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ASK CHOU

chosen a worse time than this to visit this island.

"Tribune" joins the Government and the people of Ceylon in welcoming the Prime Minister of China to this country and urges that this opportunity to establish the closest contact with one or the two biggest countries in this continent be fully utilised in order to develop Asian solidarity based on Panch Sila to promote World Peace. Ideological differences cannot stand in the way of friendly relations when the principles enunciated at Bandung are accepted as the basis of international cordiality.

It is particularly gratifying to *Tribune* that diplomatic relations have been established with the Peoples Government of China and that Chou En-lai has thought fit to visit this country at this stage of Asian history. In May 1954, when *Tribune* made its first appearance, and called for closer relations with all countries irrespective of political ideologies, all the other newspapers, echoing the cold war philosophy of the United National Party, stood fully against any kind of contact (besides selling rubber and buying rice) with People's China.

Today the climate in this country has changed so much that both the *Lake House* and *Times* were

horrified when some diehard UNP elements stampeded the dominant party in the Colombo Municipal Council to deny a civic reception to Chou. The reaction in the country was so strong, (and even in the UNP circles the influence of men like Dudley Senanayake became so felt), that the Mayor and his party hastened to change their earlier decision and decide on a big Civic Reception to the Chinese Premier. In 1954 and 1955 *Tribune* was looked upon as "an enemy of the nation" by certain McCarthyite elements in the then Government for suggesting what the entire nation acclaims today. Today *Tribune* stand justified as the one newspaper, however small the voice may seem to have been be the context of mass circulating daily papers, which spoke with a sense of history and with the consciousness of the needs of the common humanity of Asia.

WORST

However, pleased we may be with the visit of Chou En-lai to Ceylon, it is necessary to record that he is coming to this island at a time when there is so much communal disharmony and distress and when there is so much confusion about what must be done to develop the economic resources of this country. From this point of view Chou En-lai could not have



Owing to the chauvinistic and jingoistic language policy of the Government the country is torn into two communal camps. Independence Day on February 4 is being boycotted by a third or more of the peoples in this island as a Day of Mourning. The Government has insisted on its jingoism to such a vitriolic extent that the racial fanatics and chauvinists among the minorities have been proved correct in their prognostications with the result that progressive forces which stood for a united democratic Ceylon today stand isolated and discredited.

The fact that at this stage the Communist Party should have decided to support the Government more fully in order to prevent a possible return of the UNP cannot take the sting from

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TRIBUNE

CEYLON NEWS REVIEW
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WEEK by WEEK in CEYLON

CHOU

LAKE HOUSE

CATHOLICS

STRIKES

The big news this week is the visit of Chou En-lai to the Island. He will be here from the evening of January 31 to February 5. At the time of going to press it would seem that impressive arrangements have been made for the reception to be accorded to the Chinese Premier. Besides Colombo, the Chinese Premier is expected to visit Anuradhapura, Polannaruwa, Sigiriya and Kandy. A request has been made by the Mayor and the Municipality of Jaffna that the Northern capital should be included in the itinerary. It is not known whether this request to include a Tamil centre will be, at this late stage, be incorporated in Chou's programme, *but the fact that he is being taken to only purely Sinhalese areas is bound to make the Tamils feel that the Government is determined to insult the minorities at every stage by making it apparent that they are not part of this country as has been done in the Official Language Act, as it stands today without any provision for the status or position of the Tamil language.*

Apart from this, the Chinese Premier's visit has evoked reactions which indicate the development of opinion in this country. Three years ago when the Rice-Rubber Pact was in operation, Lake House and the UNP opposed the visit of any personages from Communist China. Today, the majority of the UNP members in the Colombo Municipal Council voted for a Civic Reception to Chou, in spite of the efforts by the old guard like J. R. Jayawardene and Sir John Kotelawela to deny such a reception. *Lake House* has openly proclaimed this visit as significant, and it has not only has it published short biographies of Chou En-lai by Communists like Pieter Keunemau (in the *Daily News*) and Tissa Wijeratne (in the *Observer*), but has also set the pace in an editorial in the *Daily News* on Thursday January 31, entitled CEYLON GREETES CHOU EN-LAI. This editorial is quoted in full below because it indicates in no uncertain way the fundamental change that has come over

one of the most virulent supporters of the Washington cold war line to the period before 1956.

"Ceylon welcomes today the Prime Minister of a great sister Asian country. Mr. Chou En-lai's personal distinction as an international statesman does not need to be expatiated upon, but he comes today not merely as an individual visitor but as the representative of the people of China.

"Ceylon and China hold widely divergent ideologies, and in welcoming Mr. Chou En-lai it is neither necessary nor possible to deny the differences between the communist and democratic ways. Nor, on the other hand, is there any reason why these differences should prevent friendly relations between the two countries, provided these relations are governed by a mutual respect for each other's ways of life and non-intervention in each other's internal affairs. These are among the principles embodied in the Bandung declaration to which both China and Ceylon are signatories, and Mt. Chou En-lai's visit affords an opportunity for re-affirming them.

"Nor do ideological differences alter the fact that China is, like Ceylon, one of the countries of the new Asia, facing—on a much vaster scale—similar problems which she is attempting to resolve in her own way. China, too, is a country which has emerged from foreign political and economic domination (though in her case, this domination was exercised in indirect ways). Having gained complete national independence, she is now grappling with the problems of poverty and economic under-development which she has inherited from her semi-colonial past.

"This common background of problems should help the peoples of Ceylon and China to regard each other with sympathy and with mutual toleration for the different ways in which each country is trying to resolve them. At the same time the immense scale on which China is tackling problems of economic development and social change make her a great laboratory to which other Asian countries can go for methods and techniques.

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The successful revolution which has changed in so radical a fashion the whole course of Chinese history was not spontaneous. It had predecessors. There had been many revolutions in China before this one and as many failures. Failures due, in the main, to lack of instructed and resolute leaders knit together into a guiding party; lack, too, of an approved "know-how."

