page letter from K. M. P. Rajaratne praising the Panch Sila of Nehru and calling upon the United Nations to elect Krishna Menon, Secretary General, when Dag's term of office comes to an end. I was intrigued by this letter and made a few inquiries and found that Rajaratne, Felix Jayasuriya and another friend had gone to India in December. The letter to *Blitz* was only to serve as a letter of introduction to the public in (North) India. Further inquiries from certain quarters in North India reveals that Rajaratne and his friends had endeavoured to inveigle some "North Indian" (Aryan) leaders to make anti-Tamil (South Indian Dravidian) statements so that they could be used to whip up a row in Ceylon over the Indian question. From what I understand this trick have not been able to get any leader of standing to make a statement to suit their purposes, but I am certain that Rajaratne will attempt to ride back to limelight with some speeches on the "Indian Problem" in Ceylon.

I do not know when he will fire his first shot, but I think it is coming. He is bound to quote some North Indian names to substantiate his charges against the South Indian "menace"

readers to consider this statement in the correct perspective.

This change on the part of the Communist Party to break with the Opposition and extend qualified support to the Government has provoked bitter criticism from other Opposition Groups. Dr. Nagathan of the Federal Party has charged Communists with supporting a Government which is chauvinistic towards minorities and has alleged that the C.P. has adopted this attitude because of the foreign policy of the Government in generally aligning itself with Nehru and the Afrasian group, and in opening diplomatic relations with China and the Soviet Union. Dr. Nagathan concluded his vitriolic attack on the C.P. with the question whether the Communists in the North will "do a Tito"!!

The N.L.S.S.P. with its strong Trotskyite tendencies has also condemned this move of the C.P. And has declared that it is only a further proof of the Communists "toeing the Moscow line".

It will be recalled that when the MEP Government came to power, the C.P. which like the N.L.S.S.P. had a no-contest agreement with the MEP, joined the Opposition. But it had declared that it would "not let this Government fall". With the victory of the UNP in the December Municipal Elections and the with the NLSSP and Federal Party moving into strong anti-MEP positions, the Communists seem to have decided, that they are more with the M.E.P. rather than the NLSSP, FP or the UNP. The Communists, moreover, probably feel that the undesirable and undemocratic features and policies of the MEP should be fought and changed from a position of *support* rather than *Opposition*. It is as yet difficult to assess the full implications of this change in so far as the C.P. and MEP are concerned, that there is no doubt that even though the CP is still a weak and small party, the consequences of this move will be far-reaching in a number of ways.

# SYRIA

The focus of world attention continues to be centred on the Middle East-West Asian region, and the three capitals which were very much in the news this week were Washington, Cairo and New Delhi. In the Dollar capital new and more agonising (and sometimes threatening) clarifications about the Eisenhower (Dulles) doctrine about filling the power vacuum in the Middle East fell thick and fast. In Cairo, the four leading Arab states, which have refused to have any truck with Baghdad Pact, met to discuss the problems arising from the withdrawal of British subsidies to Jordan and the proclamation of the Eisenhower theory, hard on the heels of the Anglo-French withdrawal from the Suez region. They have not only denounced the Eisenhower doctrine of "power vacuum" but also agreed to grant Jordan the same subsidy Britain had given it.

In New Delhi, President Kuwatly of Syria met and had discussions with Nehru on all current international problems. Chou en-Lai is due there to continue discussions with Nehru after his visit to the Soviet Union, Poland and Hungary. When Chou was in Moscow, the two giants of the Communist world, Russia and China, issued a stern warning that the attempt by the USA to fill the power vacuum in the Middle East was only the dollar version of colonialism and a crude attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of all Middle Eastern and West Asian countries.

**Nehru**

Speaking at the civic reception to President Kuwatly in New Delhi on January 18, Prime Minister denounced the *power vacuum* theory. Without naming any foreign Power, the Prime Minister said that certain big Powers had failed to understand and appreciate the strong nationalist sentiment in the minds of the peoples of Asia for preserving their freedom and achieving economic progress. "It is strange," he emphasised, "that this overpowering

sentiment moving in the minds of the Asian peoples has not been understood by certain big countries who are trying to frighten smaller nations that Communism will come and overcome them. These big countries are therefore asking the smaller nations to come under their sway and their military protection to save themselves from Communism." He added amidst prolonged cheers: "A nation can safeguard its freedom and sovereignty only by its own inherent strength and not by coming under the shadow of any other big power."

