

TRIBUNE

WARNING STORM AHEAD

Prime Minister Bandaranaike and his Cabinet colleagues seem to be totally oblivious to the fact that a storm of great magnitude, stemming from the racial chauvinism let loose by the MEP, is brewing. Unless the Government immediately reverses its policy on language with suitable amendments in the Official Language Act, and proclaims a comprehensive Charter of Fundamental Rights, a catastrophe such as has never been known before will envelop this island.

Already the writing has appeared on the wall. In the North and East there is open defiance of the law with even a Municipal Council deciding to make a mockery of a Central Government law on motor numberplates. This defiance of the law is backed by a whole community and daily it is becoming more and more difficult for Government to enforce the law on this matter. Mass prosecutions of motorists in the North and East will now only add fuel to the flames of discontent.

In Trincomalee, a Tamil was shot and nine others injured be-

cause they dared to unfurl a Black Flag in protest against the policies of the Government. It is the inalienable right of every person in a democracy to protest as long as it is within the law. The Tamil man in Trincomalee has much right as the Sinhalese in Colombo to demonstrate against the Government. *But for a fanatic to be roused to use a gun to shoot at demonstrators is a sign and symptom that the seeds of chauvinism sown by the MEP is bearing fruit.*

BOYCOTT

Chauvinists among the MEP are said to be planning to boycott Tamil shops in Southern towns. They also want a boycott of the Jaffna cigar. What these gentlemen do not realise is that such action will create certain repercussions in the plantation districts in the Up-country. A boycott of the Sinhalese owned shops in all the plantation towns by the Tamil workers on the surrounding estates will bring ruin and bankruptcy to the big business houses which have been built up by enterprising low-country traders from Ambalangoda, Galle and Matara in the up-country. A total boycott of the betel leaf by over 500,000 adult Tamil workers in the plantations will ruin the

BATTERY TROUBLE
Then Contact
GOONATILLEKE & Co. Ltd.
206, GALLE ROAD,
WELLAWATTE.
Phone: 81096

*Don't be caught
with your
Battery down!*

betel-growing industry in the Gampaha, Mirigama and Attanagala areas. On a conservative estimate over 2 1/2 million betel leaves are consumed every day in the Hill Country by Tamil workers and a boycott, such as the one which took place in 1939, will hit the betel grower, the transport agent and the boutique keeper.

It is time that that the Prime Minister and the Cabinet realised that the gulf between the Tamils in the North and East and those in the Up-country, which the British had artificially created and which had been cleverly maintained and developed by the Senanayake tradition, has now been bridged.

Even the Ceylon Democratic Congress led by Thondaman, which only last week pleaded with Government to summon a Round Table Conference to settle the communal tension for the sake of national unity and economic progress, has clearly moved to a position of close fraternal relationship with different organisations in the North. At a meeting in Jaffna last week-end, Thondaman, according to press reports, had declared that Tamil-speaking peoples in Ceylon, wherever they were living, constituted one community with common interests and traditions. The Tamil worker in the plantation, the Tamil tradesman in Batticaloa, the Tamil lawyer in Colombo and the Tamil doctor in Jaffna all belonged to the same community, he declared, and stated that unity among them was needed to secure their legitimate rights as inhabitants of this island. He emphasised that such unity among the Tamil-

continued on page 615

TRIBUNE

CEYLON NEWS REVIEW
COLOMBO, Feb. 9, 1957

Vol. 3 No. 38

In This Issue

Gypsum	...	603
Sherlock Holmes	...	
Communists	...	608
Comment	...	
Dudley Senanayake	...	613
U. N. P	...	

WEEK by WEEK in CEYLON

CHOU

BOYCOTT

AURVEDIC

The visit of Chou En-lai has had a tremendous impact on the people of this country, and the Joint Statement on Panch Sila and Friendship has international significance which will be recognised in all the capitals of the world. The call for another Afrasian Conference and the condemnation of the Power Vacuum theory for the Middle East (the Eisenhower-Dulles doctrine) are consistent with the current line of all countries which refuse to be drawn into any of the hot or cold war blocs. It is also important to recognise that whilst the Communist countries, mainly on the initiative of Chou En-lai, have won a large segment of the neutral and uncommitted world towards the policy of Panch Sila and Peace, the Western world is still inclined to ride the high horse and seek only satellites willing to play a subservient role on the basis of military aid and economic charity. Not many countries today, however, are keen about following in the footsteps of Svnman Rhee and Chiang Kai Shek.

Apart from this Joint Statement, Chou En-lai as one of the legendary heroes of the Chinese Communist Movement not only drew vast crowds of ordinary people wherever he appeared but he also stirred the imagination of sections which have traditionally shown the greatest hostility to everything associated with Communism. Chou En-lai too by his manner won the hearts (and in many cases, the minds also) of a very large number of people he met and before whom he appeared.

The only regret about the whole visit was that it was strictly confined to the Sinhalese areas. It was in every way a Sinhalese welcome. It is reliably learnt that although Chou En-lai had expressed a desire to see Gal Oya, the program which was chalked out for him did not take him beyond Kandy in the Hill country and Polonnaruwa in the Dry Zone. The attempt by the Government

to equate the Ceylonese people to the Sinhalese community alone will add to the division which has already grown between the Sinhalese and Tamils ever since the MEP launched its short-sighted chauvinistic policy on language *de jure* and religion *de facto*.

An astute observer of political affairs like Chou En-lai is not likely to have missed the significance of the boycott of Independence Day by the Tamils, and the fact that one of the "documents" which the Chinese staff accompanying Chou obtained was the entire Hansard on the language debate is not without significance. Chou's replies to N. M. Perera on the questions of national minorities and his asking for information about the Tamil language from the Archeological Commissioner on seeing a three-lan³ signboard (a relic of the trilingual past) at Sigiriya is more than clear indication that if the MEP wanted to tell fairy tales to Chou he is not likely to have swallowed any of them.

Boycott

Whilst there was rejoicing and celebration in the Sinhalese areas (one does not know how enthusiastic it would have been without Chou En-lai), the Tamil areas seem to have had an effective demonstration in a number of ways against the present policy of the Government on the national minorities. There were, however, two occurrences one of which was really unfortunate, which reflects the trend of affairs in these areas.

In Jaffna, G. G. Ponnambalam who had sought to maintain his one-time leadership of the Tamils by suggesting some line of action contrary to what the Federalists wanted, was "manhandled" in the Grand Bazaar in Jaffna, and he and his friends had to beat a retreat. Whilst the Federalists wanted a hartal of shops on February 4 to mark the boycott, Ponnambalam wanted the shops open because he argued that the 4th was a Shop Act compulsory holiday and that the best way of defying the Government was to break the law by opening the

continued on page 607

REGAL -

Daily at 3-30, 6-30, 9-30 pm.
(Morning shows Sat. & Sun 10-15)

'REKAWA'

(Condensed version for the benefit of
English Theatre patrons)

1955 TENDER

We publish the findings of our investigator Sherlock Holmes about the gypsum purchases for the K.K.S. Cement Factory. This week he deals mainly with the 1955 tender, and in next week's article he will deal with the 1956 tender and contracts.