The China of the successful revolution had, in embryo, both leaders, some, like Chu Teh and Chou En-lai, studying in Europe and some, like Mao Tse-tung, still in China: all gradually converging and taking form in the Communist Party, formed in Shanghai, the centre of China's industrial activity, on July 1st, 1921.

Leaders are focal points of revolutions, and demand and reward a careful study. Handsome, courteous and gently spoken, Chou En-lai hides under a modest urbane presence a courage of steel with reasoning power swift and trenchant as a rapier. "Chou En-lai is the ablest diplomat in the world, not excepting Mr. Churchill," was Dean Acheson's estimate.

And I well remember the caustic reply that Chou En-lai once made to a wild assertion of Acheson, who, speaking pontifically, had overlooked the vast size, the huge population and outstanding importance of this quarter of the human race to whom he was dictating: "Study the map, Mr. Acheson, and think again" were Chou's concluding words.

A FACE CARVED FOR LEADERSHIP

Reading those words and studying the part Chou En-lai had taken in the Chinese struggle and the place he now occupies as Chinese Premier and Foreign Minister I was naturally anxious to meet him.

Our wish to see the Prime Minister was gratified. He invited us to a private family dinner and an evening of informal talk; a memorable evening and an illuminating talk.

By
DR. HEWLETT JOHNSON,
Dean of Canterbury.

Mr. Chou's face once seen is never forgotten. An alert and kindly face, youthful, almost boyish set in a frame of dark hair with dark eyes, shining beneath dark brows. A Chinese face, of course, but with unusually deep set eyes for China. A very warmly kind face too, and with eyes that look straight at you.


I cannot imagine a less aggressive face, or a gentler one. But under the charm and the calm was a complete assurance and a sense of command. After devastating an opponent with keen logic, I can well imagine him smiling with the same kindly and benign though slightly sarcastic look as his opponent gathered himself together and licked his wounds. Such a look he surely had when he said: "Study the map, Mr. Acheson, and think again."

LINK BETWEEN OLD AND NEW CHINA

Chou is an intellectual. He is cultivated. He looks what he is, the scion of a great Mandarin family, his father famous as a teacher, his mother as a reader of modern literature. He himself has all the elements of literary genius.

But what was difficult to imagine, as one sat with him at dinner and in the drawing-room afterwards with all the culture of ancient China around him, all the unostentatious, exquisite taste of the rooms and the chaste simplicity of his dress, fawn-coloured trousers well-creased, and fawn-coloured tunic-buttoned high up, without collar or tie, to the neck—was this same man preparing in his youthful days an insurrection, helping the National Army to seize Shanghai; this gentleman stimulating 700,000 workers in a militant strike, to imagine him as a leader of the Third Revolution that raised the Red Banner in China, or as a leader in the 7,000-mile Long March; as a man

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Chou En-Lai

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whose courage, tenacity and resolute action made perfect balance with his wide knowledge and cultured intelligence.

The even tenor of Chou En-lai's promising childhood, with its cultured tastes and literary beauty, was rudely disturbed by the great national awakening of the First Revolution of 1911. The thoughtful lad was caught up in the current of China's new birth.

Outstanding as a student in the American-backed missionary Nankai Middle School and then in Nankai University in Tientsin, he had paid his own way by scholarships. In the student rebellion of 1919, as a student leader in the struggle for democracy and as one of the founders of the "Awakening Society" which led the organisation of radical youth, Chou was arrested and imprisoned for a year.

A radical girl student, Miss Teng Yingch'ao, gaoled at the same time and for the same offence, became his wife. It was hard as we sat in the cultured seclusion of the Chou dinner party, with wife and daughter as perfect hostesses, to picture the young Chou and the young girl—she must have been, at the period of their imprisonment, as young and charming as the daughter is now—in the tumult of student strife, and suffering the shame of a Chinese goal.

But the conviction which brought them to arrest and imprisonment ran deep and has carried them far. On his release, Chou went to France, as Chu Teh had gone to Germany, to learn more of Communism and to help to organise the Chinese Communist Party in Paris.

Study in France and Germany; a short stay in England; and in three years time, in 1924, Chou returned to China, a revolutionary organiser who joined up with Sun Yat-sen, who was at that time preparing for the Nationalist Revolution in Canton.

His advance was rapid. At the age of twenty-six he became Secretary of the Whampoa Military Academy, working in intimate connection with General Bluecher, who ultimately became Commander of the Soviet Far Eastern Army.

THE CONQUEST OF SHANGHAI

Chiang Kai-shek, as Commander-in-Chief of the new Nationalist Army of China, elected to that office jointly by the Kuomintang and the Communists, who at this time worked in uneasy unity in China's Nationalist Front, was engaged during 1925-7 on his Northern Expedition. He ordered Chou En-lai, whom he cordially disliked, but whose hold on the cadets made him indispensable, to raise revolt in Shanghai.

Within three months this young student of twenty-eight, with no military training and scarcely any knowledge of the working class save that born of deep sympathy with them, organised a strike of 600,000 workers in the greatest and most imperialistically dominated city of the East, under the frowning guns of battle-grey foreign warships. The strike was not followed by revolt. It was easily crushed.

Chou and his comrades remedied this. They organised 50,000 pickets and secretly trained 2,000 cadres. Armed revolt broke out on May 21st, 1927, with 600,000 workers on strike. The police station, arsenal and garrison were captured and a 'Citizen Government' proclaimed. When Chiang Kai-shek arrived, he found the

city subdued and the Communist force triumphant.

A month later Chiang Kai-shek attacked the very men who had won the victory for him. Chou's name was first on the list of the proscribed.

FLIGHT FROM THE KUOMINTANG

Chou fled from the Kuomintang and raised the Red Standard at Nanchang. But not before dozens of his close companions had been executed—5,000 was the estimate of deaths in the "Shanghai Massacre."

Chou himself was captured. He only escaped death by the influence of an old fellow student of his Whampoa Academy days.