Tracing the recent political history of the Arab countries, Mr. Nehru said that they had worked hard to free themselves first from the domination of Turkish Imperialism and later from the influence and pressure of other foreign Powers. Fortunately or unfortunately, there was oil in these countries and this had caused many upheavals. A theory was being trotted out now that a power vacuum existed in West Asia. If this theory were accepted, it meant that an external

Power was holding sway in that region and interfering in the internal and external affairs of the countries in that region. Only this meaning could be put on this power vacuum theory. On this basis it was now being argued that some other foreign Power should take the place of the Power which had been eliminated from that area.

Mr. Nehru further stated that free countries ordinarily ran their Governments and business by their own strength and through friendship and co-operation of others. It was clear that in the past certain outside Powers were exercising a lot of influence and having their sway in West Asian countries. This was the basis of the "power vacuum" theory. One could also say on the same basis, he said, that the withdrawal of British Imperialism from India, had left many vacua behind. But the question was whether these so-called vacua were to be filled by outsiders or by Indians themselves.

Mr. Nehru concluded on the note: "I can understand economic  
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## World Affairs

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help being given by one country to another. But the difficulty today is that often this aid was tied up with the mentality of militarisation." This military mentality wanted to solve all problems in a military way. But the history of the last few years had shown that no problem could be solved by these methods. The world had to follow a new path.

### Kuwaitly

Such a path was *Panch Sila*, and the Syrian President too emphasised this. Said he: "We want relations between nations to be based on the principles of equality, freedom and liberty," and emphasised that the old relations between West Asian countries and some big Powers of the West could not exist anymore. They would not be allowed to come into existence again.

Referring to the military alliances, President Kuwaitly declared that "we do not think foreign imperial alliances are a service to security or peace of the world, because such alliances go against the very grain of these things. Instead of establishing stability and security, these alliances destroy this very stability and security." He condemned the Baghdad Pact which he said was engineered by imperialism. It was not for peace.

On the question of the purchase of arms from the Soviet Union, the

President stated: "When we were unable to get arms for self defence from certain quarters, from certain parts of the world, we had to get arms and weapons from the Soviet Union. We were compelled to do it. This was done not for the purposes of aggression because we do not believe in aggression. We are a people of peace and we live for peace. "These arms, he added, had been purchased to defend the liberty and freedom of Syria, to repel aggression. Certain big Powers of the West would not even wish us to defend ourselves."

President Kuwaitly also referred to the campaign of cold war which had been started in certain quarters against Syria and the Arab countries. It was being argued that Syria had become a satellite of the Soviet Union, and had joined the Soviet camp. "There could not be anything more ridiculous, frivolous and preposterous than this. We are not satellites. We will not become satellites. We will not allow our country to become a base of the the Soviet Union or any country of any other group in the world. Our bases, our airfields are our own and they will be used for preserving the liberty and independence of Syria."

The Foreign Minister of Syria, Mr. Batir, who accompanied the President was questioned by Press correspondents in Delhi about all outstanding West Asian problems. After stressing that Syria was firmly wedded to the principles enunciated



at Bandung and the policy of non-alignment enshrined in the *Panch Sila*, he pointed out that the cold war pretext of Soviet infiltration into Syria was being trotted out to find an excuse to attack his country.

"My conviction," he said, "is that the Soviet Union has no ambition in the Middle East and does not seek any privileged position in any Arab country." Mr. Batir then took the opportunity to refute the allegation that Syria was a Communist country. A correspondent had asked him whether he accepted the Western view or the Soviet view about the recent events in Hungary. "We do not have full knowledge of what is going on there," he said. "We believe that there was exaggeration in what was published in the newspapers on both sides."

