

# TRIBUNE

## APPOINTMENTS

### A. G. and G. G.

*There is a great deal of speculation at the moment in the country as to who will be the next Attorney General and also as to who will succeed Sir Oliver Goonetilleke as the next Governor General when his term of office comes to an end shortly. In the traditional manner, matters of importance are settled in this island, "Tribune" has consulted the leading soothsayers and astrologers and their predictions are set out below.*

No two astrologers were able to agree on details or even the predictions and we have therefore decided to make public the views of the most qualified among them. In order to avoid any confusion arising from jargon we are not publishing the astrological reasons given for the predictions, but we have summarised the forecasts as best as we could.

#### ATTORNEY-GENERAL

For the post of Attorney General, the astrologers see two possible aspirants: Sir Lalitha Rajapakse and Abeyasundere, presently the Legal

Draughtsman. The astrologers have completely ruled out Themis, though a columnist in the *Sunday Observer* a fortnight ago hinted that certain Crown Counsel had urgent fears that the MEP Government might appoint a non-lawyer with the correct Sinhala ancestry to the post in order to further the aims of the Peoples Government.

Whilst a great many of the stars and planets are definitely strong in Abeyasundere's horoscope, and though some astrologers are willing to stake their reputation that he will be appointed to the coveted post, the majority of astrologers feel that the stars indicate that it is Sir Lalitha who will have the first refusal. The planetary positions, in Sir Lalitha's chart shows two strong trends: one, they he may go the UNO as Ceylon's permanent representative there, and second that he may become the Attorney General and thereafter the first truly Sinhala Chief Justice (i.e. after the legal system has been fully Sinhala-sised).

In spite of the possibilities of Sir Lalitha going abroad, the astrolo-

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gers seem to think that he would be more interested in a domestic job rather than post in the UN as this island's spokesman. Our poll among the astrologers seems to indicate very strongly in favour of Sir Lalitha as the next Attorney General.

It must be mentioned that we had not been able to get the horoscope of Janze, the present Solicitor General, who should succeed normally to the post; and we have, therefore, not been able to get any forecast about his chances.

As to the post of Governor General, our astrologers examined the horoscopes of all leading men in the island. For good reasons we confined our search to Sinhala Buddhist gentlemen. *The one horoscope in which our astrologers have been able to detect regal potentialities is the one belonging to M. W. H. de Silva, presently Minister of Justice. Our forecast is that M. W. H. de Silva will be the next Governor General, or the first President of the Republic of Ceylon, if the MEP is able to usher it in soon enough.*

The only doubt which has arisen in our minds is whether M. W. H. de Silva will be able to satisfy *Buddhist Opinion* and its ten-point demand in regard to what a Governor General should possess. No human being is ever likely to possess the ten Buddhist Sinhalese virtues stipulated by "Buddhist Opinion", but the astrologers think that the MEP will appoint M. W. H. without being worried about the Ten Points.

### TRIBUNE

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# WEEK by WEEK in CEYLON



UNP



CONFERENCE



US AID

A great deal of interest is being shown in likely changes in UNP policy. The last sessions, in March 1956, at Kelaniya, adopted a *Sinhalese Only* policy and refused to have any Charter of Fundamental Rights to protect minority rights.

From the speeches made by Dudley Senanayake and from inspired press reports in the daily papers, it would appear, that the UNP will seek to stress NATIONAL UNITY. It has been their theme that the MEP has shattered national unity and an attempt will be made to show that only the UNP, with a new streamlined policy, can repair the damage.

There have been no definite indications as yet in regard to such likely changes of policy, but hints have been appearing in the press that some modifications of the *Sinhalese Only* Policy will be adopted at the next sessions of the UNP in March. Whilst no fundamental change will be made in regard to Sinhalese as the official language, it is likely that some definite proposals about the "reasonable use of Tamil" or the "status of Tamil as a national language" will be put forward. Political observers believe that in the current atmosphere in the Sinhalese areas, the UNP would not dare to go beyond this. It is even said that the UNP will not now suggest a Charter of Fundamental Rights, because the chauvinistic idea that such a Charter will stand in the way of *national unity through assimilation* seems to be the prevalent ideology among a dominant section of the Sinhalese leaders in the MEP as well as the UNP.

If the UNP is serious about national unity, it must first set about educating the Sinhalese people that unity can only come about through a recognition of the rights of all communities: that the age when unity came through assimilation is no more and that today it is reactionary to think along such lines.

### Patch Work

To judge from what is afoot, it would seem that the UNP is inclined to revert to the patch-work unity

it maintained in the days of D. S. Senanayake. The *modus operandi* was somewhat as follows: divide the Tamils into groups — on a religious, caste, and territorial basis — and thereafter keep the loyalties of the different sections by offering the plums to favourites within each category. Keep Jaffna away from Batticaloa and Mannar, shut the Up-country Tamils away from everybody else, flatter the Muslims to keep aloof from the rest of the minorities ..... and so on

Already the old techniques seem to be in operation. V. Kumaraswamy, former stalwart from Chavakachcheri, after a couple of secret confabulations with Dudley Senanayake has rushed to the North and started a United Front for Fundamental Democratic Rights. It would be bad strategy to revive the UNP branch. It is also believed that Dudley would endeavour to contact G. G. Ponnambalam, Natesan and others. Natesan is not likely to team up with the UNP after his last bitter experience when the Party refused to even discuss the Charter of Fundamental Rights, but Ponnambalam will certainly consider the question

whether any alliance with Dudley will help him to establish his former leadership of the Tamils.

In the meantime, the new stirring in UNP circles together with the events in the North and East over the *Sri* campaign and the gradual getting together of the Ceylon and Indian Tamil communities has had certain repercussions on the MEP itself. Whilst Bandaranaike has now to rely even more strongly on groups led by Philip Gunawardene within the MEP in order to resist the threat from the UNP, he has at the same time realised that he should assert himself a little more strongly over the chauvinistic elements in the MEP.

### Round Table Conference

At a Cabinet Meeting last Monday, according to press reports and from other information we have received, the Premier emphasised the need "to clarify the Government's language policy with the object of bringing about better understanding among the various communities".

For this purpose, it would seem, that a Round Table Conference

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# CYNICAL ROBBERY

We reproduce this article from the Nov-Dec. 1956 issue of the monthly trade journal called *ALCHIMIST*, published in Belgium. This magazine is issued in Dutch, French, English and German, and is said to be one of the most widely circulated professional reviews of the perfumery, soap and food industries.