Under Chou En-lai the workers seized the seaport of Swatow and held it for ten days against foreign and native forces. Under Chou En-lai they organised the Canton Commune.

With the defeat of Canton, Chou hid until he could escape in 1931 to Kiangsi and Fukien, where he became political commissar to Chu Teh, the Commander-in-Chief of the Red Army, also, but later, becoming Vice-Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council.

On the collapse of the small gallant revolutionary base of the South, in face of overwhelming forces Chou En-lai fought his way out to the new base in the far northwest.

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Has Democracy Failed?

It was Sir Winston Churchill who said some years ago that democracy is the least unsatisfactory form of Government. Many of us at one time or another must have wondered whether democracy can work at all or at any rate, whether it can work equally well in all countries.

The essential institutions of the democratic system of government are, of course freedom of thought and expression, free speech, the freedom of worship and association, free elections at regular intervals, an independent judiciary and the right of every citizen to develop his personality to the utmost. Democracy in fact recognizes the dignity and value of the human personality. The aim of democracy is therefore, the full and free development of the human personality. But democracy, in order to work successfully, demands that the citizens possess certain qualities.

Essential

Without these qualities, it degenerates into something intolerable. Plato, for one, never believed that the ordinary man had the qualities essential for the art of government. According to Plato, the ordinary man was dominated by his desires; so he would never be able to carry out the highly skilled task of government. However, democracy to be successful to-day requires that the citizens should possess the habit of tolerance and compromise. The word 'tolerance'

does not fully express the nature of the quality that is required in a democracy. It is not enough that the citizen should only tolerate the opinion of others. It is necessary that he should respect the right of others, however small they may be in numbers, to form their own opinions. He may be unable to share these views but he must recognise the right of others to hold their own opinions.

So democracy involves a willingness to compromise to meet the other man's point of view halfway. It involves the habit of reaching decisions which are not the opinions merely of the stronger or the more powerful. They are decisions in which all have a share. It is of course not to be expected that there will be complete unanimity. But the alternative to unanimity is not the thrusting of the opinion of the majority down the unwilling throats of the minority. Rather the decision that is reached is the result of a genuine attempt to meet all points of view at least to some extent. Thus, although democracy is said to be the rule of the majority it does not mean the suppression of the minority or their views by the majority. Oppression or tyranny is equally detestable whether it is the tyranny of an individual or of the majority.

Language

This above observations are accepted as almost axiomatic by

political scientists. The question is that is the subject of the article is whether democracy has failed in Ceylon. Perhaps, the controversy as to whether Sinhalese should be the sole official language or whether Sinhalese and Tamil should be both official languages has been the most widely discussed topic in Ceylon. It has aroused more comment and emotion than any other topic in our recent history. It may be that administratively the most convenient solution is to have only one official language. It may be that our modest resources will not permit us to enjoy the luxury of having two official languages. Quite apart from the merits or the demerits of the language controversy, it is necessary to give the lie to certain spurious interpretations of democracy.

It is said that democracy is the government of the majority. Therefore if a country is composed of several communities the majority community is entitled to impose its own views on the minority. It is said that Sinhalese should be the official language because the majority community speak that language. On whatever ground, we try to justify the decision to have Sinhalese as the official language, it cannot be justified on democratic principles. Majority rule in such a context is not democracy but tyranny. It is tyranny, no doubt, of the majority but it is still tyranny. Democracy is

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HAS DEMOCRACY FAILED ?

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majority rule only under certain circumstances. The majority must consult the opinion of the minority, if a decision is to have any semblance of being democratic. Besides, the principle of majority rule is not always applicable. It is only applicable if by means of persuasion the minority has the possibility of becoming a majority. To give an example, today the Conservative Government is in power in Britain. The Labour Party is in a minority. But it knows that one day it has the chance of becoming the majority. This kind of majority rule is entirely different from that enunciated by some of our leaders today. The Tamils can by no amount of persuasion become the majority. They will always continue to be in a minority. Hence the ordinary principle that democracy is majority rule cannot be extended to mean that it is rule by the community which is in a majority.

Federation

That is why it is even more difficult for democracy to work successfully in multi-racial communities like Ceylon and India. Many people laugh at the idea of a federal system of government in Ceylon. A federal system of government to be successful requires certain essential conditions such as a balance in size, revenue, strength and so on among the units composing the federation. Moreover, it is an expensive form of government and probably a poor country like Ceylon cannot afford this expense. Nevertheless, those who laugh at the idea of a federation in Ceylon do not know or do not want to know that it is one way in which multi-racial societies can continue to be democratic. Indeed, the world's model democracy, Switzerland, is a federal state. So are Canada, Australia, the U.S.A., India and the Soviet Union. In these countries, the strange doctrine that democracy is the tyranny of the majority community does not prevail. By means of the federal mechanism, these countries have tried to combine democracy and communal harmony. Either, we

should, if possible accept some kind of federation or devise some other solution to respect the interests and rights of all groups which form the nation. If we fail to find such a solution, then it must be admitted that democracy has failed in Ceylon, at least for the present. There may be some consolation in the reflection that great democracies like Britain and the U.S.A. did not get their present form of government readymade. In both countries, there was internal strife and turmoil before a tolerable solution was found. Perhaps, it is only reasonable to expect that Ceylon too must pass through troubled times before a genuine democracy takes root in our soil.

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BADULLA, Monday.

For over 150 years they were under foreign masters who had exploited them and kept them in subjugation. After attaining independence the same treatment was being meted out to other races in the country merely because they were in the majority said, Mr. Dudley Senanayake at the 19th annual general meeting of the Uva Y.M.B.A. held at the Visaka Vidyalaya Hall here. He said, "I have been criticised in certain quarters for saying this. I repeat again that it is downright dishonesty to subject the other man to the same servility against which we rebelled for over one and half centuries"

Mr. Senanayaka who spoke with emotion said that the unity and harmonious relations that existed in the country during the last century when they were all fighting against the same suppression had now given way to disunity. The country was seething with hatred, jealousy and communal and religious fanaticism. "In this year which is doubly sacred to the Sinhalese because it marks 2,500 years of Buddhism and the birth of the Sinhalese race we are desecrating the good name of the race by the present attitude to the other races", he said. "Because we are on top does it mean that we should suppress the other races who have made this country their motherland?" he asked.