What is gypsum, and why is it important in the manufacture of cement? This was the first question which suggested itself to me when I decided to get as much information as I could about the gypsum "scandal" in regard to the Kankesanturai Cement works.

The chemical term for gypsum is Calcium Sulphate Dehydrate. Gypsum is found in mines mixed up with hard rock and this is known as "rock gypsum". It is also found in the crystalline state, mainly arising as a by-product of the salt industry. The best known commercial deposits of gypsum are in Cyprus, Sicily, Pakistan, India and China, but the most easily available supply has so far been from Cyprus.

Gypsum is used to the extent of about 5% in the manufacture of cement. It is used to control what is technically described as "the initial setting time of the cement". What this means, as I discovered, can be put in this way: if gypsum were not used, the cement would solidify and set too soon, and its use for construction purposes would become impracticable and impossible.

Kankesan cement is manufactured according to the British Standard Specifications. Samples are sent monthly for tests and it has always been found that Kankesan cement had exceeded the minimum specifications by a substantial margin. One reason for the high quality of the Kankesan cement, it is said, was due to the insistence on high quality materials in the manufacture; and one such material was gypsum. The Kankesanturai factory has wanted a 92.5% purity in the gypsum it used.

With the result this Kankesan cement has been used for the highest quality constructional works by leading engineering firms which have undertaken contracts in Ceylon. It has been found that Kankesan cement is specially useful in the making of reinforced concrete and pre-stressed concrete. Kankesan cement has been used in the construction of the Nalanda Dam, the Colombo Port Scheme, Kalatuwewa, Mahayangana Restoration, the Dalada Maligawa extensions and the like.

Cyprus

The gypsum supplies for the Kankesanturai factory from the earliest days were obtained from Cyprus. This was probably done on the recommendation of the Consulting Engineers. The factory started production in 1950 and from that time gypsum was obtained from Cyprus on a tender basis. It would be unnecessary to go back to the old tenders, except to mention that up to 1954, there were no specifications stipulated in the tenders which called for the supply of gypsum, except that it should be "rock gypsum fit

for cement manufacture". As the source of supply was Cyprus, the quality of the gypsum was good; for, materials from that island have a consistency of over 95% purity on a bulk sampling basis. It was only after 1954 (really it was in the 1955 tender) that specifications like the 92.5% gypsum purity, size of the crush and the like were stipulated.

Before proceeding to examine the 1955 tender, it is necessary to mention that for the sake of somebody's convenience (not the benefit of the Kankesanturai Factory or the economics of cement manufacture in Ceylon), the tender called for a price which was c.i.f. Colombo or c. i. f. K.K.S. *Why it struck no person to purchase the gypsum f.o.b. the port of origin is one of those mysteries which need probing? The question becomes significant for this reason. Most, if not all producer-suppliers quote only f.o.b. Only middlemen, brokers and professional tenderers quote c.i.f. In the period before 1955, there were a large number of quotations from Cyprus, Pakistan, Tientsin and other places, on an f.o.b. basis. None of these tenders were ever considered, but if they were and the shipping had been arranged by the Government of Ceylon or the Department of Industries, the cost of gypsum landed at*

continued on page 604

THE PEOPLE'S CAR



THE VOLKSWAGEN

CLARENCE AMERASINGHE & COMPANY LIMITED
UNION PLACE — COLOMBO

1955 Tender

continued from page 603

the factory would have been considerably cheaper than the prices stipulated by the successful middlemen. It is known that the f.o.b. price of gypsum *ex* a Cyprus port was no more than Rs. 40 to Rs. 50, a ton whilst the middleman's tender price was in the region of Rs. 105 to Rs. 120.

1955 Tender

The way the 1955 tender was handled and executed is a perfect illustration of the unnecessarily high price the factory paid for gypsum because it obtained its supplies through middlemen. The lowest tenderer for the 1955 contract was for supply from South India, and the price was Rs 75 a ton delivered at KKS port. The tender of this supplier, a Mr. N. S. Ponnampalam, if my information is correct, was accepted, but he could not make delivery as he was unable to obtain the necessary export licenses. The tender thereupon went to the next lowest bidder — CEYLON IMPORT & EXPORTS COMPANY. The supply was from Cyprus, and the price quoted was Rs 112 a ton, if the Government opened the Letter of Credit and Rs. 120 a ton if the tenderer opened the Credit. The Government of Ceylon, (really the Ministry of Industries and the Department of Industries), accepted the tender at Rs 112 delivered at KKS port. Then a number of inexplicable things happened, and I have not been able to discover the reasons for these occurrences.

The Government of Ceylon opened a Letter of Credit in May 1955 for £ 30,205 for 5000 tons rock gypsum at 121 shillings a ton delivered at KKS port (c.i.f. K.K.S.) This price works out at about Rs 80 a ton. The Letter of Credit was in favour of the MINING and TRADING CORPORATION, Limassol, Cyprus. Shortly after this credit was opened, the tenderer was able to persuade the Department of Industries that higher freight charges would have to be met and a further £ 1,500 credit was opened. It is significant that whereas the Letter of Credit was opened in the middle of May, the contract between the Government of Ceylon and the successful tenderer was not signed until July 9, 1955. The contract was between the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Industries and

the two partners of CEYLON AND EXPORTS COMPANY, viz. Don Charles Wijewardena (the deceased husband of the Hon. Mrs. Vimala Wijayawardena) and Joseph de Abrew Wijesinghe. The lone witness to this contract was a Mr. R. Dalpathadu, and he plays a heroic role in some of the contracts signed after the Corporation came into existence.

Contract

I do not know whether there was any preceding contract on the strength of which the Government opened the Letter of Credit, or whether it was because of the confidence the Director of Industries had in the tenderer that he requested the Treasury to open the Letter of Credit telegraphically through the Bank of Ceylon. This is one of the matters to which I have not been able to get an answer, nor have I the answer as to why the extra £ 1,500 was credit was opened. Was this a new price increase, or was it out of the sum that was to be paid to the tenderer at this end? This is another question which somebody having access to the official files alone can answer.