Mr. Batir then added, "While you read so much about atrocities in Hungary, you rarely hear of what is going on in Algeria, where massacres are being carried out with NATO arms."

### Washington

Whilst opinion in Asia, and in the Arab countries in particular, have hardened against the Eisenhower Plan, Washington is talking about a power vacuum in the Middle East in the same way it did when it launched SEATO in Asia. At that time, it sedulously spread the doctrine (and in fact, the Lake House group in Ceylon swallowed

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## ATOMIC PEACE

★★★ "UNDER THE NEW POLICY, the U.S. intends to cast its protective cloak over Israel and over the Moslem world from Morocco to Pakistan. In effect, the U.S. is moving into a power vacuum left by the decline of British power and the depletion of the British treasury

★★★ "THE GLEAMING WEAPON that makes the new Eisenhower Middle East policy more than words is the U.S. Navy's Sixth Fleet. This is the big stick that the U.S. carries in that troubled area while the President talks softly; it is the Middle East's steel-grey stabiliser, a powerful force of air craft carriers and atom-armed planes, missileed ships, cruisers, destroyers, and a marine amphibious unit that unobtrusively patrols — and controls — that ancient and vital waterway, the Mediterranean Sea.

★★★ "IN THE SIXTH FLEET, every carrier pilot is 'special weapons qualified', meaning that he is trained to handle atomic bombs."

— TIME, January 7, 1957.

## World Affairs

continued from page 580

it then) of a power vacuum in Asia as a result of the withdrawal of the British, French and Dutch from this part of the world, and that SEATO was needed to fill this vacuum.

Many in Asia, and many in Ceylon, fell for this cold war line, but ever since Nehru and Chou proclaimed the policy of *Punch Sila* and organised the Bandung Conference of Afrasian Powers, this power vacuum theory has gone into cold storage. It is now being resurrected again by Dulles, and the purchase of arms by certain Arab countries from the Soviet Union is thought a good enough reason to proclaim the enlargement of the Baghdad Pact after the elimination of Britain as a force in the region. Dulles has gone so far as to say that the USA should go it alone without Britain—the excuse being that the bona fides of Britain and France were suspect. Or is it that the U.S.A. does not want to share the oil in Arab countries with Britain and France?

Recent statements from Washington indicate that Wall Street seems

## ENGLISH COMPULSORY IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS

NEW DELHI, Jan. 17.

English has been recommended as one of three languages for compulsory study in the secondary stage in Indian schools by the Central Advisory Board of Education which concluded its 24th meeting here today.

The Board recommended that the three-language formula be accepted as the basis for formulating an all-India policy. It also urged that State Governments be invited to take necessary action as early as possible to fall in line with the all-India policy to be evolved.

Under the formula all students with certain exceptions, will have to study three languages, namely the mother-tongue or the regional language, Hindi and English. Students in the Hindi-speaking areas will be required to study one other modern Indian language.

In certain cases, such as where a child whose parents are only temporarily resident in a State or are liable to transfer from State to State in the interest of Government work, the Board suggested that the child should be exempted from studying the regional language compulsorily.

determined to establish US military hegemony over the globe from "six atomic commands spread round the world. But what the business magnates of the USA who get richer with every war and every new campaign for more arms scare forget is that the world will have none of this Atomic Peace preached

by Eisenhower and Dulles. This new plan of Washington is doomed to failure as much as SEATO or any other military pact. But there is no gainsaying the fact the American war-mongering can do a great deal of harm and cause great uneasiness and misery.

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# HUNGARY IN 1919

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gime, however. His promises were hogwash. For he was secretly drafting a statement of principles on Hungary of a very different kind said Gregory. It was an eightpoint statement, which called for an anti-Socialist dictatorship in so many words. The new Government must be a "dictatorship," said Hoover, and the "confiscations" must stop.

Meanwhile Hungarian children were dying as Hoover's Supreme Economic Council tightened its blockade. The blockade was even tighter than the Non Intervention Committee blockade on Spain that Anthony Eden organized in 1936. For not a pound of food was coming in. And embattled, Russia was unable to aid.

