

# TRIBUNE

CEYLON NEWS REVIEW.

Vol I No. 22

COLOMBO, SEPTEMBER 25, 1954

15 Cents.

## MYSTERY RUBBER

### CONSPIRACY TO DESTROY BOOKS

*"Tribune" reliably understands that there was a great deal of consternation among certain persons in the Rubber Commissioner's Department as a result of the publication in last week's issue of the paper about a curious transaction entitled MYSTERY RUBBER. There was uneasiness also in two well-known firms of rubber shippers who were parties to the deal.*

*But the matter does not end here. "Tribune" has been informed that a conspiracy is being hatched (or may have already been hatched and executed!) to destroy or otherwise liquidate certain records and documents relating to these transactions. The Rubber Commissioner, the Permanent Secretary and the Minister in charge of this Department are now out of the island, and the attention that should have been given to this matter has not been paid as yet.*

#### Re-Sold

Readers will recall that our columnist SERENDIB in his weekly feature JUST BRIEFLY referred to certain transactions in November 1952 when the Rubber Commissioner Department sold two shippers a large quantity of rubber at the so-called prevailing price when everybody was aware that

with the formal signing of the China Agreement the price would jump about 25 cts. a pound. What was interesting about this transaction was that these two firms are alleged to have re sold the same rubber to the Rubber Commissioner a few weeks after for shipment to China at the enhanced price. If this allegation is true, then the Rubber Commissioner's Department unnecessarily threw away an opportunity of making a profit of a few lakhs.

#### Two Hours

If the Government is really serious about eliminating corruption, then this is one of the matters that must be investigated. A senior official spending about two hours with the records of the Rubber Commissioner's Department for the period November 1952 to about January/February 1953 will be able to investigate this allegation and get to the bottom of it.

Although this transaction took place about two years ago, it is essential that this matter be probed for the reason that the permanent officials alleged to have assisted these two firms to make this deal are still in the Rubber Commissioner's Department and the allegation continues to be made that these two

firms are even now the favourites of the Department.

#### Not Penalised

For instance, one of these two shippers has not yet been penalised for a default for which other shippers have been seriously dealt with. It is said that in regard to a fairly recent shipment of rubber to China, the surveyor on behalf of the Commissioner passed after inspection a large quantity of bales as Number One Sheet. This same surveyor later paid a surprise check on the landing wharf and discovered that Number Four Sheet had been substituted. The Rubber Commissioner's Department was informed and the shipper was permitted to rush down Number One from its Main Store to replace the rejected bales (the shipment in this case was made from a subsidiary store of this shipper not in the city of Colombo). As far as is known this shipper has not been dealt with for this lapse.

#### Not Done

If the Rubber Commissioner's Department is to be made an incorruptible trading department of Government, then it is the duty of the Ministry to see there is no room for abuse of power and other malpractices. Some weeks ago *Tribune* warned the authorities, after certain disclosures about coconut oil shipments, that an

Continued on page 15

# Settlement With Finality Imperative

The decision of the Premier to go to New Delhi to thrash out the difficulties that have arisen in the implementation of the Indo-Ceylon Pact must be welcomed. It is even more encouraging that the ex-Premier Mr. Dudley Senanayake will go in the same delegation.

Newspaper reports indicate that Sir John Kotelawela is likely to invite Mr. Bandaranaike to join this delegation. This is also a step in the right direction. The same press reports also suggest that Mr. S. P. Vythilingam might be invited to join the delegation. *Mr. Vythilingam himself will probably be the first to admit that if the interests of settlers in Ceylon are to be represented, the Ceylon Democratic Congress must be part of the delegation.*

## Hamlet

To discuss the "Indian" problem in Ceylon without the Ceylon Democratic Congress will be like staging Hamlet without Prince Hamlet himself. The main defects of the Nehru-Kotelawela Agreement definitely arose from the difficulties centring around implementation (namely the settling or otherwise of Indian residents in this country); and this could have been avoided if the views and wishes of the Ceylon Democratic Congress were met.

The C. D. C., it is clear from their statements, is as anxious as anybody else for a final and complete settlement, and a compromise plan to meet the wishes of all parties is what is needed.

In this connection, it must be mentioned that it would be a good thing if discussions are held among all parties in Ceylon to find a way out of the present impasse. It is not enough to go to New Delhi to find out ways and means of implementing the farce known as the Nehru-Kotelawela agreement. Nor will it serve any purpose to hold a post-mortem on Desai

By

Our Political Correspondent

or anybody else for sabotaging a Pact that was bad *ab initio*.

## Finality

The delegation must go to New Delhi with a firm determination to resolve all difficulties with some degree of finality. A great responsibility lies on everybody who goes in this delegation. In the context of present Asian politics, and in context of communal hatreds now being engendered by a certain interested foreign agency in the country, a settlement of this "Indian" problem is an utter necessity.