Political freedom was not an end in itself but only a means to an end. He said that the Jayanthi year was looked up to by Buddhists all over the world as a year when a new message would lighten up the dark world. In Ceylon they thought it would bring about a renaissance in thought and outlook. But the opportunity was being frittered away. He said there was nothing wrong in trying to restore Buddhism or Sinhalese to their rightful places. But in that process they should not make the other man suffer what they would not like to suffer themselves.

Morning Times, 29/1/57

WEEK BY WEEK

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This does not mean that Ceylon can or should passively imitate China's ways of solving her problems. The very different political and cultural background of Ceylon precludes such simple borrowing. But Ceylon can profit by studying the Chinese experience and taking over whatever methods of economic development can be adapted with suitable modifications, to her own democratic structure — just as she can draw on India, Japan, the Soviet Union, the Eastern European countries, Germany and the United States which have also been pioneers in evolving various techniques of economic development.

"Ceylon has consistently shown goodwill towards the new China. She was the first country in the Commonwealth to recognise the present Chinese Government; she was associated with the other Colombo powers in inviting China to Bandung; and she has supported the claim of the Communist Government to China's seat in the United Nations. The links built up by trade have recently been strengthened by the decision to exchange diplomatic representatives. It is to be hoped that Mr. Chou En-lai's visit will open a new period of friendly association between the two countries on the basis of the Bandung principles."

Catholics

The only section that has shown open hostility to the visit of Chou En-lai is the Roman Catholic community. Still over-burdened with an excessive doze of the cold war propaganda from Washington, the Catholics made great play about not permitting the children from the schools in their control to participate in any drill displays at which Chou En-lai would be present. It must be remembered that the vast number of children in schools managed by the Roman Catholic Church are non-catholics, and this attitude is likely to strengthen the demand to transfer all schools, now under such religious control, to the State.

The Roman Catholics in Ceylon are unfortunately still fed with puerile propaganda about "communism" reminiscent of the kind of tales of horror rampant in the

twenties and thirties. Catholic propagandists in their newspapers and from pulpits breathe fire and thunder as in the early days after the Soviet Union was established. The total unreality of this kind of propaganda will not only boomerang on the Church when the truth is known, but it will also tend to isolate the Church from all progressive and sane-thinking elements in every country. It is time that the Roman Catholic Church decided to accept the principle of co-existence and *Panch Sila* in political and international affairs (against which the Pope preached a New Year sermon), for if they did not do so, *others will not be willing to extend co-existence and Panch Sila to them on religious matters.* The sufferings of Catholics in China and other countries (which have gone socialist) would probably have never arisen if the Church had been realistic about political developments and not sought to incorporate the theory of private property with the Sermon on the Mount.

Strikes

The strike in the Bank of Ceylon which went on for five days was settled with an agreement which conceded a number of the demands of the strikers in terminology which can best be described as a "compromise". But what is surprising is

that the Board of Directors of the Bank of Ceylon did not agree to this solution without a strike. The attempt to send this dispute for compulsory arbitration before the Industrial Court failed miserably, and it is time the Minister of Labour and the Government realised that employees and their trade unions have lost faith in the compulsory arbitration in view of the awards made by the Court in some recent disputes. Unless Government reconstitutes the Court it would be futile to expect trade unions to agree to arbitration in future.

However, after five days of strike and inconvenience to public, the management of Bank arrived at a settlement which could have been reached without a strike. For even from the costly quarter-page new advertisements in the daily papers published by the Bank Management stating their side of the case, it was apparent to any impartial observer that the demands of the strikers were just and fair,

The strike at the College of Indigenous Medicine reveals a failure on the part of the Minister of

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The Cabinet at its last meeting decided to introduce legislation to penalise not only bribe-takers but also bribe-givers. We welcome this legislation.

Bribery takes first place among all our national shortcomings and perhaps can be called our national vice, because it is the most widespread among our vices and exists in places which should normally be above corruption. For this reason therefore we think that the proposal that all Members of Parliament, Senators, and government officials should be compelled by law to disclose their assets and liabilities, is some type of safeguard against corruption in high places.

Up to date there has been a strong tendency on the part of the governments of this country to blind themselves to the things which they do not like to face up to. They shun everything which may lead up to a scandal involving public officials. Such an example is the governments' reluctance to probe into the question of bribery in the public service. Everybody knows that almost every government department is corrupt and that some members of every section of the government service from the Civil Servant down to the office peon receive bribes. These things have been known for decades but no government has made a definite attempt to eradicate bribery and corruption from the service. The steps taken by this government are in the right direction, but what is feared is that once again the sprats will be caught while the whales and the sharks go scot free. The new Bribery Act should be worked in a manner that cover all sections of the service, and with a strict impartiality.

The fact that every time that government, goaded on by public outcry, has inquired into cases of bribery and corruption it has found that the allegations made were far from false, is alone sufficient proof that the implementation of the Act will reveal more evidence of the canker that is eating at the core of the body civil, corrupting both the

government and the people. One Commission showed us that not even councillors of state are not above the above the far too common human weakness of receiving bribes. Another Commission revealed that our municipal councillors buy and sell the precious vote for a few hundred rupees.

Things are in such a state today that it can almost be said that bribery is the power which makes the governmental machine go, if you want it to go in any particular direction. It is the lubricant which makes the wheels of a government department go faster or a file travel from the tray of the subject clerk to the Head of the Department for sanction in double quick time. Without being unduly harsh on the public service we wish to state that there is corruption to high degree in the service. The Bribery Act is timely (although it has long been overdue) and the provisions to make both bribe-taker and bribe-giver liable to be punished covers the problem satisfactorily, at least for a start.