We are publishing the article in full, but we are withholding the name of the Company concerned (and the name of the Proprietor) - which the *ALCHIMIST* has mentioned - until we complete certain investigations of our own here. All five cases of fraud listed by the *ALCHIMIST* were perpetrated by one and the same company. It is significant that Ceylon citronella oil, which enjoyed a good demand, is now faced with a slump owing to buyers refusing to purchase in the Ceylon market. This can be understood if buyers in Europe have been cheated in the manner set out in the *ALCHIMIST* - where water has been sent in place of citronella oil. Will the Government of Ceylon do something, even at this late stage, to protect the island's export trade?

Five European firms of international reputation in the essential oil trade were duped so brutally and cynically in transactions with Ceylon that the question arises whether in some countries robbery has been elevated to a national virtue.

The responsible authorities in Ceylon should know what they have to do in order to stop such abuses. In the meantime we must warn all importers who do business with Ceylon to proceed with utmost care and utter distrust and to take every precaution before making any transaction.

This warning also applies to cases in which importers deal with Ceylon through the intermediary of an agent. They should demand that the agents take the strictest precautions so that they cannot escape responsibility later on. Bank information or reports from special information offices are insufficient: they may be incomplete. Terms of agreements should be formulated in the strictest wording and no risk whatever should be taken. Clauses on the letter of credit should be carefully and strictly formulated in order to prevent any disappointment. Even then, one will be sure when dealing with first-class firms of universally recognized reputation only. Fortunately there are some such firms left in Ceylon.

Below we give a survey of the facts which have led to the present warning:

## FACT I

On 3rd May 1956 Sluys Boëchout bought through the intermediary of the Dutch brokers, Driessens Bros. Haren (Gr) Holland from The... Company, Proprie-

tor.....Baillie Street Colombo, Ceylon 2 tons of Ceylon citronella oil, estate quality, guaranteed 60% Geraniol. A surcharge was agreed upon for the packing in secondhand galvanized drums. Payment by irrevocable letter of credit. The goods were shipped by the end of May 1956 *ss Weserstein*. Documents were in order.

On arrival of the good at Antwerp the following was established:

(a) Weight shortage of almost 50% though the drums, the number of which was complete, did not show any trace of leakage, according to the survey report made by the Lloyd's agents. On 15th of August 1956 the forwarding agents of The... Company, the City Cargo Boat Co, stated to have received and shipped the full weights.

(b) The goods were packed in old rusty iron drums, although the documents mentioned galvanized drums, a supplement having been paid for this kind of packing material.

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# CYNICAL ROBBERY

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(c) Although documents included an analytical report by the well known laboratories Bamber & Bruce, Colombo, on samples submitted by the shippers, it was found on analysis of samples drawn on arrival by official surveyors that the average content of Geraniol was only 51.51% and that the goods were not to be considered normal Ceylon citronella oil.

After both the agents and the buyers had repeatedly drawn The..... Company's attention to the above facts the said firm wrote on October 5th 1956 to the Belgian Legation of Colombo: "We beg to inform you that we are quite innocent and unaware of these said unfortunate happenings which were completely beyond our control."

## Fact II

Messrs Paul Kaders, Hamburg bought through the intermediary of Driessens Bros, from the same firm The..... Company, 2 shipments of each 1 ton of citronella oil, Schimmels test. Goods were shipped in May 1956 per *ss Glenearn* and per *ss Rajah*. On arrival both shipments showed weight shortages without any trace of leakage. In the case of *ss Glenearn* the shortage was 995 lbs. Moreover, analysis of samples drawn on arrival showed that this was an absolutely inferior quality, heavily soiled with petroleum. Documents however were in order and included analytical reports as in the first case. The result of the analysis on arrival were for the first shipment: 42.2% Geraniol and much petroleum for the second shipment: 50.1% Geraniol. On 15th August, 1956 the forwarding agents of The..... Company, the City Cargo Boat Co, stated to have received and shipped the full weights in both cases.

## Fact III

Messrs Adrian & Co., Marseille bought from The..... Company through the intermediary of a Marseille broker 2 shipments of citronella oil Schimmels test. The first shipment arrived per *ss President Jackson* on 13th May, 1956 at Marseille. A weight shortage of about 17% was found with no trace of leakage. Analysis of samples taken on arrival showed that the essences had been adulterated with petroleum up to

a proportion of 30%.

Messrs. Adrian & Co., immediately instructed the Marseille broker to cable to The..... Company in order to protest and to cancel the second shipment. Unfortunately the irrevocable letter of credit having already been opened that shipment could not be stopped. The..... Company cabled on 22-5-56 to his Marseille agent: "Inform our good customer Adrian not to worry we accept amicable settlement. We guarantee balance 3 tons better quality requested. Can ship immediately." Two tons were shipped per *ss President Hayes* on about 10-6-56 and arrived at Marseille on 11-7-56. A weight shortage of some 1500 lbs. was founded without any traces of leakage. Analysis showed that the goods had also been adulterated with petroleum up to a proportion of 30%.

## Fact IV.

Messrs. N. V. Handelsmaatschappij "Holba", Amesterdam bought from The..... Company two parcels of Ceylon Citronella oil F.A.Q.

The first parcel was shipped per *ss Agapenor* on September 20 1956 and arrived in London on October 8. Documents were in order and included an analytical report by Bamber & Bruce on submitted samples. As different from the previous cases, there was no weight shortage, but a surplus of 150 lbs. The analytical report of samples drawn upon arrival in London by official surveyors stated: "In our opinion each of these samples consists of water, the amount of citronella oil present being negligible". On October 30, 1956 The..... Company wrote to N. V. Handelsmaatschappij Holba: "On account of heavy rains locally our suppliers were unable to supply oil as ordered and the second parcel was fortunately not shipped".

## Fact V.

Messrs. Jean A du Crocq Jr. N.V. at Huizen (Holland) bought from The..... Company a parcel of citronella oil which was shipped per *Elpenor* with invoices dated October 20, 1956. Upon arrival in Holland it was found that the drums contained mere water.

## Fact VI.

Since the claims were made The..... Company has refrained from replying to letters and cables from the buyers and the brokers, with the exception of the letter of October 30 1956 to N.V. "Holba".