There is no doubt that the much-publicised Nehru-Kotelawela Agreement has turned out to be bigger farce than anticipated. What is unfortunate is that this farce, conceived and delivered by the sole efforts of High Commissioner Desai, has led to embitterment of feelings between India and Ceylon.

## Desai

The kindest thing that may be said about Desai is that he did not know what he was about but many competent persons are of the view that the only motive that prompted Desai to rush this pact through by bamboozling New Delhi was to assist his old Cambridge friend Sir John Kotelawela to entrench himself more powerfully in the seat of power.

But his efforts, just as much as Sir John's hopes, have been dashed to the ground. And the pieces cannot be put together again.

India could not have suffered greater indignity than that there should be a demand from a large section of the people of this island that Desai should be recalled. Only certain sections have had the temerity to voice this demand publicly, but one cannot think of a single section of the people,

from among the Sinhalese, Tamil<sup>s</sup> Indians and others who do not think that it is time that Desai should depart from this island. He has done more harm than any other single person in recent times to estrange feelings between the two countries. And this, at a time, when the greatest amity and friendship should prevail between India and Ceylon in the face of a new colonial onslaught disguised as SEATO.

*It is ironic that a pact which Nehru signed only because he was prepared to concede certain demands by a ruling clique in Ceylon to win them over to fight a then impending SEATO, should be the cause of friction and uneasiness between the two countries on a scale never before known.*

## Warned

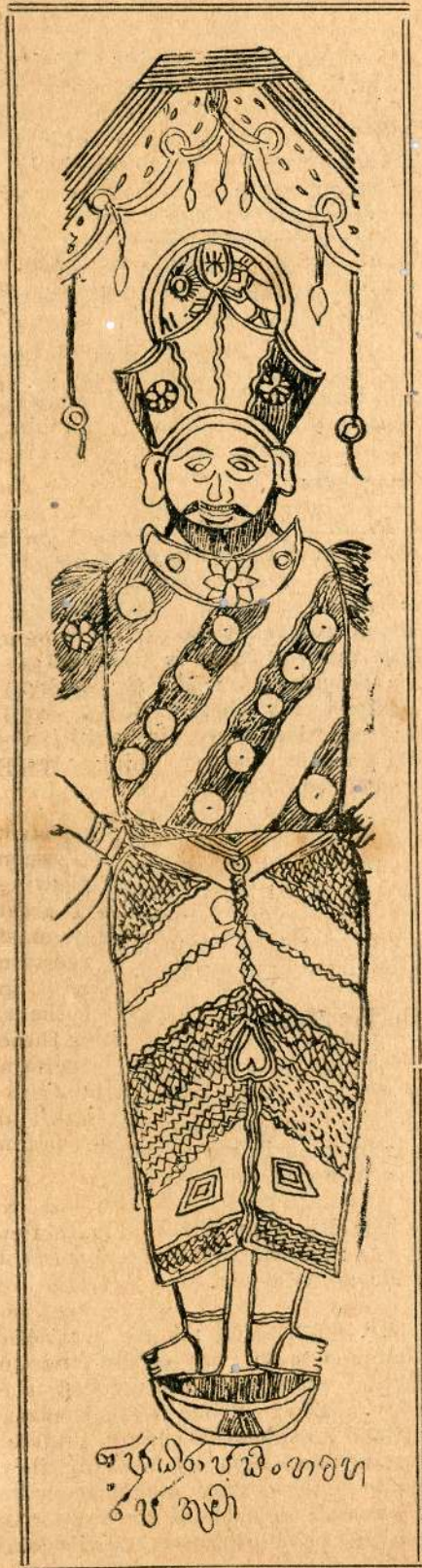
As early as May 15, *Tribune* warned its readers that INDO-CEYLON RIFT MUST BE STOPPED and suggested that ALL PARTIES DISCUSSIONS ALONE CAN SAVE THE SITUATION.

On that occasion, *Tribune* stated: "the danger of a rift between India and Ceylon is daily growing greater. Already there is a great deal of tension. And what is most unfortunate is that a certain foreign agency, interested in 'saving' Asians in spite of themselves, is busy accentuating these differences and inciting certain immature and irresponsible Ceylonese political circles to resort to more and more provocative action against India.

"Apart from doing their best to commit Ceylon to a foreign policy diametrically opposed to that of India, these interested parties are endeavouring to exploit the so-called "Indian" problem to further their own ends. Their activities in high places have reduced the anaemic, badly drafted and inconclusive Nehru-Kotelawala Agreement to a dangerous farce and they are even seeking to utilise some of its ill-considered provisions to widen the gulf between India and Ceylon."

Continued on page 15

# RAJADHIRAJASINGHA



With kind permission of the Director of Ceylon Museums

On this page is reproduced a copy of an "etching" on ola leaf of a stylised drawing of the poet King of Kandy who reigned from 1780 to 1798. He was the only Nayakkar King beloved by all ranks of the people. It is said that he was not only popular among the Kandyans but also among the low-country people. Even the Dutch are said to have had a great deal of respect for him. Furthermore, during the eighteen years he ruled the kingdom, Christians, Muslims, Hindus and Buddhists lived in peace and great amity.