There is a worse menace of corruption which does not necessarily involve money but what is commonly referred to as "influence". It certainly involves men of high standing. The effective weapon in this practice is not cash but "influence." Ministers, Members of Parliament and other influential being use their power or prestige to get things done, either for themselves or others; fix appointments, transfers, and even hospital beds! The Press has spotlighted these matters on a number of occasions but they would bear repetition here, if not for anything else, at least for the fact that this form of corruption is no less worthy of damnation as bribery is.

This Government can well hope to have an honest public service within a matter of years, depending of course on the way it puts the Act into practice.

Tamils

After a momentary lull in the anti-Sri campaign in the North and East, reports now indicate that in spite of

"differences" between the Federalists and the Ponnambalamites, a very large number of cars, buses and lorries are sporting Tamil letters to signify the official symbols on the motor number plates. There is no doubt that this growing demonstration centred around motor number plates is a reflection of the deep sense of bitterness now prevalent among the Tamils owing to the language policy of this Government. The fact that Government has not taken any action against the demonstrators so far is an indication that the Prime Minister and other sane elements in the Cabinet feel that the Tamils have a right to "demonstrate" in order to ventilate their grievances.

It is undoubtedly true that the Prime Minister and some of his colleagues know what should be done in this matter. They have pleaded that Tamil should be given a legal status in the Official Language Act, that a guarantee should be incorporated in the Constitution safeguarding the minorities. They have also pleaded against the haste and futility of imposing such symbols like the Sinhalese Only Sri on the Tamil peoples. But Prime Minister Bandaranaike has unfortunately, at every crisis, surrendered to the demands of the chauvinists inside and outside the MEP, although some of them were until recently (and still probably are secretly) staunch supporters of the UNP. After this surrender is made in principle to the chauvinists, the Prime Minister has sought to plead with the minorities to support him and the Government on the basis of certain verbal assurances. When the minorities were justly dissatisfied with verbal assurances, the Prime Minister has become truculent and taken the line that if the minorities did not support the new measures, the chauvinists on his side would become antagonistic and uncontrollable and that his parliamentary position would become untenable and that the minorities would suffer more. This is certainly not the way to solve the communal problem.

A storm has arisen over the Kankesan Cement Factory. The *Daily News* last Monday and Tuesday spotlighted certain happenings there, whilst the debate in the House of Representatives on Wednesday when the supplementary estimates for the Corporation came up, were even more revealing. Gypsum purchases, the allocation and distribution of cement, and allegations about "Directors" interested in the cement trade constituted the main charges framed by Dr. N. M. Perera. Government spokesmen defended themselves by stating that the "Ministries" had nothing to do with these matters, but that they had been handled by the Corporation since November. The Minister of Industries also undertook to investigate some of the allegations made in the light of the debate and present a report to the Cabinet.

In the meantime, I have got Sherlock Holmes also on the job, and, what he has been able to "dig up" so far will provide material for at least a couple of long articles in the *Tribune*. The Editor tells me that he proposes to publish Sherlock Holmes' findings next week (and the week after that, if need be). I can assure the readers that these stories will make thrilling reading, and I am letting them into a preview of what is coming by mentioning below a few of the questions which Sherlock Holmes will probe.

It will be remembered that there was a great deal of *furor* when the Board of Directors of the Kankesan Cement Corporation were appointed last October. There was a last minute switch in Chairmen and a still unexplained "sacking" of a Director. But what seems to have developed thereafter in the working of the Factory and the business affairs of the Corporation raises very serious doubts about the usefulness of the presently constituted Corporation to run this State venture.

At the time the Corporation Act was enacted, *Tribune* raised very serious misgivings about these "corporations". This paper had pointed out that the answer to Government red-tape was not to create

amorphous bodies but to remove the bureaucratic complications created by the Treasury Financial Regulations. Instead of that, the UNP devised this scheme whereby "favourites" in the business world and "favourites" in the public service (in harness and in retirement) were to be handed over the control of these state undertakings. This paper had been critical about the appointments made to the Boards of the different Corporations, but what Sherlock Holmes has discovered in the last three days in regard to the Kankesan Cement Corporation is enough to make anyone not only cynical about the whole business but even lose faith in the kind of men the past generation has pushed to the top.

Direct Interference

What was intended under the Corporation Act was that a Board of Directors should be in control of the organisation in order to lay down policy, choose executives who would give effect to these policies, and generally overlook the running of the business with an eye on the overall business and financial administration.

But from what I hear from Sherlock Holmes, the Board of Directors of the Kankesan Cement Corporation have completely misunderstood their functions and that the Directors have taken over the running of the day to day routine (as if they were mere executives) and that they had so far not had the time to look into questions of policy or major organisational re-orientation.

The Chairman. Mr. S. Coomaraswamy is a person of the highest integrity, but it would seem that he seems unable to withstand the pressures and activities of certain Directors who seem more interested in performing executive functions. It is said that certain Directors seem to be so pre-occupied with the business of arranging "purchases" for the Cement Factory that they have lost all sense of proportion.

One of Sherlock Holmes articles will deal at length with this mysterious purchase of nearly two years requirements of gypsum at "Suez" crisis scarcity rates. This has had a great deal of publicity in Parliament, but when the sordid details are known, is any thinking person will be horrified. The questions Sherlock Holmes will raise and answer is whether the shortage of gypsum for the factory was real or fancied: whether the factory could not have carried on until supplies were found at reasonable prices and not at the blackmail prices they have now been contracted for?

Contracts

Why have two years requirements been bought now? Who were the middlemen involved? Who put through these transactions? And why did not the Board buy direct from the supplier and arrange for its shipping instead of dealing with middlemen? How many contracts have been signed and with whom? In connection with this gypsum deal, were any gunny bags bought (8,000 of them) on the initiative of a Director? Was there any need for these gunny bags? What was the price paid for them and what is the market price for gunny bags in Colombo?