## Fact VII

The goods were insured against marine risks including pilferage, with the same insurance company in the first 3 cases. Considering the disturbing similarity of the shortage in every one of the three cases, the insurance company declined its liability. However they agreed to pay 50% of the loss suffered by the buyers, in some cases thus placing themselves among the victims.

As far as we know the intermediary brokers have not yet received their commissions nor their expenses.

In his monumental work on "Essential oils", Mr. Ernest Guenther deplores the widespread adulteration practices on Ceylon citronella oil making comparisons with the much so under situation prevailing in the Java citronella trade as a result of official measures.

*It is obvious that such cases of robbery and deceit as described above would not have been possible if the responsible Ceylonese authorities had organized a system of official quality certificates as exists for Java produce.*

We invite our readers who may have become victims of similar adulteration and deceit practices to send us full particulars, granting us permission to publish same. It would further be advisable to put such cases at the same time into the hands of the international criminal police organization Interpol without delay.

We invite the professional trade press to join our action and to publish all known cases with full details until the Ceylon export trade purges itself of impostors.



# Western Manoeuvres

The U.N. Security Council has passed the Anglo-American resolution on Kashmir, otherwise known as the Five-Power resolution. This infamous, provocative resolution is yet another significant link in the unending chain of manoeuvres and villainy that the imperialist Powers have been indulging in over the Kashmir issue during the past nine years. The resolution is a demonstration that the Anglo-American imperialist bloc which today dominates the United Nations can have its way in that forum — whether it is on Korea, Hungary or Kashmir.

At the outset, let it be said that the debates in the Security Council have shown who are our friends and who our enemies. The vicious resolution was sponsored, as is well known, by the United States, Britain, Australia, Columbia and Cuba — the latter three being the mere flunkys of imperialism. And among these unholy five, be it noted, Sri Nehru's Commonwealth partner— Britain — has led the assault.

Even before the Security Council met, the British Prime Minister and some other members of his Cabinet held secret discussions with the Pakistani Foreign Minister, Mr. Firoz Khan Noon, in London. The details of the plan were laid there. When the scene shifted to Lake Success, the representatives of Britain and the USA were closeted with the Pakistani representative and the draft resolution was finalised two days before India's representative, Sri Krishna Menon, started speaking.

This shows that the imperialist Powers were only interested in pushing through their well-laid plot and not in any frank discussion.

## Britain Malice

The British delegate, Sir Pierson Dixon, cynically ignored all the significant developments which had taken place since the Kashmir issue went to the U.N. since these did not suit his brief. He fully exploited the weak-kneed handling of the Kashmir case by India's representatives in the early years. Accord-

ing to him, the situation remains where it was nine years ago.

To this theme of malice and mendacity, he added a whole number of utterances insulting to India against which even Sri Krishna Menon who is always soft-spoken when it comes to the British, had to lodge protests. We are told very fine things about India's Commonwealth friendship and we would like to know how Prime Minister Nehru feels when his unilateral friendly gestures are thus reciprocated through unremitting anti-Indian plots and insults.

However, the U.S representative, Cabot Lodge, also took the same stand as the British. Of the Security Council members, only the Soviet Union called the imperialist bluff and stood by India.

The Soviet delegate, Mr. Sobolev, pointed out :

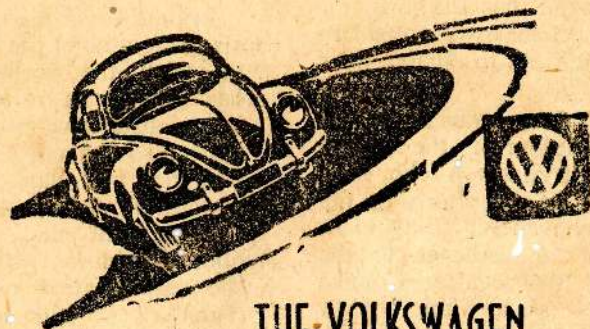
"The question of Kashmir was settled by the people of the State who regard themselves as an inalienable part of the Republic of India. The Security Council cannot disregard this fact."

With acknowledgements to the Indian Communist weekly, *New Age*, we publish this article by Bupesh Gupta on Kashmir. The Indian Communists have been critical of Nehru's solieitude to certain Western Powers still imperialistically-inclined and Bupesh Gupta, whilst outlining the salient features of India's case on Kashmir draws attention to the manoeuvres adopted by these Western nations. The second part of this article will appear next week when the fateful role Mountbatten played in 1947 in rushing India to take the Kashmir question to the U N O will be told.

He exposed the imperialist game and said that the position of the imperialist Powers in the Kashmir dispute was determined not by a wish to solve the question in accordance with the interests of the Kashmiri people themselves and with the interests of India and Pakistan. These Powers, he rightly remarked, were guided most of all by their own interest and desire to penetrate into this region which is one of strategic significance. He brought out how the slogan of plebiscite had been used by the imperialist Powers for "interference from

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## THE PEOPLE'S CAR



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# Western Manoeuvres

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outside" in the internal affairs of Kashmir, India and Pakistan.

To understand the present resolution, one must go back to 1951 when a similar resolution was passed in the Security Council.

## Imperialists Upset

After three years of bitter experience of the U.N. machinations over the Kashmir issue, the Jammu and Kashmir National Conference openly declared in October 1950 that the American-dominated United Nations had not solved the Kashmir problem but only prolonged it to the detriment of the Kashmiri people and its future.

The Conference announced the decision for convening a sovereign Constituent Assembly based on adult suffrage for the purpose of determining the future shape and affiliation of the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

The Anglo-American imperialists were upset by this bold stand of the National Conference and immediately called a meeting of the Security Council in order to use the authority of the world organisation not only for preventing the Kashmiri people from exercising their will but also for defeating the purpose of the world organisation itself.

In March 1951, the Security Council passed the Anglo-American resolution which, in its preamble, said that the convening of the Constituent Assembly "would not constitute a disposition of the State. . . ." And thus the Kashmiri people were shamelessly sought to be denied the right to shape their future.

In moving that unwarranted resolution, the leader of the British delegation, Sir Gladwyn Jebb, went to the length of characterising the decision to convene a Constituent Assembly as "a challenge to the authority of the Security Council and the U.N. as a whole." How the valiant people of Kashmir ignored such bluster is now a part of history. The dogs of imperialism no doubt continued to bark but the people's caravan moved on.