### Princely Appearance

According to Hue Boyd, King Rajadhirajasingha was a rather well built big person with a striking princely appearance. Dark and imposing, he was an acutely intelligent man with a broad and progressive outlook for his age and times.

Boyd compares him to Henry the Eighth of England. Rajadhirajasingha had five wives but no children.

He came to Ceylon as a boy of 14 years with his brother Kirthisri who accompanied Sri Wijaya's queen. Rajadhirajasingha had his education like a high-born up-country Sinhalese nobleman of his day.

### ADVOCACY

"Tribune" is reliably informed that the Crown Counsels' Department, which is part of the Attorney-General's Department, has taken the necessary steps to acquire a copy of a book entitled **ADVOCACY, ITS PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICE** by Mr. Soonavala. It is a weighty book with a forward by the Chief Justice of Bombay, Mr. M. C. Chagla.

The view is held in legal circles that the step to procure this book is a timely move in the right direction.

His best friend and fellow poet was Moratota Dhammarakkhita Mahanayake Thero of Malwatte Chapter. He composed in Sinhalese a popular poem called *Asadisa-dakava*.

### Patron

In his court, Rajadhirajasingha gathered around him practically all the poets and writers of the day. He encouraged contemporary poets like Mahatheras Tibbotuwawe, Hibatikumbure Sumangala, Karatota Dhammarama and Attaragama Pajagurubandara, Pattayame Lekama, Matara Disanayake, Katuwane Muhandram Dunuwila and Gajanayake Munkotuwe Rala.

Rajadhirajasingha was also a patron of artists. More than anybody else he was responsible for making possible the murals at Degaldoruwa which may be said to be among the finest specimens of Kandyan art.

One of Rajadhirajasingha's stanzas speaks of his devotion and friendship to his friend Moratota Dhammarakkhita.

*Amaraguru harana sata  
dat pinawan*

*Witara nowana guna nana  
sapiri nawan*

*Pawara namati moratotayati  
manawan*

*Sasara wasanaturu mata  
wasanawan*

A free rendering into English would run somewhat as follows: I pray that I may have as a companion in future rebirths that agreeable and noble monk Moratota, who is well versed in literature like the teacher of the Devas, who is meritorious and who is full of wisdom and good conduct like Avalokitheswara Bosat.

Undoubtedly, Rajadhirajasingha was one of noteworthy kings in the last line of Kandyan Kings.

L. T. P. MANJUSRI

# BRIBERY—DIRECT AND INDIRECT

[ Extract from a speech by Mr. Pieter Keuneman in the House of Representatives on August 5, 1954 ].

The last point I want to deal with, is the question of corruption in the police. The Bribery Act today is being operated by a sub-department of the police under the aegis of the Attorney-General. But it will be generally conceded that one of the departments which needs a thorough overhaul in the matter of bribery and corruption is the Police Department itself. I am not referring merely to the question of people giving a rupee or two to a policeman for doing something or for not doing something. A much more subtle and insidious form of corruption than that exists in the police force. I am sorry to say that. I do not say that every one of the officers is guilty of this.

## Intimidation

Since the passing of the Bribery Act, there has been some reduction in the incidence of people giving monetary gratifications to the Police. I myself brought a case to the notice of the Police Department of a certain officer who was illegally trying to make money out of people who had made representations to the Police. I was very pleased indeed to see that the matter was taken up and that the officer was dealt with, but unfortunately the people whom I persuaded to give evidence in this matter and whose evidence was subsequently accepted have been subjected to continuous police intimidation and terrorism on the part of some of the friends of the officer concerned. I am sorry to have to say that. But this is not the sort of conduct which will encourage people to give evidence. It is not terrorism or intimidation of the type where people are thrashed or beaten.

## Harassed

I know for a fact that, in this matter, the person who was giving evidence came to me in a state of great alarm on the day before the inquiry and told me that he had been seen by certain

fairly high-up police officers and that threats had been issued to him that if he repeated what he had originally said before the person making the inquiry there would be very dire consequences to him indeed. He was extremely nervous about the consequences of giving evidence.

I told him that it is his duty to give this evidence. He gave the evidence and after that he has been harassed. All of us break laws. There are a hundred and one pettifogging laws in this country which nobody takes any notice of. Even if you forget to put the lid on your dustbin, you break the law. This is one of the ways in which the police can harass you. Unfortunately, the fears that this person who gave evidence had come true. This is not a matter which will help anybody in the detection of corruption.

## Contacts

The other form of corruption I want to deal with is the need for senior police officers and those in charge of the police force examining not merely cases where a policeman receives a rupee or two as a form of gratification, but the whole social contacts of the police themselves.