Sherlock Holmes will also investigate a why a particular Director (or it may be more than one) has been most anxious to cancel the contract from an Indian source at Rs. 86 a ton on the ground that deliveries have been delayed, even though it is known that such delays were due to difficulties in obtaining the necessary export and mining permits from the Government of India. And why is he anxious to have this contract cancelled after it is now known (by the Directors and the Board) that all the necessary permits have been granted very recently by the Government of India, after New Delhi was satisfied that gypsum from this area in South India was too far from any Indian cement factories for economic utilisation? And further why does he

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Just Briefly

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want to eliminate this contractor from the field when it is known that with these new permits it would be possible to get the gypsum of very high quality from a certain new gypsum field in South India within a short distance of Kankasanturai just across Palk Straits? Why is this Director so anxious to cancel a contract at Rs 86 when supplies are now assured? Is it because he or some friends will benefit by the new contracts at over Rs 200 a ton? Is it not a fact that one Director who has sought to obtain a cancellation of this older contract has been actively busy in the last ten days to 'contact' the permit holders and suppliers in India who are under agreement with the earlier contractor? Is it to offer higher prices to them on the strength of other new contracts at prices ranging from Rs. 150 to Rs 200 which have been secured by "friends" of the Director? Is this the best way of securing supplies at the best and cheapest prices for the Corporation?

These and a number of other connected questions in regard to GYPSUM Sherlock Holmes will endeavour to answer. But that is not all that needs probing. The Minister has undertaken to investigate the allegations about Directors "in the cement trade" being mixed with some unsavoury features. In this connection, the Minister of Industries stated that the primary responsibility for the stocks, allocation and price fixation arrangements rested with the Controller of Prices? The question arises as to who "misled" the Controller of Prices in regard to some of these matters? Was it a Director of the Board who had interests in the cement trade? Sherlock Holmes will endeavour to fur-

nish as much information as possible about this whole sordid business about cement allocations and the fixing of the controlled price at an importers dream price? Has there been a recent "import order" for 120,000 bags from a country not affected by the Suez crisis?

The story does not end there. Sherlock Holmes will investigate also the charge that certain Directors have assumed "executive functions". In fact, one of them wanted to be in charge of bookings for the Cement Factory Guest House. There is also evidence that some of the Directors, who have been so long in Government Service, still insist on the outdated provisions of the Financial Regulations. Why are Directors interested in the appointments of peons and workers?

Week by Week

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Health to impose her nominees on the Board of the College. In a sense, the Ayurvedic College strike is a political one, and the developments are expected to provide certain unexpected results. It must be remembered that Ayurvedic practitioners were among the most vehement behind the MEP, and the developments arising from the strike are not likely to help to establish the "domination" of certain MEP ayurvedic practitioners in the field of Ayurveda. The Minister of Health and the Cabinet will be faced with serious repercussions in their ranks if no settlement is arrived at soon, but what has already taken place is a setback for certain sections in the MEP.

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SOEKARNO SPEAKS

President Soekarno was interviewed by eleven foreign correspondents which included representatives of the Baltimore Sun, A.P., U.P., Reuter, A.F.P., B.B.C. New York Times Daily Telegraph, Time and Life in Djakarta on 17th January. The following are the questions he was asked and his replies.

Q. Mr. President, some of the Indonesian Press have reported that you are about to launch a new conception, in the form of a revolutionary council, in an attempt to remove the present political difficulty. Would you care to give more details on that?

A. I am very sorry that this new conception has not been explained yet either to the Government or to the Press. I will not be able to give a detail explanation about this conception. I might add that the name I intend to give the Council is not "Revolutionary Council" at all. It is true that democracy in Indonesia, if left to its present course, will not achieve the results we hope for neither as a political system nor in its economic achievements in our political growth. Western Parliamentary democracy to be successful requires a certain amount of literacy and a certain degree of prosperity. Indonesia does not possess those requirements now. On the other hand our centuries-old national inheritance of democracy as practised in our villages and known as "Musjawarat", which means "discussions" and "Gotong Royong", which means "collective and mutual help", will be a big asset indeed for the basis of our democracy, at least for this transitional period. To save democracy, I really must find a way out of the experiment we have been practising in Indonesia for about eleven years. In no way will it be a dictatorship. The Indonesians cherish their individual liberty more than anybody else. But on the other hand, the in-

troduction of an unfettered opposition to get a majority of half plus one will only degenerate into a struggle for the mere elimination of political opponents.

Q. Mr. President, Sir, would you care to explain why you do not wish to lead a presidential cabinet?

A. A presidential cabinet under present political party conditions will only temporarily solve casual problems without, in any way, paving the road towards real Indonesian democracy.

Q. Mr. President, recently you have spoken about the burial of political parties in Indonesia. Would you care to explain what you really have in mind?

A. By the burial of parties, I do not mean to bury democracy. It was only intended as a firm warning against party leaders that they cannot go on in this way, ignoring the needs and desires, hopes and disappointment of teeming millions, only

As background to events in Indonesia we publish the full text of the Press Conference held by President Soekarno and also an informative report from the *Blitz* (Bombay). The activities of ASIA FOUNDATION in Indonesia should cause some concern in Ceylon.

because there is agreement among the leaders at their headquarters. Democracy in the first place is dedicated to serve the interests of ordinary people and is not the mere display of the political freedom of party bosses.

Q. Mr. President, would you care to explain the reasons which brought about the crisis in Sumatra?

A. Let me first explain that I do not approve of military people playing with their guns in political affairs. I know there is every reason to be dissatisfied; one of which is the differences in growth towards emancipation of people living in Java — which does not only consist of Javanese — and of people living on other islands. We have inherited from the Dutch a strict centralised administration. It (continued on page 596)

Conspiracy *By Ramesh Sanghvi*

During the last three weeks, a conspiracy to overthrow the Indonesian National Government has unfolded itself. Even from the perverse reports which the Anglo-American newsagencies have spread, some facts emerge clearly. The sinister implication of these facts must be fully realised.