## Lawful Accession

The formal but perfectly lawful accession of Kashmir to India in October 1947 was affirmed by both the Indian Parliament and the

Kashmir Assembly in 1952. The Kashmir Constituent Assembly put its seal of approval on the issue of accession in February 1954. Finally, the article of the Kashmir Constitution which reaffirms the accession and makes it irrevocable came into force on November 17, 1956.

Naturally the Anglo-American imperialists could not reconcile themselves to this peaceful, democratic and honourable solution. They got their stool-pigeons in Pakistan like Malik Firoz Khan Noon to raise a howl. Imperialist-inspired threats and sabre-rattling went on in Karachi and Lahore, with the open backing of Washington and London. The Five-Power resolution is the culmination of that phase of renewed anti-Indian provocation and manoeuvres.

Like the resolution of 1951, the present resolution, after repeating the sickening U.N. sing-song about Kashmir, also declares that the decision of the Constituent Assembly "would not constitute the disposition of the State. . . ."

This resolution not only denies historically settled realities, not only does it amount to naked interference in the internal affairs of Kashmir, India and Pakistan, it even runs counter to the purposes of the U.N. organisation and violates the nefarious game of imperialism over Kashmir and creates tension between India and Pakistan closer into imperialist entanglements. It has been amply demonstrated how the Kashmir issue is utilised in Pakistan to arrest the growth of the democratic movement and facilitate imperialist penetration.

In this connection, one must also take note of the background in which the Security Council has passed its resolution. The imperialists have returned to the Kashmir issue and begun to further their new plans against the peoples of Asia and Africa. It is significant that this noise about Kashmir synchronises with the reactivation of the Baghdad Pact and with Eisenhower's Middle East Plan which covers Pakistan.

All this cannot but spell serious threats to the peace and security of our country and these threats have to be met boldly by our entire people. We have already defeated many an imperialist machination over Kashmir and we are today stronger

than ever to meet the challenge and put imperialism and its henchmen in their proper places.

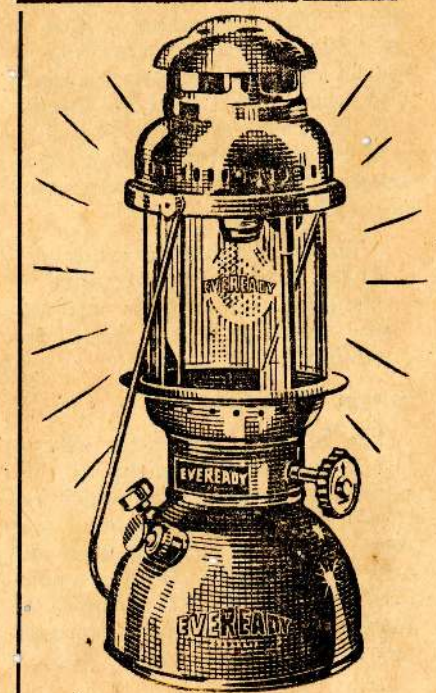
When the unity of the entire nation needs to be further strengthened, when it is necessary to enlighten public opinion on the developments over the Kashmir issue, treating it as a truly all-party national issue, the Congress has, however, introduced this subject into its election campaign, not for achieving the above ends but for sheer vote-catching purposes. We need not repeat here that we generally support the Kashmir policy of the Government.

But since the Kashmir issue is being now mooted in the election campaign on a some-what broader canvas, it needs to be said that role of the Congress Government in this matter has not been all too glittering as is sought to be made out by its propagandists. And some of the past weaknesses from which the Government's Kashmir policy has suffered still persist.

## Refusal to Denounce Them

One of these is that the Government refuses to expose the machinations of Britain and the USA over Kashmir and openly denounce them. Even in his nine-hours long speeches in the Security Council, Sri Krishna Menon had hardly anything to say against Britain and America when everybody knows that but for them, the Kashmir problem would have been long settled amicably between India and Pakistan.

(To be continued next week)



# Week by Week

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would be held at which not only the "reasonable use of Tamil" will be discussed but also the question of Fundamental Rights. According to a report in the *Morning Times* on Tuesday 12th, that there will no question of withdrawing the *Sinhala Only Act* which declared Sinhalese the official language of the country. "But it is learnt", states the report, "in clarifying the language policy the Government will make it clear that the official language has no relation to the educational policy of the Government. The use of all three languages — Sinhalese, Tamil and English — will be allowed at all levels of education, including university education. There will be no discrimination in regard to entry into the Public Service. No person in Government Service will be penalised for the ignorance of the official language of the country.

"It is also learnt", continued the report, "that correspondence between the public and the Government in all three languages will be legally recognised .....

It was the refusal of the MEP to accord a status to the Tamil language which has brought the country to the brink of disaster. The Prime Minister, is said to have stressed that whilst the Tamils or the majority of them do not want "Federalism", they looked up to the Federal Party for leadership in the absence of any other Party. The Premier has only himself and the MEP to thank for this — because the chauvinism of the MEP has completely liquidated all other parties among the Tamils.

It will be recalled that the Ceylon Democratic Congress led by Thondaman as early as last May, shortly after the coming to power of the MEP, passed a resolution at its Annual Sessions at Nawalapitiya that Government should immediately summon a Round Table Conference to ease the communal tension by clarifying the language policy and by outlining a Charter of Fundamental Rights. The resolution also emphasised that the most urgent task before the country was economic development and that national unity was essential for

this. The Working Committee of the Ceylon Democratic Congress reiterated this resolution in more urgent terms less than a fortnight ago, and it is heartening to see that Government has thought fit to consider adopting such a reasonable suggestion as this.

## US Aid

The complications arising from the economic situation is being soft-pedalled by Government, but the US Administration fully informed about happenings here (the Central Bank is full of men trained and "educated" in the US after having been recruited by a US expert) has rushed in with an offer of increased aid and even a 2.5 million dollar loan (at 3 to 4 percent loan repayable in 40 years). The aid under the Ceylon-American Economic and Technical Co-operation Program for 1957 was to be 7,000,000 dollars (nearly Rs. 35 million) — increase of 2,000,000 dollars from that granted last year.