The gypsum on this contract was brought to Kankesnaturai in two ships — BIRGITTE SKOU and the BREIDABLIK — in September and October 1955. The first ship was said to have brought 2520 tons

and the second ship 2303 tons, making a total of 4820 tons. This quantity is the amount which the tenderer claimed to have delivered, at KKS but the factory authorities had stated that they actually received only 4700 tons in their stores. As soon as the gypsum neared KKS, the tenderer received payment in Ceylon of Rs 68,000 and Rs 50,000 respectively. A dispute later arose over the short weight of 128 tons, but after legal advice was sought from the Attorney General in regard to the contract, Government paid over Rs 13,000 as the final balance to the tenderer. The tenderer was therefore paid over Rs 130,000 for the trouble he took in acting as a middleman for obtaining the gypsum from a source from which the Department of Industries had obtained supplies from 1950 (always through middleman). It must be also mentioned that the sum of Rs 13,000 is said to have been written off as a loss because no corresponding quantity of gypsum to cover this amount was received in the factory.

It must be also mentioned that these two ships BIRGITTE SKOU and the BREIDABLIK were chartered by the Ceylon Shipping Lines for the principals in Cyprus, viz the MINING AND TRADING CORPORATION of Limassol. It is known that there were f. o. b. quotations from Cyprus for the 1955

continued on page 606

**NEWLY CONSTRUCTED, RETIABLE, COMFORTABLE
BUSES AVAILABLE FOR TOURS AND
EXCURSIONS. CHARGES MODERATE.**

Apply :- K. B. L. Perera & Sons

Passenger Transport Ltd.,

HENDELA, — WATTALA.

phone : Wattala, 223 & 224

LANGUAGE and NATION

By
SATHYA

A good many of our present communal dissensions are the result of a failure to appreciate the essential qualities that go to make up what is called a nation. It is now eight years since Ceylon became completely independent of foreign rule. But the question remains whether we are a nation, and if not, whether we are at least on the way to nationhood.

It has been said on many occasions by some of our leaders that for Ceylon to be a nation there must be one language, one religion and one race. Many people seem to believe that uniformity of race, language and religion are absolute prerequisites of nationhood. In a series of articles on the language controversy in a contemporary morning newspaper not very long ago, Dr. G. P. Malalasekara expressed the view that only Sinhalese should become Ceylon's national language because it is impossible to build up a nation unless its members use a common language which in this case is Sinhalese.

Dr. Malalasekara seemed to believe this quite sincerely. He does not wish to impose any legal or political or civil disabilities on those who happen to belong to minority communities in Ceylon. He believed that every citizen, whatever his race, or creed, should receive equal treatment at the hands of the law and the state. His argument that only Sinhalese should be our national language is thus based not on narrow-minded communalism but, on the belief that unless there is one common language it will be well nigh impossible to build a Ceylonese nation.

Communal

But others have not been so charitable as all this to the minorities. Many want Sinhalese to be the only official language for the narrowest communal considerations. Anything that can be said in favour of two languages is not likely to convince or change the attitudes of these narrow-minded sectarian leaders who preach compassion and maitriya and practise exactly the opposite of what they preach. This article is addressed only to those who are willing to listen to the dictates of elementary reason.

Several plausible arguments may be adduced in favour of the view that only Sinhalese should be the official language. There is the administrative inconvenience involved when there are two official languages. There is the question of expense when it becomes necessary to duplicate government business. These are sound arguments. But it is erroneous to think that unless there is only one official language, it will be impossible to build up one nation. The evidence is to the contrary.

Of course, some communalist politicians refer only to the Sinhalese community when they talk of the nation. Very often one hears the use of the phrase 'Sinhalese nation' when what is meant is the Ceylonese nation. There are those who believe that the concept of a Ceylonese nation is an impracticable one. But this was the very concept which was accepted by late Mr. D. S. Senanayake and his predecessors like Sir James Peiris, Mr. F. R. Senanayake, Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan, Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam and others.

However that may be, it is unnecessary and incorrect to think that uniformity of language is essential for nationhood. Indeed, some

of our public men seem to think or at least imply that not only should Tamil not be given a place as an official language but also that an attempt should be made to prevent its use even for purposes of ordinary social intercourse.

It is sometimes alleged that unless the Tamils of Ceylon abandon their own tongue and adopt Sinhalese, they will identify themselves with India and that illicit immigration will increase. There cannot be anything more fallacious than this. It is more likely that if Tamils in Ceylon are denied their legitimate rights, they would in despair turn to South India for help in their fight for rights.

Ingredients

What are the essential ingredients of nationhood? In the first place we might as well consider what are not essential elements in the idea of nationhood. It is not necessary all should belong to the same race. In the British Islands, there are people who belong to the Mediterranean, the Alpine and Nordic races. Yet, could anyone deny that Britain is a nation? Similarly, unity of religion is not essential. In England, there are people who belong to more than one faith. Political union alone is not enough. Ireland was politically united with Britain but, Ireland went on to become an independent state.

A common language is not essential to nationhood. Of course, a

continued on page 606



Language & Nation

continued from page 605

common language is very valuable in fostering the sense of nationhood, but it is not indispensable, where other considerations are powerful enough, it is wiser not to impose one common language. The most striking example is, of course, that great home of democratic institutions and the democratic way of life, Switzerland. Switzerland has a great tradition of democratic government. In the cantons of Switzerland, the Swiss people work their Parliamentary institutions which are suited to their own native genius. Switzerland is a federal republic. There are Swiss who speak French, there are Swiss who speak German, Swiss who speak Italian and Swiss who speak Rom-munsch. Though four different languages are spoken and given the status of official languages, the Swiss people are united in their love for their native land.

Switzerland

In spite of there being four officially recognized languages, the Swiss people form a united nation. Switzerland is indeed a model for those who wish to have an example of a democratic community consisting of several language groups, yet united as one nation. But Switzerland is not the only nation which recognized more than one national language. In Canada there are two official languages. In Belgium, in Finland, in S. Africa and in Norway, there are two or more official languages. Yet, who can reasonably deny that these countries form nations? Indeed, Switzerland, is the country that Ceylon should try to emulate. Like Ceylon, it is multi-racial and our problems too are capable of a solution on similar lines.

If language race and religion are not essential requisites of nationhood, what indeed, are its essentials? Of course, a nation must have a territory.

But besides, this, the essentials of nationhood are in the words of Renan, "the possession in common of a rich legacy of memories and the desire to live together, the will to continue to make the best use of the invisible heritage received".

Thus nationhood depends on a common tradition and common participation in a way of life in-

GYPSUM - 1

continued from page 604

tender, and one of the questions for which I have not been able to find a satisfactory answer is as to why the Tender Board of the Ministry of Industries did not purchase the gypsum f. o. b. Cyprus and arrange for the shipping through the Ceylon Shipping Lines Ltd (which is a Government subsidized company). If this had been done the 4,700 tons gypsum would have cost the factory about Rs. 200,000 less.