In my own constituency there is a certain set of people—I am not going to mention names; I do not want to mention names in this House—with whom certain police officers are constantly consorting. There is a man who is running one of these so called "social clubs". He is an I. R. C. I know personally that he has been convicted twice. The place is also well known to be an illicit booth, but certain police officers are to be found regularly chatting and hanging about this billiard saloon at all hours.

## Intimate

Allegations have been made to me by responsible people who have

seen these officers having drinks there. None of these acts constitutes a bribe because there is no law which says that a police officer cannot have a drink with somebody or cannot sit in somebody else's house and have a chat. But when certain police officers are continuously being found in very questionable establishments and maintaining social connections of a fairly intimate nature with people who are convicted criminals and are breaking the law, it becomes necessary to find out why suitable action against these people is not taken.

*In this particular case, everybody round about the place thinks that the reason why no action is taken against this person whom everybody knows is running an illicit booth is because of his friendship with the police.* I cannot say whether it is true or not but there is sufficient evidence for me to think that what is complained of is possibly true. If people think that the police will not take action against a person because they gain certain advantages from him, then it speaks very poorly for the confidence that the people in that area have in the police.

## Bucket Shops

In the same way there is the question of the bucket-shops. Also in my constituency there is a person who is very well known for running bucket-shops.

The Rt. Hon. Sir J. KOTELAWALA: The worst things happen in your constituency.

MR. KEUNEMAN: A good part of Colombo is in my constituency. Even now we are in my constituency. The Prime Minister's official residence is in my constituency; and that is one of the worst places in my constituency! I am talking only of matters of which I have personal knowledge.

Continued on page 14

# HOW WASHINGTON CRUSHED

## GUATEMALA

By

ELMER BENDINER

On Sunday morning, June 27, this was the situation in Guatemala. The invaders who nine days earlier crossed the border from Honduras were still scarcely more than 16 miles inside the country. Col. Castillo Armas, who, in fast-moving communiques had advanced himself to general and then to Provisional President, was bogged down in the mud of the rainy season.

A move to capture the key port of Puerto Barrios from the sea had failed. There had been no reports of garrison revolts, and the Army had said it would not be necessary to call up the reserves because the regulars were more than adequate. Behind the regulars armed farmers patrolled the highways.

Diplomatically, Guatemala was gaining. She had scored in UN. Demonstrations had been gathering force throughout Latin America. The Chilean and Uruguayan Congresses had voted resolutions backing Guatemala. Peron, who in recent months had been edging closer to the U. S., pulled back as Argentine trade union syndicates rallied behind Guatemala and against U. S. imperialism.

### The Planes Came

The tide seemed to be clearly running in Guatemala's favour on Sunday morning. But though it was then unknown outside the country, the dead were piling up in the streets of Zacaya, Gualan, Chiquimula. While reporters covering the war at Castillo Armas' invasion headquarters called it "bloodless" and "comic-opera," Guatemala for 20 days had been in agony.

Waves of U. S.-made P-47 Thunderbolts had swept in from Honduras over towns which Washington had deprived of means to defend themselves. Guatemala's mountains were ramparts that could hold back Castillo Armas, but they could not stop the planes. The irregulars rallying behind the army were useless in the face of air assault.

A few anti-aircraft batteries guarded some installations. The

rest of the land lay open. The invaders' radio threatened heavier bombardment of the capital. (Though Thunderbolts are obsolete in terms of modern warfare their bombs and bullets are as deadly as they were in World War II when no defense exists.)

### Washington's Terms

At noon on June 27, Foreign Minister Guillermo Toriello telephoned U. S. Ambassador Peurifoy and asked him to come to the National Palace, already riddled by strafing attacks. According to Scripps-Howard reporter Charles T. Lucey, Toriello then told the Ambassador that he, Peurifoy, could stop the war in 15 minutes. Toriello suggested that an anti-communist military junta might take over, but he warned that if the universally-hated Castillo Armas were placed in power there would be no stopping the bloodshed.

The Ambassador laid down as a condition: a cleanup—which seemed a polite term for a bloodletting.

### A Clean Sweep

In the early afternoon the U. S. Ambassador's telephone rang again. Col. Enrique Diaz, chief of Guatemala's armed forces, invited him to his house. A purely military man with personal loyalty to Col. (President) Arbenz but no discernible political conviction. Diaz asked if Peurifoy would approve if the Army took over, eliminated Communists from government offices (they held only minor ones), and outlawed the Labour Party (Communists). Making clear his reason for capitulation, Diaz said:

"Bodies lie in the streets and the buzzards feast on them."

The Ambassador of the U. S., which had disclaimed all respon-

sibility for the invasion, laid down the terms of surrender. Lucey reported:

"Mr. Peurifoy said merely getting them (Communists) out of the government would not be enough. The ambassador said that merely abolishing the leftist parties (presumably all political parties supported the government) isn't always the answer."