Whilst the Government seems to be tempted by the low rate of interest (3% if the interest is paid in dollars and 4% if paid in rupees), it has been pointed that a particular clause in the proposed agreement is a "string" with a large loop. This clause is one which seeks to give

America the right to negotiate with Ceylon to use the money to obtain "such materials, required by the United States for stockpiling or any other purposes, as may be mutually agreed upon". The money referred to will be the cash repaid under the loan if the repayment is in rupees. It is said that the US will keep such money in Ceylon and use it for purposes to be mutually agreed with the Ceylon Government..

There is no doubt that this clause is a thin end of the wedge to smash the Rice-Rubber Agreement with China. It will be recalled that the US Embassy in Ceylon and the State Department in Washington did all they could to prevent the Agreement with China. Having failed in an outward assault, this offer of a new loan with such a clause seems to be nothing more than Trojan Horse tactics to smash the agreement from the inside.

It is not known at the time of going to press what decision the Government has taken, but the Finance Minister besides assuring the public that there is no threat of a crisis seems to be most anxious to tie up more and more with the US.

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In our issue last week, published on Saturday, we uttered a warning that "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 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."

We concluded this warning with the comment that "*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."

#### Keen

On Tuesday, the morning dailies carried front page stories about the Cabinet discussions the previous evening on the question of national unity. We had pointed out in our article last week that the events connected with the *Sri* campaign, repercussions to the shooting in the Trincomalee, and the fact that the Tamils Up-country and the Tamils in the North and East had got together, all indicated that the calculations of the chauvinists in the MEP that the Tamils would stomach any nonsense had proved totally fallacious. The Tuesday morning reports revealed that the Prime Minister was keen about solving the mounting communal tension by introducing amendments clarifying "the reasonable use of Tamil" and also by seeking to formulate a Charter of Fundamental Rights. There was also a hint that Regional Councils would be developed in order to meet the legitimate aspirations of the different communities to develop their cultural traditions as well their traditional homelands.

It is significant that the Premier drew attention to the three matters spotlighted by us: namely, language, fundamental rights, and sense of nationhood that was growing among the Sinhalese as well as the Tamils. *Tribune* is too conscious of its limitations to claim any credit for bringing sense to the Government, but we can say that this paper is so closely alive to the realities of the developing political situation in this country that it is able to reflect all questions of significance and urgency in their true perspective. In doing this, *Tribune* is no doubt able to influence the thinking of persons who read this paper, and it is a fact that many Cabinet Ministers, top Government officials and other political leaders read *Tribune* every week.

The new consciousness that seems to be coming to the MEP after the UNP has begun to think along similar lines is something to be welcomed. For too long, since this country became independent in 1947, has it been afflicted by the disguised and camouflaged chauvinism of the UNP and the naked, crude and vulgar jingoism of the MEP. Prime Minister Bandaranaike was correct when he stated recently that the seeds of chauvinism and communalism were sown in the past and that the present Government was only reaping the harvest. But he forgot to add that the situation had been made worse by the irresponsibility of the chauvinism of the MEP which he had been unable to control or direct although he knew it was wrong. It is a fact that the Prime Minister did his best to incorporate some clauses in the Official Language Act to give a status to the Tamil language. He too wanted a Charter of Fundamental Rights. But he failed miserably to carry his party, and the hysteria let loose by Rajaratne, Jayasuriya and that clique killed all efforts to be reasonable. It is also a fact that Bandaranaike was opposed to the *Sri* numberplate, but he was too weak to insist on what was right. The *Sri* number-

plate was a devilish idea of a former high UNP official now entrenched in the Official Language Department and which he successfully foisted on the gullible and pseudo-nationalistic Minister of Transport at a time when the Premier was out of the country. If the UNP wanted a weapon to hit at the MEP it could not have thought of a better weapon than the *Sri* numberplate. For, after shattering national unity through the *Sri* numberplate, the UNP has now come forward with the cry that it alone can restore national unity. The MEP must be careful about the Civil Servants it trusts.

#### Solution

*Tribune* for some weeks has been insisting that the only language which the chauvinists in the MEP understood was strength and direct action. The growing strength of the resistance movement among the Tamils, reinforced by cohorts of organised plantation workers who will undoubtedly join in the fray, seems to have had a sobering effect on some aggressive sections of the MEP.

In our view, national unity can be preserved only if the Official Language Act is amended to satisfy the reasonable sections of the Tamil speaking peoples who recognise that the Sinhalese language has certain rights and privileges as the language of the majority. Secondly the Charter of Fundamental Rights must be a genuine document which will be incorporated without delay into the Constitution. To attempt to cheat - as the UNP did in many matters concerning the civic rights of inhabitants of the island - will lead to more trouble. Thirdly, after this spell of wild MEP chauvinism, unless enlarged local autonomy of the kind obtaining in countries like Switzerland is granted to the different communities in particular territories, there can be no communal peace. National unity will be possible if there is settlement and agreement on the matters referred to, and national unity is needed for the execution of any National Economic Plan.





It was only after Chou left some of the inside gossip of the visit has become known. One of the matters referred to by the columnist *Town Crier* of the *Times of Ceylon* was about the bouquet handed over by Chou and his Deputy to the I.G.P. and other police officers for the excellent manner in which crowds and vehicular traffic were controlled and channelled along all routes. The I.G.P., the same columnist states, whilst commending the work of his officers and rankers added that thanks were due to the public "who so good-humouredly made the task of the police an easy one."

Undoubtedly the Police did an excellent job, but what amused me was the sight of ex-Public Security and present CID men, who about an year ago regarded "communists, crypto-communists" and the like as vermin of a lower order to be hunted and spied upon, were intent on "protecting" one of the leading communists of the world. One officer in particular, whom I knew to be an ardent "fighter against communism" in the days of the UNP, was during Chou's visit prominent in ensuring the safety of the visitor.

Times change, and times may change again, but it is well for our CID to realise that it is not for them to be worried about ideologies. In the old days, a person who read Marxism was regarded by the CID as an "enemy" of the State. An obsession like this can lead to racketeering, for if any officer in the CID (or if any of his friends) want to "damn" some person all that was needed was to brand that person a "communist or 'crypto-communist'".

**Chou's Plane**

The column *Inside Information* in the *Times of Ceylon* on last Saturday states that there were also a "dozen threats" to Chou's life during his visit. One does not know how real these threats were — whether some of them were not manufactured by enthusiastic Security men in the best traditions of their special service in order to enhance the value of their work.