Moreover, it was not the Rs 112 alone which the factory met. As the contract was only c. i. f. KKS, the Department of Industries had to arrange for landing and transporting of the gypsum at KKS. This contract for landing and transporting at KKS was granted to one party and this led to a bitter feud and rivalry with a rival party — and it is from the quarrels which arose between them the tenderer was able to find some loophole to get paid for the 128 tons not received. Moreover, the payment was on the bills of lading (and not on the quantity received at the factory) and it was for this reason probably that the Attorney General advised the Department of Industries to pay the Rs 13,000 gracefully. One further question which arises is how the contract came to be drafted in that particular way, but it is a matter which would be futile to pursue any further as other more important and vital questions demand immediate attention.

In my next article, I shall deal with the 1956 tender and contract entered into by the Department and Ministry of Industries, and also the contracts entered into by the Board of Directors of the Corporation.

herited from the past. It is not suggested that by this test, Ceylon is as yet a nation. But our people of all communities have been together under foreign rule. Together they have tried to become free. After all, Ceylon is politically young. Given time, perhaps in the distant future, one may hope that a united Ceylonese nation will emerge. True, the nation will consist of many communities. But as in Switzerland this variety need only contribute to greater vitality.

Introducing



EKCO

RADIO

MODEL B 241

The
**FAMOUS
LOW
CONSUMPTION
Dry
Battery
Radio**

This new EKCO Dry Battery Radio employs the most modern valves:

The efficiency of this set is greater than other makes and Battery consumption is much less.

Rs. 195 ONLY

ACME

TRADING CO. LTD.
CONSISTORY BUILDINGS
FRONT ST., COLOMBO

shops. The course of events showed that Ponnambalam is no longer the politician or the leader he was. This 'open shop' slogan was rejected, it would appear, because it came from Ponnambalam in a final and supreme endeavour to assert his leadership. If Ponnambalam had been willing to accept the leadership of Chelvanayagam, his suggestion about the "open shop" tactic might have had more support, but since he wanted this to proclaim his leadership it resulted in a clash which led to his discomfiture.

It can be said that Ponnambalam is now well on the way out of Tamil politics. It is also ironical that Ponnambalam whose entry into politics in the thirties was marked by rough-house tactics of the street corner should also fade out after a rowdy demonstration in the main shopping centre of Jaffna.

There can be no doubt that today the Federal Party is the most dominant among the Tamils. Whatever one may have thought about this party and its communal and racial approach to problems, circumstances and the chauvinism of the MEP (predicted by this party) have proved that at least on the situation that exists the Federal Party have been proved correct. This naturally must win them support, and this can also be gauged by the fact that the Ceylon Democratic Congress led by Chandaman has stretched out its hand of friendship to this organisation in an effort to build up a common resistance for the protection of the minorities against the current chauvinism of the MEP.

Trincomalee

In the Eastern Province, apart from a few Muslims adherents of Mudaliyar Kariapper, the Tamils seem to be in an uproar. In Trincomalee, where there is a small community of two to three thousand Sinhalese in a majority Tamil area, there occurred a very ugly incident which is likely to widen still further the gulf which has grown between the two communities. Reports indicate that leaders of the Tamil and Sinhalese community in the city decided not to sport any flags

— black or lion — in any area which is regarded as a mixed No Man's Land. This unofficial agreement was broken by some provocatively inclined Sinhalese who insisted on flourishing a rather large-sized Lion Flag without even the stripes. This led to a counter demonstration by a crowd with a Black Flag. From all accounts, this black flag demonstration was peaceful, but an aggressive individual started firing a gun into this crowd and this has led to the death of one Tamil and injuries on nine others.

The provocative and aggressive action of the gunman in Trincomalee is no doubt a reflection of the fire-eating chauvinism of some sections of the MEP, but to the credit of the Prime Minister it must be said he sent a personal message to the Sinhalese residents of Trincomalee that they should desist from any hostile or provocative acts. Even if others in the MEP do not realise it, the Prime Minister seems conscious that in a democracy every person should have the right to carry a black flag as a protest in a demonstration.

There is much speculation as to how the Prime Minister will tackle the situation that has now arisen in the North and East, particularly in view of the growing bond of friendship between the Tamils up country and the Tamils in the North and East. There are few who seem to think that Premier Bandaranaike has let this situation grow so that he could have an effective answer to the chauvinists in the MEP, who have taken the line that the Tamils in Ceylon would "stomach" anything. The Premier cannot keep quiet much longer, and his moves in the next few weeks will be interesting.

AYURVEDIC

The troubles of the MEP are not merely confined to the minorities problems. Within their own ranks a major storm is brewing. The Eksath Bhikkshu Peramuna is now torn with dissension and the increasing volume of hostile antagonism over the Sasana Council is likely to be utilised by the UNP to discredit the MEP. In addition to the controversies centering around the Buddhist priesthood, the row about the Ayurvedic College has assumed proportions which tend to affect the standing of the MEP among certain sections which had whole-heartedly supported it

earlier. And, it is also strange that one of the causes of the Ayurvedic outbursts arises from a priestly intrusion into the world of ayurveda.

It will be recalled that one of the first acts of the Minister of Health, Mrs. Vimala Wijeyawardene, was to appoint Buddharakhita Thero of Kelaniya and a C. D. Amerasinghe to the Board of the College of Indigenous Medicine. When these appointments were originally made, there was a protest by the Principal of the College, Dr. Lenora, and the Chairman of the Board, a Buddhist priest. These two persons resigned, but the Premier was able to persuade them to withdraw their resignations on an assurance that the dispute would be resolved amicably. Months flew by and nothing was done, and Dr. Lenora and the Chairman sent in their resignations once again towards the end of the year.

It is not necessary to go into the objections concerning Buddharakhita, except to say that he has never been in any way connected with Ayurveda, but the objection to C. D. Amerasinghe seems to have a great deal of validity. He was a student at the Ayurvedic College not so very long ago and he had a record of failing the examination on several occasions. Teachers, students and all others connected with the College thought that it was inappropriate for such a person to sit on the Board of the College.

continued on page 610

VISIT

Tuckers III

ANNUAL AUTORAMA

Galle Face Hotel

4-7 April 1957

The decision of the Communist Party of Ceylon to support the MEP Government fully has been the cause of much comment as well as discussion among all sections interested in political developments in this country. The statement announcing this change of policy was set out in a rather sparse language which conveyed very little. All that it said was that in view of the threat of a possible comeback by the UNP, and also because of the progressive foreign policy of the MEP, the Communist Party had decided to quit the Opposition and support the Government as an independent unit.

It is customary for all political parties, and especially for Communist Parties in their special manner, to set out reasons for any major shift in policy in detail with sufficient background material to explain the change. In this case, the Ceylon Communist Party has not done so. The progressive foreign policy of the MEP was known for the last ten months, and the possible threat of a UNP comeback was not something new. In fact, the return of the UNP has been made possible only by the negative, reactionary, chauvinistic and retrograde domestic policies of the MEP. In this situation, why has the Communist Party hastened to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for the MEP by extending to it the wholehearted support of one of the two Left Parties in the country? Is it a belated acknowledgement that the Marxism of Philip Gunawardene and Mahanama Samaraweera are of a higher calibre than that of the leaders of the official Communist Party?