Diaz asked the Ambassador whether Col. Arbenz could remain as President. "Mr. Peurifoy said he thought if there were to be a change it should be a clean sweep."

### Not Enough

At 9 p.m. President Arbenz broadcast over the government radio:

"In truth those who unleashed the aggression are the United Fruit Co. and other American monopolies which have invested capital in Latin America, aided by Guatemalan exiles. The are using communism as a pretext.....but the truth is to be found elsewhere.....To return peace to Guatemala I have determined to leave the power in the hands of Col. Carlos Enrique Diaz, Chief of the armed forces of the republic.....I will go on fighting for the liberty of my country and for democracy. Cost what it might, I would fight to the end. But that cost does not include the destruction of our country. And that would have to occur if we kept on fighting."

Diaz then offered to continue the fight, clearly mindful of Toriello's warning that should Castillo Armas come to power the bloodshed would not end. The Labour Party was abolished but there were no mass arrests. The U. S. said it found the Diaz accession to power "reassuring" but let it be known that it was not quite enough. Arbenz and his family meanwhile had sought refuge in the Argentine Embassy.

### Good Offices

Within hours after his accession to office, Diaz agreed to share his

Continued on page 12



Notes From  
New Delhi

THE DANGERS INHERENT IN INTERLOCKED  
INTERNATIONAL MILITARY AGREEMENTS  
ARE GREAT . . . . .

# NEHRU ON WORLD

## AFFAIRS

The sudden interest in authors George Orwell and Albert Schweitzer reflected in the Indian Capital a somewhat comical shallowness among the so called intellectuals. The Animal Farm? No; they did not seem to remember the book. Where and when did Schweitzer remark that he felt out of tune with the spirit of the age; that he did not fit in with what people were thinking or writing, that something seemed to have gone wrong and people in the main seemed to have lost the habit of thinking; that people reacted emotionally or otherwise as they always did, but previously life was such that perhaps one had more leisure or opportunity to think?

### Blank

The assembled journalists to whom Jawharlal Nehru was speaking over a luncheon were looking at each other as the Prime Minister said that these remarks of Albert Schweitzer found some answering echo in his mind as he dealt with the day-to-day occurrences in foreign affairs. The guest speaker almost drew blank; his listeners' faces did not for a second betray that they had heard of the book that was being referred to. George Orwell's theories of "double-thinking" and "double-talking" were quite understandable but, no, very few read Orwell. In the Capital people mostly read either sleek American news magazines or dime "shockers."

The listeners lipped their lips and took satisfaction when author Jawharlal Nehru rescued them from their discomfiture reminiscing that he remembered reading somewhere that Erasmus, a very great thinker of his time, had a library of only 50 books. Now one read hundreds and thousands of books but having read them forgot them.

The luncheon brought some share Nehruian remarks about SEATO and NATO and the like. These bids to form groups by Western powers were "double talking" on the part of Western leaders,

### Double-Talk

"No country wanted aggression against itself or against its friends and it was but right that they should be against aggression" said Nehru "yet the steps they took in the name of preventing aggression themselves encouraged aggression—an instance of DOUBLE-THINKING and DOUBLE-TALKING."

What is this SEATO business? What did it mean to Asia? "Asian problems, Asian security and Asian peace are not only discussed but actions are taken and treaties are made in regard to them chiefly by non-Asian countries. No doubt they are interested—now a days they have every right to be—but I am pointing out the oddity of all this." Nehru was beginning to think loudly.

Hinting at the American system of "interlocking in business" which he said was bad enough, Nehru was very much disturbed in the international interlocking. His arguments ran thus:

In this kind of interlocking process one group of nations is committed to certain objectives right or wrong. Among those objectives naturally one which is to give each other aid and sustenance in case of necessity. Some of those in this first group are attached to another group, where also the question of giving each other aid and sustenance arises.

There are some in this group who are connected with a third group, and within the third group are some who are connected with a fourth. Supposing one member of the third or fourth group gets into trouble, the second and first groups are also drawn in and the result is a curious interlocking in the international affairs.

Interlocking in business is bad enough but it seems to me to be infinitely worse in international affairs, because you do not quite know where you are.

### Insecurity

The Prime Minister was speaking absolutely extempore. His entire speech was loud-thinking. It deserves to be wholly incorporated in the text books of political science. What he said of colonialism is remarkably thoughtful. For instance:

"Because of these new series of alliances and interlocking arrangements, the people who live in colonies and who are dominated have to deal not with one colonial Power but this mighty concourse of Powers who all say, 'No, you must not do this or at the most have this.' Of course, they also say, 'Yes, we are in sympathy with you. When you are prepared for it, you will no doubt achieve self-government—that is what is said, I believe, in the SEATO document—but meanwhile all the pressure of these various Powers falls upon them and prevents that progress towards self-government which the UN Charter laid down.

"So all this becomes very confusing. Where exactly are we? What are we aiming at? One has to be careful in not getting lost or losing one's thinking because some words and phrases have been chanted out."