But whether it was due to these threats, or the posters, or the fact that some of our Security men were unable to inspire the necessary confidence, the Indian National Airlines Constellation which Chou used and which was scheduled to have been "looked after" at Ratmalana during his stay here, was sent back to Madras to be there until it was time for Chou's departure. This going back to Madras was ordered, I am told, by an officer from the Indian Security who was responsible for the plane. In spite of a small army of about 40 men which the local security detailed to watch the plane, the plane was sent back to Madras.

This cannot be wondered at. The MEP Government has not been able to win the confidence of the Police. Only by winning such confidence would it be possible to change the minds and hearts of men who had been loyal to an old regime and its outdated ideologies and commence new ways of thinking. It is time that the MEP realised that by attacking men like the I.G.P. and others on small petty matters that more harm is done than good.

I am firmly convinced that the overwhelming majority of our Police Force can easily be persuaded to become "non-political" in the real sense of the word and discard the old UNP habit of being an unconscious anti-Left force.

**Ruins**

Columnist after columnist in the *Lake House* and the *Times* groups have referred to the fact that trip Chou made to the ruins in Polonnaruwa and Sigiriya was a sheer waste of his time. It has been said that Chou's staff had indicated that he would prefer to see new development projects. But our External Affairs Ministry in all their wisdom condemned Chou to do the usual tourist round of Sigiriya and Polonnaruwa. "I saw the cynicism with which Chou En-Lai saw the ruins of Polonnaruwa", states *Whippopwill* writing the *Times* column *Saturday Musings*. Another report reveals that a Ceylon personage was expounding a little too superlatively

the glories of the Sinhalese race and its past, and in one place was getting so worked up on the grandeur of some ancient Polonnaruwa Palace (13th century), as it might have been, when Chou interrupted him with a remark that "there were a lot of bricks in that place."

Enthusiasts about the Sinhala culture should realise that China has ruins dating back to 5000 B.C. And also that men like Chou are more interested in the present and the future than in the past.

**Trincomalee**

I was particularly keen about knowing what really had at Trincomalee on February 4 when the shooting took place. Here are the facts as I have discovered them from reliable sources.

The G.A. at Trincomalee, sometime before February 4, had summoned leaders of various sections in the town to discuss the question of celebrating Independence Day. All shades of Tamil opinion had indicated that they were observing February 4 as a Day of Mourning, whilst the representatives of this Sinhalese minority in the town had

continued on page 626

VISIT

**Tuckers III**

ANNUAL AUTORAMA

Galle Face Hotel

4-7 April 1957

# Just Briefly

continued from page 625

wanted to celebrate it. The G.A., after consultations with Colombo presumably, had convened another "conference". At this meeting a number of very salutary decisions were arrived to avoid clashes and prevent unnecessary tension.

It was agreed that the Tamils should hold a Protest and Black Flag meeting in the morning whilst the Sinhalese would have the grounds for their celebrations in the evening. It was also agreed that on certain buildings which were used in common no flags — black or lion — would be hoisted. One such building was the Urban Council market in the centre of the town.

On February 4, whilst the Tamils were holding their Protest Meeting as agreed upon, it was reported, that a Lion Flag with the coloured strip representing the minorities torn out had been hoisted on the market. It must be remembered that a large number of stall holders in Trincomalee are Sinhalese. When the crowd at the meeting heard of this provocative act, a section went to-

wards the Market Square. The G.A. and the police chieftains had already arrived on the scene. Whilst discussions were going on about hauling down the flag and abiding by the earlier decisions, a gunman from inside the market opened fire. The shots, I am told, could have killed anyone from the G.A. to the S.P. But it struck a Tamil named Nadarajah.

There were naturally a few repercussions to this incident in which a number of Sinhalese suffered, but it was the lunacy of a Sinhalese clique which hoisted a Lion Flag contrary to agreement and the madness of a gunman that started off the Trincomalee incident. It would be interesting to know whether the gunman was an individual, fired with race hatred, or whether he was a tool in the hands of any secret organisation which wanted an incident at Trincomalee on February 4. The fact that the G.A. and the S.P. were on the spot to know the true facts and control the situation probably upset the calculations of such a secret organisation, if it was responsible for it.

M. R. Perera

I referred in this column last week to M. R. Perera who had been re-appointed to the Overseas Service on one year's probation. I now find that he is going as First Secretary to the new Embassy in Peking. Comment is unnecessary.

It was the *Daily News* which first "leaked" the story of his re-appointment. I am told that there was a major upset in the External Affairs Ministry when this news appeared in the front-page of the Lake House journal. I am also told that this scoop was proclaimed before his letter of re-appointment was signed. But so unresponsive has this Government become (like the UNP in its last stages in power) to public criticism, that it went forward with making the appointment. And what is worse is that he is made First Secretary to the Embassy in Peking.

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# 1956 TENDER

The notification calling for tenders for the supply of gypsum to the Kankasanturai Cement Factory for 1956 appeared sometime towards the end of April 1956.

A large number of tenders, it is said, was received as usual, and the customary procedure was adopted. The then Acting Deputy Director of Industries, an officer from the UNTAA (United Nations Technical Assistance Administration), it is learnt, scheduled these tenders with certain recommendations and submitted them to the Tender Board. It must be mentioned that the tender this time wanted quotations for the gypsum delivered at the factory. This was probably done owing to the fiasco which arose the previous time about delivery at KKS port which not only brought additional expense to the factory but also a shortage for which the factory had to pay over Rs 13,000.

The lowest tender for 1956 was again from a South Indian source. It was from a tenderer called Kailasanthan, and the price he quoted was Rs 86.50 ton for delivery at the factory. The lowest quotation for "Mediterranean" gypsum was from General Imports and Exports Ltd which claimed to obtain supplies from Sicily in Italy. The price quoted was in the region of Rs 124 per ton delivered at the factory.

## UN Expert

As in previous years, there were quotations f.o.b. Karachi, and South India. When the tenders was "scheduled", it is learnt, that the UN expert, an Indian engineer, cautioned the Tender Board that it would not be wise to contract for the whole amount from South India with the licence position still so vague and nebulous. He recognised that the price was extremely attractive from the factory point of view, and that the samples submitted seemed to be up to specifications, but until the license position was clarified he felt it was not wise to put all the eggs into one basket. He also pointed out that it would not be correct to throw away the South Indian supply, but that a contract should be

kept open to see if deliveries could be made.