INDIA

It may have been argued that in India the Communist Party lends conditional support to the Congress led by Nehru. It is true that the Communists in India support the foreign policy of Nehru although they have had occasion to criticise Nehru for continuing to remain in the Commonwealth and for still having lingering hopes that Britain and the USA would play

fair by the underdeveloped countries. In domestic matters they have been more critical about the Nehru Government, but supported all its measures for development programmes.

But it is well to remember that the Nehru Government, whatever else be its other lapses, has right from the beginning insisted on a Charter of Fundamental Rights in which the rights and liberties of the individual as well as those of racial, religious and other minorities are properly safeguarded in the Constitution. The MEP Government has unashamedly followed chauvinistic and jingoistic policies in regard to language, religion and race. What is worse, MEP spokesmen, who have successfully shown that they can blackmail the Prime Minister and the Cabinet, have made no secret of the fact that they are opposed to any Charter of Fundamental Rights because such a document in the Constitution would militate against the apartheid policy of absorbing and assimilating the minorities.

How could the Communist Party have decided that this basic characteristic of the MEP deserved support? In its all-too-brief a statement the Communist Party apologetically acknowledges that the policies of the MEP have led the country to be divided into two communal camps and that it proposes to fight for redress of the genuine grievances of the Tamils and other minorities. Without stating it, the Communist Party implies that it has not been able to find a platform, without lending some support to the MEP chauvinism, even to ask for justice for other communities and races which are as much a part of this country as the Sinhalese. If the present support for the MEP is a tactical move to get a hearing among the Sinhalese masses, is it

not an acknowledgement that the chauvinism, engendered by the UNP and now whipped up by the MEP, has come to stay?

DIVISION

No texts have been quoted from Marxism-Leninism for the present shift in CP policy, and it may well be that the texts as well as the practice would not support this surrender to the apartheid policies of the MEP. For, if the leaders of the Communist Party recognise the reality that chauvinism has come to stay, and that the two communal camps to which they refer in their statement are really two nations in embryo, then the logical conclusion is to proclaim that in the face of racialism which cannot be contained otherwise, the Communist Party stood for a division of the country, be it on a federative, autonomous or any other basis.

The hope and intention that the Communist Party seems to entertain that it can change the character of the MEP chauvinism by supporting it is a chimera that will bring the greatest setback to the socialist movement in the country. It was open to the Communist Party to support the progressive foreign policy of the MEP and oppose its chauvinist domestic policies. But to support it completely only to get a hearing among the Sinhalese masses is something like a tragedy for socialism. What would the world have thought of the Communist Party of Germany if it supported anti-semitism even indirectly in order to get a ready-made platform (made by years of Hitlerian propaganda) to win votes and support of the German masses?

continued on page 610

With the death of Peri Sundaram passes one more of the fast dwindling number of liberals who played so prominent a role in the politics of Ceylon in the twenties and early thirties of this century. After his return from England, Peri Sundaram threw himself into the early national freedom reform movement. But in addition to this, he was among the first to be conscious of the need for trade unions not only for the Indian Immigrant Labour population but also for all sections of working people in this country.

In the first State Council he was elected Minister of Labour, Industries and Commerce. As Minister of Labour he was the pioneer in introducing such legislation as the Trade Union Act, the Industrial Disputes Conciliation Act, the Workmen's Compensation Act and similar provisions intended to assist working people.

Peri Sundaram also took the first step towards the setting up of the Bank of Ceylon by inviting Pochanawala in 1934 to report on the possibilities of opening a State-aided Bank. There was tremendous opposition to this by all then existing commercial banks, but Peri Sundaram persisted in his efforts and his successor in office Claude Corea brought the Bank of Ceylon into existence in 1939. The Bank of Ceylon today stands as a testimony to the foresight of Peri Sundaram. He also conceived of many plans for industrial development, but owing to a series of circumstances he was not able to take concrete action on developing them.

More than in his public life in the first State Council, and later in the Senate from 1947 to 1956, Peri Sundaram won many friends and admirers by the charm of his personality. He lectured to law students for well over two decades, and his pupils will remember him not only for the competent manner in which he dealt with his subject but also for the warm human relationship he developed with those he came into contact. He had many treats for law students and his friends, especially on Thai Pongal Day. It was

on occasions like this that he would relate old anecdotes about the period of the first world war and the twenties when the supremacy of the white man was still unquestioned in this part of the world.

One of the many such tales refer to an unwritten law of those days that made it incumbent for any coloured person travelling first class in the railways to permit a European to have a compartment all to himself. Peri Sundaram found great delight in the embarrassment which he and some other friends caused a European in a first class compartment. The first class was full and the only place this white man could find was in one which Peri Sundaram and other coloureds were travelling. The station master at Kandy went up to Peri Sundaram and had asked him to vacate the compartment to give it to the white planter. There was a refusal, and a row, and the white planter cancelled his trip rather than get mixed up with natives in a railway compartment. It is said that the station master nearly lost his job for not having been able to provide satisfactory accommodation for this planter.

Today, this story may seem pointless, but in the early twenties with the white planter raj in the hill country, it was a most heinous and an atrocious crime for any request of a white man to be turned down.

Peri Sundaram started a revolt, in the quiet passive way which characterised his life, in the plantations of the hill country, which has already caused major repercussions and which is likely to have more fundamental results in the near future. The life of Peri Sundaram is symbolic of the development of Indian community in Ceylon, and and I do wish that somebody who knew him intimately and has access to his personal papers will relate his life story. It is a record worth preserving.

M. R. Perera

I fairly imagined that when the U.N.P. was turned out of power, the days of uncles and nephews

were over. But I must confess to a sense of utter disappointment that the days of uncles and nephews did not end with the Uncle Nephew Party. They are still with us and in spite of our having a People's government — the Mahajana Eksath Peramuna government.

Mr. M. R. Perera, a former member of the Overseas Service, who was dismissed by the previous government, after an inquiry following reports of his being implicated in an alleged plot to assassinate King Feisal of Iraq in 1953, has been re-employed in the Overseas Service. The inquiry followed a complaint when this official, then Second Secretary to the Ceylon High Commission in Karachi, had to leave the country within 24 hours.

I know for certain that an international incident was staved off by the narrowest of narrow margins by the quick recall of Mr. M. R. Perera and an equally quick apology by the then Prime Minister Sir John Kotelawala. An inquiry followed the incident in Ceylon and Mr. M. R. Perera was dismissed, without even pension rights.