Colonel Simbolon, the military commander of North Sumatra, has taken up arms against the Central Government in Jakarta. He has been openly supported by the right wing pro-Western Masjumi party, which is represented in the Ali Cabinet. The former vice-President Hatta, a colleague of Simbolon in the Japanese army, has threatened a nation-wide civil war if the armed blackmail of his friend Simbolon is not placated. The feeble

Socialist Party has lined up with them.

It is well to bear in mind that the attempted 'coup d'etat' of Simbolon is not the first attempt to capture power by reactionary forces in Indonesia. The former acting chief of staff of the Indonesian army, Lubis, tried similar methods to overthrow the government some time back and failed in face of the solid popular support to Soekarno and Ali. However, there are some new features of the Simbolon revolt which cannot be overlooked.

First, Hatta has come out in open with a policy opposed to the neutralist Bandung principles of the Ali Cabinet. In fact, he has recommended himself as the next Prime Minister, with no parliamentary control and unlimited powers. A

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SOEKARNO

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requires time and complex preparation for processes of decentralisation and local autonomy. Certainly, it is inevitable that there should be a system of local autonomy in the various regions for Indonesia. In point of fact, the strength of Indonesia must be built upon a prosperous and healthy life in all islands.

Q. In your considered view, Mr. President, has not the Sumatran crisis given some indication that there is a growing danger towards the disintegration of the Republic of Indonesia?

A. The expressions of loyalty I have received from all parts of Indonesia do not warrant fear for disintegration. If we can only exploit the indigenous democratic heritage in our political life, then the hardships and disappointments on the way towards progress and prosperity will be accepted by Indonesian people. Social justice for Indonesia for the time being should mean a fair deal in bearing national burdens and obligations rather than the distribution of a fair share of happiness and the joy of life.

CONSPIRACY

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section of the Masjumi party has demanded the end of rule of law and responsible government.

Secondly, the Masjumi party has discarded its democratic mask. At the last general elections, the Masjumi charted out a pro-Western course for the country with a de facto membership of the SEATO. The verdict of the Indonesian people was against them. It seems that they are now out to secure by guns what they failed to get by votes.

Thirdly, the U.S. authorities have openly interfered in the internal affairs of Indonesia. *Suluh Indonesia*, on December 31 of last year, has accused the United States as the main inspirer of the Simbolon revolt. *Suluh Indonesia*, which is the official organ of the Nationalist party, has revealed that before Sim-

bolon defied the Jakarta Government, an American plane landed in North Sumatra. This plane came from Bangkok, the political capital of the SEATO, and belonged to Claire Lee Chenault, chief of the U.S. espionage service in Asia.

Not satisfied with this clandestine link with Simbolon, the United States Ambassador Hugh S. Cumming had the impudence to inform the Jakarta authorities that his government was thinking of giving a *de facto* recognition to the Simbolon regime. Obviously, Simbolon was the man after their heart, specially in view of the fact that the U.S. has great oil interests in Sumatra.

Suluh Indonesia further charged that since the days of the victory of democratic forces represented by the Nationalists and Nahdatul Ulema at the last elections, the United States has desperately launched a propaganda offensive which was aimed at obliterating the results of the elections. The U.S. authorities have been using the means of private foundations to finance manoeuvres designed to overthrow the government. One such foundation is the "Asia Foundation." In this game, efforts have been made to create local antagonisms and dissatisfaction amongst various nationalities of the country.

This is a grave charge sheet. What is more, the pattern of subversion is similar to the ones which the United States has tried before, in South America and Asia. It would appear that the worst apprehensions about the menace of SEATO have come true.

We in India cannot afford to overlook the serious situation in Indonesia. Indonesia is one of the principal pillars of the edifice built at Bandung of Afro-Asian solidarity. She is one of the new democracies of Asia, our comrade. The future of independence and democracy of Indonesia is closely linked with our own. The attempted 'coup d'etat' in Sumatra is a rude reminder of the sinister existence of the SEATO. Let us not forget, in the newly created climate of Indo-American amity, that the SEATO is the greatest danger to the healthy growth of an independent and sovereign democratic Asia. The struggle for the abolition of this agency of subversion should never be slackened.

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HEART

Since President Eisenhower's heart attack more than a year ago, Americans have become increasingly conscious of the need to have periodic heart examinations. However, realization of need hasn't always been translated into action, and the number of persons who have taken the important step of having their hearts checked are far outnumbered by those who have put it off. This could have tragic consequences especially for those in the most-susceptible-to-heart-disease group, men over 40.

Perhaps one reason people postpone having heart examinations, is fear that they involve complicated, painful or expensive processes. This is just not so. Perhaps the most complicated and most fascinating, as well as one of the most vital, procedures in a thorough heart checkup is the electrocardiogram, or as it is frequently abbreviated, the ECG. It is completely painless.

The ECG is based on the century-old medical knowledge that the heart, like all muscle tissues, produce a measurable electrical current. The current is responsible for the heart's ability to act as a pump and to circulate blood throughout the body.

The current is produced in a tiny center in the upper part of the heart generally referred to as the pace maker. The current spreads out from this pace maker to the upper chambers of the heart — the auricles or the atria. As a result, the atria, into which blood from the veins has poured, contracts and the blood is squeezed through valves into the lower chambers and ventricles.

Electrical

At the same time, the electrical current has been conducted from the atria to the ventricles, and this brings about contraction of the ventricles. The right ventricle sends the lungs, via the pulmonary artery; there it is purified and picks up oxygen which it later distributes to vital organs and tissues throughout the body. The left ventricle squeezes its purified blood into the great

artery, the aorta, which carries it to all parts of the body.

Since every step for this cycle — the cardiac cycle — is inspired by and accompanied by electrical action, a tracing of the electrical action is of the greatest value in helping the doctor determine the health of the heart. A normal heart will produce currents which can be recorded on the body surface by the electrocardiograph machine in the form of a line tracing on a piece of sensitized paper—the electrocardiogram. The shape of this line tracing is familiar to every physician.