This UN expert suggested that the Tender Board should get half the required quantity of 5,000 tons from the South Indian source and obtain the other half from the Mediterranean area. It must be noted that the General Imports and Exports Ltd who had quoted about Rs 124 for gypsum were none other than the previous year's supplier — Ceylon Imports and Exports Company — in a new grab, reconstituted and incorporated. It is also significant that on this occasion the supply was to come from Sicily and not from Cyprus. A person named Dalpathadu who had been a witness in the 1955 contract, but who, it is said, did the actual work of arranging for the delivery and the like was the live-wire of the new joint stock company. The other "live-wire" of the 1955 contract, Philip Winn, who had gone often to KKS to superintend the landing of the gypsum, had committed suicide under mysterious circumstances.

**The Tender Board, in spite of the recommendations of the UN**

This is the second and concluding article on gypsum purchases by our investigator. Sherlock Holmes will write next week on the distribution scheme enforced by the Board and the disastrous results it had on the cement market.

expert, was so buried in its red tape that it refused to approach the problem with the flexibility that was demanded by the realities of the situation. It therefore accepted the tender of the South Indian supplier, and according to this agreement the deliveries should have commenced at the end of July and completed in August.

As anticipated by the UN expert, there were export license and mining license difficulties, and the South Indian supplier defaulted on his dates of delivery. It would seem that licenses in India take a very long time to come through from Delhi, and in spite of several extensions, the supplier was not able to make deliveries right up to September 1956.

It is necessary to point out that the KKS factory had stocks of gypsum only up to October 1956, and the defaulting of the South

(continued on page 628)

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# 1956 TENDER

continued from page 603

Indian supplier had placed the factory in a bad way.

In this situation, this tenderer supplied the factory with two boatloads of gypsum (about 175 tons) which he had procured in the market in South India (and which was not from the mines from which he had hoped to draw his supplies). At this point of time, the supplier had obtained his export licences, but not his mining licences. The two boatloads of gypsum which the tenderer supplied were unfortunately not up to the specifications (gypsum purity was only about 67% on bulk sampling) and it had to be put through a chemical process before it could be used. The tenderer was paid at the rate Rs. 25 a ton for this inferior quality of gypsum supplied, and the factory had to draw about 400 tons of crystalline gypsum from the saltern. This saltern gypsum too after some processing was used for the manufacture of cement.

*It must be stressed that thanks to the ingenuity of the factory manage-*

*ment production was not interrupted even for a single day owing to the shortage of gypsum. But production did cease for a number of days in December owing to the "distribution" programme and the "freezing" enforced by the Corporation as a result of which the silos of the factory became full with cement (of which there was a shortage in the island). (I will deal with this aspect of the problem in an article next week).*

In this situation, in the first week of October, the Director of Industries sought special permission from the Tender Board and placed an order with the General Import and Exports Ltd., for 5000 tons of gypsum from Sicily. The price now fixed was Rs 155 a ton, although it will be remembered that this Company had quoted Rs. 124 a ton for the same gypsum when the tender was called. The world price of gypsum had not increased between June and October 1956, and it cannot be understood why the Department did not even at this stage think of making purchases direct from suppliers.

It was at this stage that the Corporation came into existence on November 1, 1956.

## Corporation

Much was hoped from the Corporation, but my inquiries reveal that the Directors of the Board displayed the most amazing tendencies from the moment they took up duties. The Chairman of the Board, Mr. C. Coomaraswamy, a person of the highest integrity, seemed totally incapable of holding the exuberance of his team. Two Directors who had connections in the business world developed what might be called an uncommon interest in all the purchases for the factory and the distribution of cement, whilst one of the Directors from the Government became obsessed with day to day administrative problems and armed with a copy of the Treasury Financial Regulations took upon himself the duties of General Manager, Works Manager, Personnel Manager etc, and sought to establish a kind of personal autocracy in the factory in the name of the Board.

In this article, I am only concerned with that aspect of the Board connected with gypsum purchases, but in subsequent articles I hope to deal with the way the Board mish-

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# BUDDHISM

The Malwatta and Asgiriya Karaka Sangha Sabha have submitted 25 recommendations to the Prime Minister requesting that he should not give a hearing to the demands made by various people for various reasons, but should implement those 25 recommendations so that during the remaining months of the Sambuddha Jayanthi year, peace and unity in the country be ensured. The recommendations are —:

(1) That specially from Jayanthi, a scheme be devised to encourage Buddhists to observe the Five Precepts, and on every possible Poya day, the Eight Precepts, so that they become pure Buddhists.

(2) That as an initial step to the complete prohibition of killing animals for meat, the killing of animals and the sale of meat should be prohibited during the Jayanthi period, and later on every Poya day.

Subsequently, legislation should be passed gradually completely prohibiting.

(3) that as soon as possible this country, as a true Buddhist country, should be made a country of non-drinkers. The Government in this connexion, should set an example by prohibiting liquor at all state ceremonies. Similarly, bars should be closed at Government institutions like the House of Representatives.

(4) The legislation be passed prohibiting the showing of indecent films that is now spreading throughout town and village like an epidemic, also prohibiting the publication of sexy novels and other indecent literature and indecent or unsavoury pictures and news reports in the newspaper.

(6) Games unsuitable to girls and revolting to our national culture should be stopped in schools.

(7) Prohibition by legislation of sexy entertainment like dances imported from the West, particularly in night clubs.

(8) Abolition of racing and other forms of gambling.

*Without comment we publish the demands of the Buddhist Sangha led by the Malwatta and Asgiriya Chapters.*

(9) To plan out a scheme to wean people from expensive habits and customs of western origin and encourage them to lead lives of simplicity.

(10) To make the four Poya days of each month, instead of Sundays, weekly holidays.

(11) Buddhism be made a subject in all Sinhalese and English schools in the island, including the University.

(12) That, wherever possible, Buddhism should be taught only by Bhikkhus.

(13) That the Government should assist the Sangha Sabha of each sect

to devise suitable schemes to control the bhikkhus and see that they obey the disciplinary rules of the religion.