Strange events occurred following the assumption of office by the present government. People in high places began using their influence to get Mr. M. R. Perera back into the Overseas Service. Despite the fact that Mr. Perera was dismissed for a grave diplomatic crime, despite the fact that there was no vacancy in the Overseas Service, and despite the fact that Mr. Perera's re-employment is bound to have serious repercussions in Pakistan's attitude to Ceylon, he has been re-employed. Is the government so bankrupt of diplomatic officials that it has to re-employ dismissed government servants?

I think it would be futile at this stage, to inquire into the reasons that have brought Mr. Perera back into the Overseas Service. For those who are not aware, it would be interesting to know that Mr. M. R. Perera is a son-in-law of Sir Earnest de Silva and a nephew of one the most senior and influential Permanent Secretaries in Government Service today?

Comment

continued from page 608

In its anxiety to win the easy support of the Sinhalese masses at any price, the Communist Party has forfeited its right to represent the minorities. The Communist Party Branch in Jaffna might as well close shop. And, the question can well be asked that if the Communist Party in the South has the right to get a hearing among the Sinhalese masses, why the Communist Party in the North has not a similar right to win popularity by playing on the slogans popularised by Tamil Congress and Federal Party leaders?

If the realities of the situation demand a division of the country, the Communist Party should not hesitate to show it as the way forward. To endeavour to fight for a united Ceylon by opportunist surrender to chauvinism is betrayal of socialism. The international communist movement, whatever be the criticisms about the form of government it stipulates for the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, has won the confidence of the down-trodden as a consistent fighter for minority rights and national self-determination. The new line of the Ceylon Communist Party tends to bring discredit to the entirety of the international communist movement. For the local CP is bound to suffer all the discredit and shame which is likely to envelop the MEP soon in spite of its progressive foreign policy. No Government can survive for any length of time on a foreign policy, however progressive it be, if it follows reactionary and retrograde policies at home.

RECONSIDER

Before further disillusionment about the Communist Party of Ceylon sets in among the thinking and progressive sections of the population of the island, its leaders should reconsider this decision to support the MEP. The present CP gamble to hope to change the MEP from 'within' is bound to fail, and it would be difficult to find any intelligent person to say that UNP chauvinism is any worse than MEP chauvinism. If the Communist Party of Ceylon persists in its present unsupportable policies it can mean only one thing: that the chauvinists among the Sinhalese

have captured the CP and that its leaders are too weak to resist it.

The international communist movement has seen many such tragedies. In Hungary, Poland and other countries the machinery of the communist movements went into the clutches of opportunists, racketeers and adventurers, and it needed cataclysms like the Poznan and the Budapest uprising of October before there could be some change. Pieter Keuneman and S. A. Wickremasinghe have been consistent fighters for justice and fairplay for all, including minorities. Must they now fall victim to the blandishments of an uninformed rank and file (uninformed owing to the lack of proper socialist education) who want to find easy an platform for electoral victories?

Week by Week

continued from page 708

When the Government persisted in its action, 115 students of the Ayurvedic College staged a strike. They refused to sit for the examination to be held by a Board on which sat a person who had failed the examination. They also pointed out to the repercussions arising from the withdrawal of Dr. Lenora and all the Western trained doctors who were imparting knowledge at the institution. (It must be remembered that Buddharakhita and C. D. Amerasinghe believe that Sinhalese Ayurveda should develop without any contact with modern scientific developments from the West). The strike and demonstration continued as a sit-down strike and on February 1, 1957, the acting Principal called upon the Police to remove these students bodily from the college premises. The Police did so, and when the students refused to disclose their names, the



Magistrate had no alternative but to remand them to jail.

While the Government was busy feting Chou En-lai, 115 Ayurvedic students, including 20 women, languished in jail for two days, until the uproar was so much that the Acting Principal intimated to the Police and the Magistrate that he was in a position to identify the "accused" and they were thereupon released from remand. These students were later brought up to the Court on February 5 and were released. It is yet difficult to see on what charge the Police arrested them, but this is one of the headaches that the MEP Cabinet has to resolve.

The result of this Ayurvedic College dispute has led to meetings and demonstrations against the Minister of Health demanding her resignation. The MEP Government has thus much lost ground among an influential section of the ayurvedic practitioners who are a major force in the Sinhalese villages as a result of this *maladroitt* handling of the situation at the College of Indigenous Medicine. Not only is the MEP Government clumsy and foolish in the way it approaches the minorities but it seems determined to blunder even where the Sinhalese are concerned.

YOU BUY WITH CONFIDENCE
WHEN YOU BUY GOODS
ADVERTISED IN "TRIBUNE"

ATOMIC ENERGY

In the period immediately ahead, development of atomic energy will depend upon its competitiveness with conventional sources of power. It is still too early to make precise estimates of the cost of electricity generated from Atomic energy since only one large-scale Atomic power station has yet gone into operation in the world, namely that at Calder Hall in the United Kingdom. On the basis of this prototype, we may assume that electricity will be available from atomic energy during the next five years at a cost of not much more or much less than about 0.6 anna per unit. This compares favourably with the cost of electricity generated by conventional thermal power stations in India at places remote from the coalfields, such as Ahmedabad, Bombay, Delhi and Madras.

Capital Outlay

An Atomic power station of the type I have mentioned would, however, require a 50 per cent greater initial capital outlay, but there is no doubt that the next few years will see a substantial reduction in this initial capital cost. However, this is not the whole story.

A conventional power station of 140 megawatts located at some place in India remote from the coalfields, as for example, Delhi, would require the transport of nearly 2,000 tons of coal per day, and this would require the permanent locking up of some 1,700 wagons and nearly 30 locomotives, representing a capital investment of over Rs. three crores. This does not take into consideration the additional congestion that would be produced on the railway line concerned, and if, as is the case in India, the railway capacity is already overloaded, we would only be able to set up such a power station at the expense of sacrificing the transport of some other commodity or at the expense of building an additional railway line. An Atomic power station of this size would only require the transport of 50 to 100 tons of uranium per annum, and would, therefore, completely avoid all the transport problem and the

corresponding expenditure I have just mentioned.

Moreover, the thermal station just mentioned would require the mining of an additional 750,000 tons of coal per year with a corresponding investment in coal mines and coal mining machinery. On the other hand, the 50 to 100 tons of uranium required by an Atomic power station of the same size could be obtained from only about 150,000 tons of ore, assuming that the ore is of the grade we know to exist in India having half a part per thousand of uranium. The capital investment required for the mining of this uranium ore would clearly be very much less than that required for the mining of five times as much coal, especially when one remembers that the mining of uranium ore would involve operation at or not far from the surface. Thus, if we take the entire picture, including the cost of mining the fuel, whether conventional or Atomic, the cost of its transport and the cost of burning it to produce electricity, it is questionable whether Atomic power would involve any greater burden

We publish this extract from the speech of Dr. H. J. Baba at the inauguration of the Atomic Energy Establishment in Bombay on January 20, 1957. This extract will indicate the tremendous strides India has made in the matter of development projects and throws into sharp relief the total lack of all activity in this island.

on the economy as a whole. Indeed, it is possible that it may involve less.