Continued on page 12

# MORE ABOUT SUGAR

In my notes last week, I pointed out that whilst the avowed objective of the Food Department in the matter of sugar purchases was to obtain supplies at the lowest prices, in practice the tender system operated by government officials lent itself to certain abuses which entail loss to Government.

An example of this difficulty can be illustrated from the sugar tender which closed on August 31, 1954. In terms of notice No. 4, "quotations" closed at 12 noon of August 31.

## Speculative

No information was posted up, as is done in other places and in other countries, as to who was the successful tenderer was, but on enquiries it became known that a Bombay firm had tendered at the rate of \$ 82/95 and that the order had been placed with this firm. In the light of what has subsequently happened, it is important to point out that the world price of sugar was at this time between \$ 85 to \$ 88, and it is believed that the really big firms capable of making delivery quoted prices in that range.

The Food Department, tempted by the bait of \$ 82/95 a ton, which was nothing but a speculative price, placed the order with an unknown firm (through a broker in Bombay). It is believed that this firm whose tender was accepted had never before tendered for sugar. In any case, it would be interesting to know whether the Food Department checked on of bank credentials this firm before the order was placed.

To continue with the story, the offer of \$ 82/95 was accepted by the Ceylon Food Department and confirmed by this firm said to be in New York. But neither a performance bond or delivery are said to have materialised. In fact, this firm was given about ten days to execute the performance bond. But it did not establish the bond. The fact of the matter is that this firm, after obtaining the order of the Ceylon Government, must have attempted to locate supplies at the contract price, and failing to do that, defaulted.

By

Our Commercial Correspondent

## Another Firm

Thereafter, it is said, the Food Department accepted the offer of another firm, (not one of the big firms capable of making delivery), which had quoted a price slightly higher than the \$ 82/95. The history of this firm nor its standing is yet known, and the question must again be asked whether the Food Department took the trouble to check the credentials of this firm,

However, though the offer of this firm was accepted about ten days ago, up to the time of writing these notes (21/9/54), it is not known whether this firm has established a Performance Bond. Over a week's time has been given to this firm to establish the bond—thereby encouraging speculative horse-trading on an international level backed by a firm order from the Ceylon Government.

*In the meantime, the world price level of sugar has now moved up (floods in India, etc) and the price today is in the region of \$ 89 to \$ 90. This is perhaps the reason why the first firm defaulted and the reason for the delay in the establishment of a bond by the second. Unless the second firm can locate supplies purchased at the low prices quoted, it would not be able to fulfil the contract, except at a loss.*

## Loss

If the second firm also defaults, the Government would lose all the money it has spent in cables and the like in dealing with these two firms, and finally purchase its supplies at prices higher than what was prevailing on August 31.

I refer to the details of these transactions only to emphasise that the Food Department should have a registered list of sugar tenderers consisting of firms capable of making delivery. Tenders of firms unknown in commercial circles at speculative prices must be avoided at all costs.

Further, the Food Department at present calls for "quotations". This is not very satisfactory. What they should call for are "firm offers", firm for 24 or 36 hours from the time the tenders close, and acceptance of which by the Food Department should mean the automatic clinching of the contract. Thereafter, the performance bond must be established (except in special case by prior arrangement with banks) within 48 hours. Only in this way can one prevent the Food Department being taken for a ride by speculators making speculative offers.

If one investigates the number of times the Food Department has been taken in by these speculative offers of unknown firms, one wonders whether this Department has deliberately set itself against learning from its mistakes. It must be stressed that to the Food Department is available the excellent service of the FAO which supplies information of practically on every change in the price levels of world food supplies. It is the easiest thing with this information to eliminate speculative prices and to find out the lowest workable quotation from suppliers capable of making delivery. The world market for food is in a highly competitive state, and the big suppliers compete fiercely with each other. In this situation, the Food Department has no excuse for bungling.

## WONDERFUL PREDICTIONS.



Definite and accurate answers on any 5 questions on your future sent along with a free forecast for 1954 and '55 Fees Rs. 2/8/- by M.O or P.O or V.P. for Rs. 3/- Send date of birth.

**JAYA SEKCHAR, B.A.**

Modern Astrologer,

Kodambakkam - Madras, 24.

# Comment

## BUDDHA JAYANTHI

### The Buddha Jayanthi

is undoubtedly is a major event for Buddhists all over the world, and in Ceylon too Buddhists have been and are looking forward to celebrating this in a fitting way in 1956. More than this, all persons who have respect for the Buddhist religion, and these number many more millions throughout the world than those who actually practice the religion, recognise and appreciate the significance of this great historic occasion. In fact, except perhaps for a handful of intolerant bigots and die-hards among those who profess other religions and faiths, practically everybody else in this island will hail the Buddha Jayanthi as an event of tremendous importance.