(14) That one or two bhikkhus' vidyalas, or training centres for bhikkhus, be set up, in order that they might would prepare them to go out as missionaries and at the same time raise the standard of education at the pirivenas.

(15) Take steps to translate the Tripitaka to Sinhalese with the assistance of the bhikkhus of Ceylon.

(16) With the help of the public inscribe the Tripitaka on rock and place it in a hall constructed near the Ruwanweli stupa.

(17) Publish a Buddhist catechism in as many languages as possible.

(18) Write and publish a history of the Sasana of the near past and the modern period.

continued on page 630



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## BUDDHISM

continued from page 529

(19) All non-Buddhist places of worship in the area of the Mahavihara at Anuradhapura be removed and the area be made free for the Sangha to conduct their religious affairs as in former times.

(20) Declare the area around the Dalada Maligawa and the four devales in Kandy a sacred area and remove churches and other buildings from the place.

(21) That the Ordinance of 1848, stating that no non-Buddhist religious buildings be constructed without the permission of the Government be implemented forthwith.

(22) The ruler of the country in ancient times was a Buddhist. Since the country was now independent, the Governor-General should be a Buddhist. In the same manner, the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Ceylon should be a Buddhist.

(23) Steps should be taken to restore the rights of the Buddhists of the country to conduct their religious customs and ceremonies, including the peraheras, the free and untrammelled performance of which the British had obstructed.

Steps should further be taken to restore the lands plundered by the British from viharas and devales.

(24) Steps should be taken to celebrate a festival of lights. Pahan Pooja, on Jayanthi Day, and the day prior to it and after, along the route from Mahiyangana to Kandy, Kandy to Mihintale and Anuradhapura, and Kelaniya to Tissamaharama.

(25) Holding of religious festivals throughout the island during the week preceding and the week following Jayanthi and the prohibition of liquor and the slaughter of animals during that period.

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# 1956 Tender

continued from page 628

andled the distribution and administration. Inspired press reports appeared of the terrific danger arising from the gypsum shortage. It is believed that this *gypsum hysteria* emanated from certain friends of particular Directors. This was at a time when the gypsum from the salterns (and even the spent plaster of Paris from the Ceramic Factory) was being used as a substitute.

After creating this hysteria, certain Directors went about like saviours and "unearthed" suppliers of gypsum. To cut a long and sordid story short, the Corporation entered into a contract with this same Dalpathadu for about 1,500 tons of gypsum. Four hundred tons of this contract recently arrived amid a blaze of publicity from Karachi. This 400 tons is believed to have cost Rs. 200 c.i.f. Colombo, and the cost at the factory will be Rs. 255 a ton, as railway freight is high. In connection with this shipment, the following questions became relevant: Did a Director persuade the Board to

buy 8,000 gunny bags at Rs. 75 per 100? Why was this purchase made? Was it under the plea that the gunnies would be needed to "bag" the gypsum before it was unloaded? Did not the other members of the Board know that gypsum was unloaded in bulk into railway wagons?

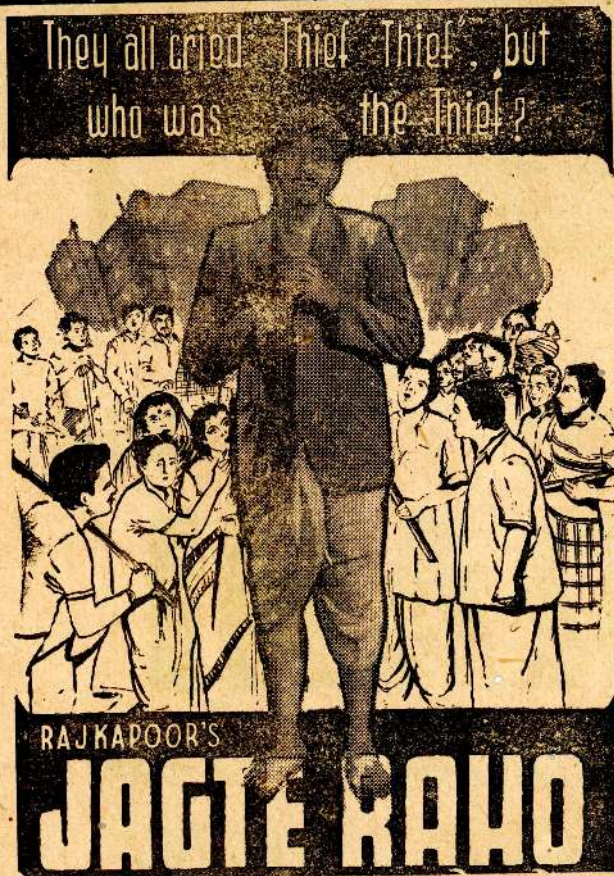
What has happened to these gunny bags? What were the size and quality of these bags? Does the Board now know that at the time these gunnies were purchased the market rate in Colombo was Rs. 45 for the smallest and poorest quality gunny bags, Rs. 55 for the medium size and quality, and Rs. 60 for the biggest and best?

What is the price that has been fixed for the remaining 1,100 tons of this contract? Is it to be delivered cif KKS or Jaffna? Is the price the same as for another contract for 1,000 tons with a member of Chettiar community who has been known to be a business associate of the first contractor? Why are these contracts cif Jaffna? Is it because they expect to deliver during the N.E. Monsoon when KKS port is unusable, or are there any other reasons?

Not satisfied with the contracts already entered into, particularly after Kailasanathan is said to have informed the Board that his mining and export licenses had come through and that he would be able to make deliveries in February/March, the Board hastened to enter into a contract with a Chartered Accountant for the supply of about a 1,000 tons gypsum cif Colombo. Why did the Board enter into a further contract with another firm, alleged to be associated with the first supplier for another 1,500 tons, also cif Colombo?

These are questions which the Board must answer. For in addition to the 5,000 tons contract with Kailasanathan at Rs. 86/50 a ton delivered at the factory, there is also an outstanding agreement with General Imports and Exports Ltd. for 5,000 tons from Sicily at Rs. 155 a ton. I have not been able to discover whether this agreement was cancelled when the Suez crisis broke, or whether this agreement is still in force. On top of all this, the Corporation has during the *gypsum hysteria* entered into contracts covering 5,300 tons at various prices cif Colombo and Jaffna.

They all cried Thief Thief, but  
who was the Thief?



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