Production of Plutonium

There is another very important consideration which should be mentioned. It is likely that in the future, more advanced and efficient types of Atomic power stations will use concentrated atomic fuel, such as Uranium 235, Uranium 233, or Plutonium, rather than the naturally occurring Uranium. If we are not to depend on the import of such fuel from abroad and not to build a gaseous diffusion plant involving an enormous expenditure and technical effort, it is necessary for us to start producing this fuel now by converting natural Uranium into Plutonium, and Thorium into

(continued on page 612)

For

**Choice Wines, Delicious Food
Comfortable Accommodation
and
Courteous Service**

Visit

**HOTEL METROPOLE 30, Queen Street, Fort
BRITISH INDIA HOTEL 13, Baillie Street, Fort
CASTLE HOTEL Slave Island, Colombo**

ATOMIC ENERGY

continued from page 611

Uranium 233 in Atomic reactors. If we are, therefore not to lose further ground in the modern world, it is necessary for us to set up some Atomic power stations within the coming five years which will produce Plutonium for our future power reactors in addition to producing electricity now. These problems are being studied in the Department of Atomic Energy in consultation with the Planning Commission and the other Ministries concerned of the Government, and we hope to reach some decision within the next few months.

The aim of the Department of Atomic Energy is to develop Atomic energy as a source of electric power and to promote its use in agriculture, biology, industry and medicine. On the industrial side, we intend to produce all the materials required for a full Atomic power programme. For this reason, we started by setting up a plant at Alwaye in South India to treat the well-known Monazite sands on the West coast. The process for and

design of plant was obtained from a French firm, the Societe des Produits Chimiques Des Terres Rares. In addition to producing rare earths and trisodium phosphate, a cleaning material old in the market, this plant produces a cake containing Thorium and Uranium. This cake is brought to the plant at the bottom of this road, which produces a very pure Thorium salt and also an Uranium salt. It was built by our own scientists and engineers under the direction of Mr. H. N. Sethna, and has been in operation since 1954. Its capacity was increased six-fold last year.

We have designed a small Uranium Plant which will turn this Uranium A (salt) into Uranium metal for a reactor and we expect to have this plant in operation here by the middle of 1958. This plant will give us enough Uranium metal for experimental purposes and for use in the reactors that are under construction at present. It will also give our scientific and technical staff the necessary experience for the design and construction of the large Uranium plants which will be required by our future programme.

Heavy Water


We also intend to produce heavy water in quantity and the decision has already been taken to produce heavy water and fertilizer together in a large plant which is being built at Nangal in the north.


India is one of the largest producers in the world of the rare mineral Beryl, from which the metal Beryllium can be obtained. This metal, together with the metal Zirconium, which can be obtained from the Zircon sand found on the South-West Coast of India has important uses in advanced types of Atomic reactors and it is our intention to build plants for their production.

To ensure a steady supplies of trained scientific and technical personnel, we are starting a training programme in June this year, in which 250 young graduates and engineers will be recruited annually from the universities and given supplementary training for a year to fit them for work in our Atomic Energy Programme. It is hoped to increase the intake of this school to 350 a year in due course.


“ ASOKACHAKRA ”

Roofing Tiles

 Single Groove

 Double Groove

 Halve Tiles

 Ventilators

 Ridges

MASCONS LIMITED

175, ARMOUR STREET.
COLOMBO 17.

DUDLEY SENANAYAKE

On Monday, February 4, Ceylon's Independence Day, an announcement was made that Dudley Senanayake had rejoined the UNP, and that he was to shortly take over the leadership of the Party as the Acting President whilst the permanent President, Sir John Kotelawela, retires from active parliamentary life.

Apart from this, there has been no new declaration of policy or a programme. The entire UNP communique consisted of the arrangements regarding the entry of Dudley Senanayake into the political arena via the Vice-Presidency of the UNP to the post of Acting President. The impression that was sought to be created was that Sir John was retiring from politics, and that Dudley was taking over the reins of the leadership of the UNP and that all the tedious circumlocution about Dudley being vice-president and thereafter Acting President was only a face-saving formula for the benefit of Sir John's prestige.

Tactical

Whilst there may be something to be said for the race-saving theory, there are keen observers of the political under-currents in this country who feel that all this manoeuvring is nothing more than a device for Sir John to get back to public life (under cover of Dudley). Sir John will probably not fight another parliamentary election, but he may aspire to be Governor General or the President of the Republic, should the UNP stage a comeback.

But whether all this is a tactical manoeuvre or not, there is no doubt that Dudley's rejoining the UNP is an event of some significance. Dudley has as much public popularity as Premier Bandaranaike, and he is the only one who can give a run to the Premier in the matter of rabble-rousing. It should be recalled that Dudley Senanayake won the 1952 elections for the UNP with the slogans SAVE BUDDHISM

FROM THE FLAMES OF MARXISM, and SAVE THE SINHALESE FROM THE INDIAN MENACE. Two more demagogic cries cannot be imagined, and the unscrupulous ruthlessness be displayed in that election campaign marks him out as a leader who will know how to beat the MEP at their own game of chauvinistic demogogy.

In spite of his capacity to outline a programme to win the support the majority and divide the ranks of the minority, Dudley Senanayake had not the dictatorial autocracy of his father to keep the Party in check and order. And, that was the reason he could not continue in his post as Premier in 1953.

He rejoins the Party today, when its members and stalwarts, beaten at the polls, want a leader whom the public will accept and who will be able to win their confidence; something Sir John was unable to do, in spite of the heroic assistance given him by Lake House. Whether Dudley will be able to cleanse the UNP of elements that brought it into disrepute, (elements responsible for graft, corruption and nepotism), is yet to be seen.

Policy

It is also yet to be seen what kind of policy he will evolve. Some of his recent speeches indicate that he is disturbed about the naked chauvinism of the MEP. Does he want to go back to the hidden chauvinism of the UNP (suitably disguised and camouflaged), or will he break with the UNP past in its attitude to the minorities and put forward a new policy based on the principles of democracy and freedom? What attitude will he take on the language question? What will his attitude be to the question of a Charter of Fundamental Rights? What will his attitude be to the question of the Buddhist religion being a State Religion? Will he continue it as the *de jacto* State Religion, as under the MEP, or will he stand for a secular Republic without any state religion

as such? What will his attitude be towards the so-called "Indian question"? Will he permit the Tri Sinhale to rear its head again (as in the 1952 elections), or will he endeavour to evolve a policy which will provide a reasonable solution? (Already he has been greeted by Tri Sinhala Youth Front and he has welcomed their felicitations).