It is one thing to welcome the celebration of the Buddha Jayanthi and to do everything in one's power to see it a success, but it is another matter to make Ceylon a theocratic state with the Buddhist religion as the State religion. It is not necessary to recount how this island is composed of persons of several religious faiths and that the constitution of this country has been based on the principles of a secular state. But, more than this, the very religious tolerance, which is the central tenet of the philosophy of The Buddha, enjoins upon its followers the necessity to accord to all other religions, toleration and understanding.

It is, therefore, gratifying to note that the Government has decided not to organise the Buddha Jayanthi celebration as a State Function. The communique on this matter issued by the Information Office on September 16 is therefore something which must be welcomed as an affirmation of the principle that Ceylon is a secular State. Unfortunately, however, no sooner this communique was issued certain Ministers of Cabinet rank had taken upon themselves the task of questioning the announce-

ment of the Information Officer. They assert that the State must organise the Buddha Jayanthi. What is even more disquieting is that even the Information Officer's communique is not clear whether the Government intends to be neutral in the celebration of this function in every sense of the word. To vote money from the revenue for the celebration of an event, significant to persons of one religious faith, for a purely religious purpose, will militate against the Government being a secular one.

It will be unwise, nay even dangerous, to make the celebration of the Buddha Jayanthi a controversial matter. It is, therefore, to be hoped that not only will the Government take steps to prevent controversy by making it clear that the State will not participate in the organisation of the Jayanthi celebrations or vote money directly for the expenses, but that leading Buddhists, of the clergy as well as the laity, will take upon themselves the task of organising the celebrations as well as raising the funds for it. There can be no doubt that an appeal for funds will receive the whole-hearted support of not merely Buddhists but also persons of all other religious persuasions.

At this juncture, when the country is being menaced by the communism of certain political die-hards it will be a calamity to add religious acrimony and rancour to the problems crying aloud for solution.

### Intervention

On the international level too, this country, like all other countries in Asia is confronted with serious difficulties. The recent pact concluded at Manila by the SEATO powers makes things more complicated than ever. Walter Lippmann, a noted U. S. commentator on international affairs, has described the SEATO as a "new venture". After stating that older

### A SECULAR STATE

### LEGALISED INTERVENTION

treaties like NATO, ANZUS and even the U. N. CHARTER only provided for military aggression and attack, Lippmann declares that SEATO "is the first formal instrument in modern times which is designed to license international intervention in internal affairs."

In the course of this article, which has appeared in full in the *Madras Hindu* and short extracts from which have appeared in the local press, Walter Lippmann further emphasises that "The Manila Treaty is designed to establish under certain conditions a legal basis for international intervention inside a threatened country". What he means by "threatened" is also made clear when he states that the U. S. fears that "much of South East Asia might by internal revolution be carried into the Chinese sphere of influence." For this reason, he insists that the "new treaty opens up the possibility of legalised and licensed intervention in internal affairs."

What it amounts to is this. It is not open aggression by China which is feared; but it would seem that the purpose of SEATO is to prevent even by open intervention the existence of governments friendly to Peoples' China. SEATO is not merely directed against communists and communism, but all those who believe in peace in Asia and in co-existence with Red China. In other words, what U. S. and the SEATO powers want are governments in South-East Asia subservient to the old colonial powers from the West. This is the neo-colonialism, with interlocked international agreements to safeguard old world power, of which Nehru has recently been speaking and to which reference has been made by our correspondent from New Delhi on another page of this issue.

In these circumstances, it is difficult to understand why the Premier, Sir John Kotelawala, is still toying with the idea of "participating" in the SEATO. Ceylon cannot reduce itself to the position of countries like Pakistan, Thailand and the Philippines, which are today no more than the abject vassals of Western Colonial Powers masquerading under a new garb.



- VULGARITY . . . . . CONSISTENCY
- OIL SWINDLE . . . . . DISGRACE
- CROWE . . . . . PONNAMBALAM

# BROTHER JUSTIN

I have never been an admirer of Senator Justin Kotelawala as a politician. My complaint is that he has no politics at all, and that not having a proper knowledge of modern politics, he should have stuck to what he knew. Business seems to be in his line, and at least he seems to have had the acumen to have kept out of the companies floated by entrepreneurs like Emil Savundranayagam.

There are a great many persons in politics in Ceylon who should not be in the political firmament, and one cannot therefore take a very unreasonable view of Mr. Justin Kotelawala's incursions into politics. It is the system that makes it possible for gentlemen like him to be in politics at all which is to be blame.

But that is a question which does not seem to bother Lake House. What seems to upset it is that any person, particularly a politician, should criticise the journalistic methods of Lake House.

## Misreported

In the *affaire la Justin*, it would appear that Lake House have good reason to say that they had correctly reported Senator Kotelawala and their position is unassailable when they state that the proper thing for the Senator to have done was to have sent in a correction which they declare they would have "readily published with equal or commensurate prominence."