## Coup

Hoover's man chuckles as he tells how he turned the starving nations down. No food for "Red" Hungary, he kept saying. These turns down went on for several months until the coup was almost ready. Then he decided to swindle the Budapest Communist representatives. Just give me the money he told them, and I'll ship in the food. Give me one million dollars in cash.

The Hungarians gave Gregory the million in good money too. But he held up the food deliveries until the Communist regime was overthrown on Aug. 2, 1919.

The Fifth columnists coup was aimed with the entry of the Rumanian army. The Rumanians came with plenty of Yankee food in their bellies. And they began murdering

hundreds of Hungarian workers a nce.

Meanwhile the fifth columnists ran into rough weather. Their pseudo "liberal, democratic" regime fell in a week. It was followed by a series of weak dictatorships, and then Admiral Horthy came in that November and set up his bloody fascist regime.

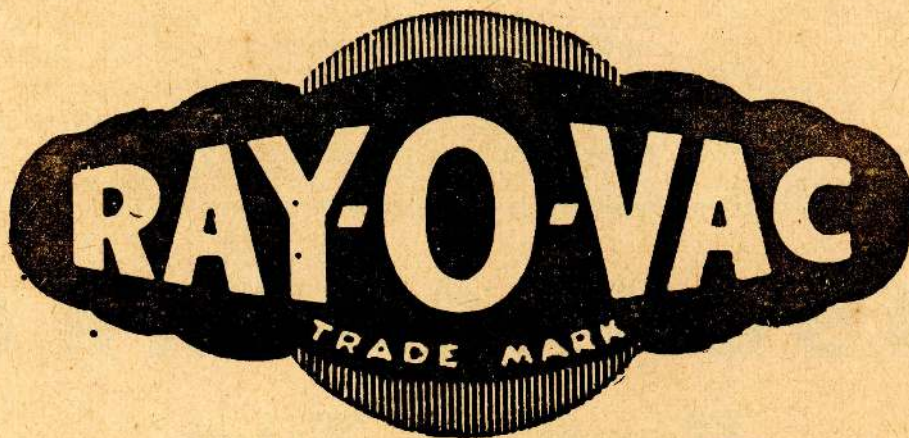
This was the bloodiest fascist regime in European history until Hitler came in. Its prisons were jammed with workers, peasants and intellectuals. And—

Horthy committed "countless political murders" in his first months of power, the *New York Times* reported on March 15, 1920.

Many Jews were butchered, other sources revealed.

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# Hungary in 1919

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These thousands of corpses were the climax of Hoover's nasty work. And the butcheries continued for 25 years. For Hungary was cursed with fascism until the Soviet troops overthrew the Nazi puppets in Budapest in the Second World War.

And now the Hoovers, and the men behind them, want the fascists back.

Herbert Hoover, JR., like his father before him, is an imperialist to the bone. For the Hoover fortune was built on sweated labour from colonial and semi colonial lands overseas. Thus Herbie, Sr., made his first big financial "killing" in Australian gold, Chinese coal, Burmese and Nigerian tin, and oil from many lands.

And part of Herbie, Jr.'s wealth comes from oil deals in Latin America and from Guatemalan gold. He was said to be the biggest mine owner in Guatemala when the progressive Arbenz regime was overthrown with American arms in 1954.

Hoover's biggest State Department job was in Iran in 1953 and 1954 after Mossadegh was arrested. For he fixed up the deal that muscled the American oil companies in for a 40 percent cut.

Young Hoover was sitting on Boards of Directors with more than one billion dollars of assets before he entered the State Department. . . Union Oil and Southern California Edison have that billion together, and there were other Hoover directorates too. . . . But I don't think he lost any money by entering the Cadillac cabinet. The American

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people lost some honor, however, by letting the Hoover dynasty come back.

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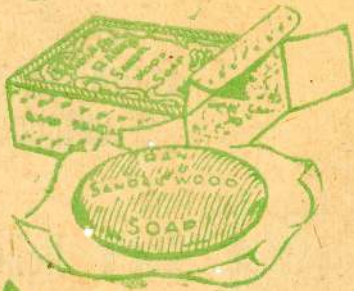
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