Before these questions raised above are answered, it would be difficult to assess and evaluate the role of the "reformed" UNP under the leadership of Dudley Senanayake. And what of J. R. Jayawardene? Already in an article on in the *Daily News* on February 4, he seems to have been doing some "thinking aloud" — on language, on the "Sri" numberplate and the like. These Jayawardenian speculations, according to knowledgeable circles, are probably intended to embarrass Dudley in his new role as leader of the UNP. This is the only explanation that can be suggested for the his proposal (with the present Buddhist fervour) to have a "cross" instead of the "Sri" on motor numberplates. In these circumstances, will Dudley jettison J.R. and a few other liabilities like Sir Ukwatte, Ananda Tissa? Or, will

continued on page 615



NUMBER PLATE

Does it really matter what the number plate of a car carries? It is only a distinguishing mark. I don't know why some Tamils are so hysterical about it. It may be true that the Government had introduced this symbol to annoy the Tamils and to give their own supporters the illusion that they have given them something tangible.

The "Sinhalese Only" Act itself was probably meant to achieve nothing more than this.

But what the Tamils should realize is that, whatever the object of the "S" Number or the "Sinhalese Only" Act, no real harm has been nor can be done to the Tamils.

The "S" Number can neither harm the Tamils nor help the Sinhalese.

The Sinhalese Only Act makes it necessary for the Tamils to learn Sinhalese, which means that to the Tamils it will be not "Sinhalese Only", but "Sinhalese Also".

While the Sinhalese will have only one vehicle of thought, the Tamils will have two. And the Ceylonese, who after all are the real patriots and citizens of Ceylon, will have Sinhalese, Tamil and English. It is from this number that the real leaders of the country will be drawn.

To me, the man with Sinhalese only (or Tamil Only) is like a villager in a mud hut with only one window. The Tamil with Sinhalese also (or the Sinhalese with Tamil also) is like a similar man with two little windows. But the man

with Sinhalese, Tamil and English is like a man who lives in a house that lets in liberal quantities of air and light. Why should anyone prevent anybody else from keeping his windows shut if that man enjoys the dark? Let those of us who can face a problem unemotionally and objectively learn whatever language we can and teach our children to look upon the knowledge of an extra language as an additional asset and not as if it were some great burden.

There is no great difficulty for a Tamil to learn Sinhalese, which is very similar to Tamil in form and construction. I don't see why Tamils should find it hard, when even the staff of the American Embassy are learning Sinhalese.

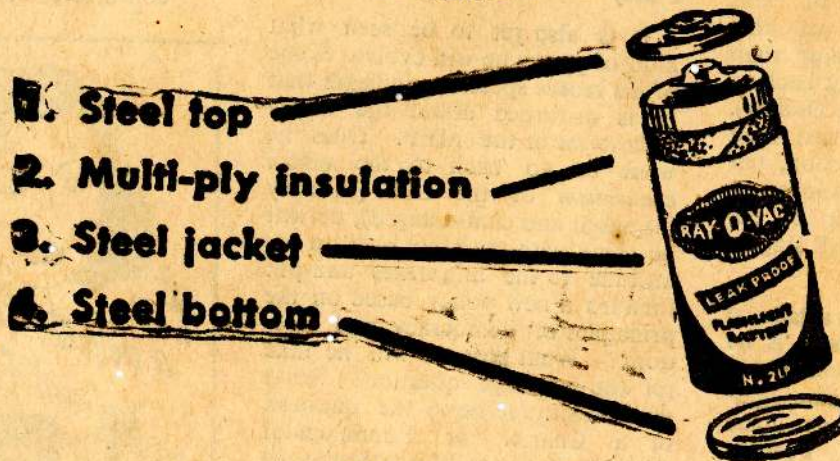
The man with anything "Only" is naturally incomplete.

Yours faithfully,
H. V. M. Arulnayagam

FLASHLIGHTS & BATTERIES



RADIO BATTERIES & BULBS



Telephone :
4201 & 7631

Sole Agents

BOUSTEADS E & C LTD

888, UNION PLACE, COLOMBO,

Telegrams
Dynamas

WARNING

continued from first page

speaking peoples of Ceylon will be able to overcome all attempts to suppress the Tamils.

This newly-forged and fast developing unity among all the Tamil-speaking peoples in the island is a factor which the Government must recognise if it is to handle the present situation realistically. To hope for direct help from Sir Razik Fareed and Mudalivar Kariapper on the one hand and indirect help from the ambitions of Ponnambalam to break the unity of the Tamils will be futile. An overwhelming feeling that justice cannot be secured with a united struggle calling for many sacrifices has gripped the Tamil-speaking peoples.

In this situation, unless Government sheds itself of its reactionary chauvinistic policies a most danger-

ous crisis will arise. The fact that the Communist Party is willing to tail behind the MEP will not make the slightest difference.

"Tribune" had welcomed the victory of the MEP over the UNP. It was the only English newspaper to do so at the beginning. Today, the policies of the MEP have brought disillusionment to thousands, and "Tribune" utters a warning that unless the MEP Government mends its policies it will go the way the UNP went, after dividing the country into two nations and not merely two communities.

Dudley Senanayake

continued from page 613

he keep them in the fold as a secret but active fifth column? (a fifth column against himself)

It would be pointless to discuss what Dudley's foreign policy would be like. At this stage in Asian history, it would be difficult for any Premier of a popular Government in Ceylon to follow anything but the "Pancha Sila" Afrasian line. And Dudley Senanayake is probably ideologically nearer the Nehru line than any other "leader" in the UNP. However, it must be kept in mind that Dudley is more likely to attempt to bargain with India regarding his foreign policy as a counter to the "Ceylon Ind'an" question than even Bandaranaike.

A Government or even a Party cannot survive on a foreign policy. Will the UNP under Dudley evolve an economic development programme which will be able to deliver the goods? Or, will he be satisfied with the kind of tamarshas and "six-year plans" which characterised the long rule of the UNP? Thinking sections of the public, already in deep despair about the rule of the MEP, are anxiously waiting to see what content and direction Dudley Senanayake will give the UNP.

Releasing on Friday 25th January

at 15 Centres in Cinemas' Circuit

Starring:

★
Sirisena
Wimalaweera

★
Kanthi
Abeysekera

★
Marshal Perera



★
Prema Kanthi

★
Chitra Danawala
withane

★
Leela Hallowita

SIRAKARUWA

Sirisena Wimalaweera's Great Successor to "POEI PUTHA"

Lovely to
Remember always



With
Sandalwood
Perfume



when you use

RANI

- Sandalwood Soap
- Talcum Powder

RANI GIVES
Gifts

THE SWANSEY INDUSTRIAL WORKS LTD., COLOMBO

Printed and published by P. Alagesan, residing at 82, New Bullers Road, Colombo-4, for Tribune Publications at Ceylon Newspapers

Vol. 194 Digitized by Noolaham Foundation
noolaham.org | aavanaham.org