A heart damaged by disease will also produce a tracing, but this will vary from the normal. For example, heart muscle tissues which has been damaged by a heart attack will not conduct the electricity as well as healthy tissues. This will show up in a particular part of the tracing, thus helping the doctor not only to discover that damage has been done, but frequently also where in the heart the damaged area is located.

An important thing to remember about this remarkable procedure is that it is operated by the heart's natural electrical current. No additional current is introduced into the body.

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IN CHINA

BEER

PEKING.

Beer has suddenly become the most popular drink in Peking. One year ago, a confirmed toss-pot like myself had to walk quite a way between drinks, but now a rash of pubs has sprung out all over the city.

You can have your mug of beer in the co-op and drink it sitting down or while you wander round doing the weekend shopping.

Beer drinking became so universal during the last spell of sweltering weather that for several days the situation was as bad as in war-

time Britain. Trainloads of light ale had to be sent from Mukden to Peking.

All this may not seem very surprising — after all it's only beer — but it is surprising to me because the Chinese never used to drink it. I recall the time when I first came into Peking with the Chinese People's Army in 1949, how a friend and myself lovingly drank what we believed to be the last tin of American small-beer in the city.

But now beer is all the thing and when my supply was interrupted a week or so ago, I went hot and hot-foot to see Ling Wan-tsing, public relations officer of the National Wine Bureau and Li Ching-tseng, head of the state-owned Peking Brewery — both men who like a pint or more.

They told me not to worry, the situation was firmly under control.

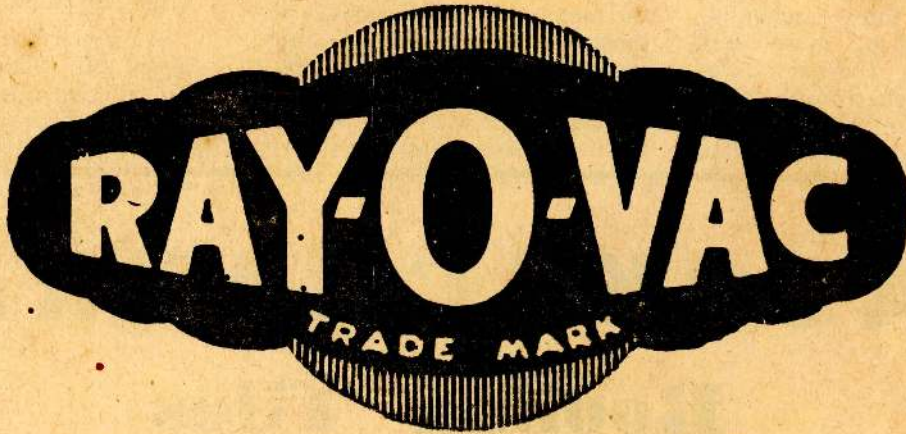
We sat around sampling their products as we talked, especially a new brew called "Temple of Heaven Beer," put up in half-pint bottles instead of the usual pint and selling at about 12 cents.

In conversation with these two socialist beer-barons I found out that Peking's two breweries — the other one being a smaller one jointly run by the state and private capital — exceeded all previous records this year but were caught on one foot by the recent general wage increase.

"And they haven't all got their wage increase yet," Ling Wan-tsing said wryly. "I'm pretty sure that when they do they will all rush straight out and spend it on beer. It's difficult."

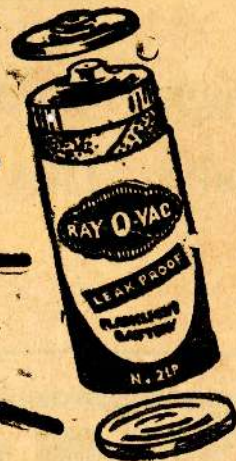
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Ask Chou

[continued from first page

the chauvinism of the Bandaranaike Government in its attitude to the national minorities. It is yet to be seen whether this change of policy by the Communist Party will not turn out to be an error of great magnitude, but there is no doubt that if the Communists cannot prevail upon the MEP from their new positions of close support to change its racialist policies, the socialist movement in this country will suffer untold damage.

The situation among the minorities is becoming daily more acute with the inhuman and unconscionable policies being directed against the Indian Tamil settlers and residents in the island. The citizenship applications of lakhs of people have been rejected summarily and arbitrarily on the flimsiest pretexts; and the quiet unobtrusive campaign of squeezing out Indian residents (some of them have been in the island for several decades after having been born here) through the technicalities of passport regulations framed by the UNP which violated all the undertakings and assurances

it had given to the Indian Tamil minority, is working untold hardship among people who have contributed much to the welfare of island.

Finally, the total absence of any plans for economic reconstruction and the deteriorating economic situation arising therefrom tends to increase the unemployment and poverty in the land. When economic conditions become acute, it provides a fertile ground for further chauvinism and racial fanaticism.

Ask

In this situation, Prime Minister Bandaranaike and his Cabinet colleagues instead of attempting to explain away the discontent of the Tamil national minorities to Chou En-lai as "reactionary communalism" (this temptation will naturally be great) will do well to ask Chou how China and other socialist countries have solved the problem of national minorities, how China has solved the citizenship problem of two and a half million Chinese in Indonesia, and also, how China and other countries have set about solving the problems of their previously under-developed economic structures.

Ask these questions of Chou En-lai, Mr. Prime Minister Bandaranaike, and you will receive replies which may stun some of your Cabinet colleagues but which may help you to bring peace, prosperity and happiness to the people of the country. It is not enough to work for world peace, however desirable and necessary it may be. A Government can justify its existence only if it deals fairly and justly with all peoples inhabiting the country.

If you do not ask these questions of Chou En-lai, Mr. Prime Minister, the people of this country will start asking them of you, sooner or later. The replies to these questions are known as they are part of the recent history of Asia. And remember, Mr. Prime Minister, that history moves fast and ruthlessly in these changing times. Chauvinism, hidden behind a facade of a progressive foreign policy, cannot stem the tide of true democratic development.

Ask Mr. Chou En-lai, Mr Prime Minister Bandaranaike, in the privacy of informal conference, and act on his advice before it is too late.

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