But the matter does not end here. Simply because the Senator gave vent to his feelings against journalists in general and the Lake House in particular, this self-styled defender of the National Press of Ceylon resorted to the technique of the market place to admonish the Senator. One would have to strain

to discover, in the yellowest of yellow papers anywhere in the world, statements like the following which appeared as the editorial comments of Lake House publications:

"A couple of days ago, when the Senator's sense of frustration proved too much for him, and he gave a demonstration which nearly stole the show from the baboon at the zoo, whose star turn is to put his tongue out at his public and generally display the manners of a particularly badly brought up example of the simian cousin of the human race....."

Or

"...politicians like Senator Kotelawala whose intellectual ability has so far been conspicuous only by its absence....."

Or again

"Instead of complaining that he has been misreported in the Press, Senator Kotelawala should have thanked his stars that he is ever reported at all, considering the customary vacuousness of his oratorical contributions in the Senate....."

I can quote innumerable instances where Lake House has misreported, distorted, blacked-out and suppressed statements by politicians and others. I know that corrections sent in by aggrieved persons have never been "readily published with equal or commensurate prominence."

And this makes it all the more un-understandable why Lake House should have taken up such high ground in respect of Senator's complaint.

## Vulgarity

Even if the complaint was a little unreasonable and the Senator

tor's remedy undemocratic, it was no cause to have attacked the Senator in the language and manner Lake House has done. To put it mildly, it was vulgar.

The Senator's complaint and his remedy of gagging reporters arose from his concept of politics (or the lack of it). Lake House was entitled to criticise him on a *political level* about his complaint and his suggested remedy. But to attribute motives that his complaint was due to the fact that he did not receive the publicity his brother receives and to describe him as a performing baboon and a nit-wit has done more damage to Lake House than to the worthy Senator.

One would not think that the biggest newspaper combine with long journalistic traditions would ever resort to cheap vulgarity to meet criticism.

## Consistency

One would, moreover, expect that such a big newspaper combine would at least have the virtue of being consistent in its attitudes.

If Lake House so strongly objects to the behaviour of Senator Kotelawala that it is constrained to call him a *baboon*, there have been a very large number of other instances in recent weeks in the House of Representatives and elsewhere when responsible politicians have behaved far worse than Senator Kotelawala has done, and this great defender of the National Press of Ceylon has been silent. Nay, it has even supported the buffoonery of some of these gentlemen with vigour and warmth.

Lake House has also thought it fit to draw attention in one of its

Continued on page 10

# BROTHER JUSTIN

Continued from page 9

attacks on Senator Kotelawala that he was a Director of a Shipping Company and that this fact had made the Premier, his brother, postpone discussion of the Bill. The way Lake House drew attention had a sting in it. What I, and I am sure many others, would like to know is why Lake House is not able to work up the same amount of indignation to criticise swindles and other misdemeanours that stare everybody in the face.

Lake House should be aware (and probably is) of many terrific rackets in state institutions and other places, but why is it silent? Must an innuendo be put upon a directorship of a shipping company simply because Lake House has been criticised? What about the whole host of directorships that cry aloud for exposure in the public interest?

This is not a sermon. Nor is it any of my business to tell Lake House what its methods, policies and attitudes should be. But it is in the public interest to draw attention to unbecoming and vulgar journalistic methods of attacking a person who dared to criticise the great and mighty Lake House!

## Oil Swindle

Lake House has up to date not uttered one word about the oil

swindle which has made Ceylon's name stink in the world. The Managing Director of Ceylon Tours, Mr. P. A. Ediriweera, who has just returned from a trip abroad, did well to publicly demand that if there was any truth in the oil swindle, stern action should be taken to bring the guilty to book.

Lake House, as much as anybody else in the knowledgeable circles, know the facts about this swindle. The swindle can be established from public documents. Then, why is Lake House silent? Is Lake House silent because the aggrieved party is a business house in Red China? Or does it feel that making public the facts about this scandal would injure certain business combines which control a great deal of advertising? I do not know the answers to these questions, but the biggest newspaper combine in this country cannot turn a blind eye to a matter which has brought international disgrace to Ceylon.

And, if the authorities take no action, the disgrace would be even greater.

## Ambassador Crowe

The *Times* spotlighted Ambassador Crowe's visit to Afghanistan. It must be remembered that Ambassador Crowe was in the American Intelligence and F.B.I. (sometimes called Strategic Services abroad) all his working life (except for a short spell as a newspaper reporter). Ceylon was his first "diplomatic" assignment.

Since his arrival, he has flown to the Maldives; he has gone to Nepal (and shortly after that there was a political hullaballo there); he has gone lassoing horses in Delft Island in the North of Ceylon (and shortly after that there was a news item that Kayts was to be made a "naval base"); he has gone "shooting" into less known parts of Ceylon with his camera (we do not yet know what for); and now he has gone to Afghanistan (may be, there will be revolt there against the Government which has accepted "aid" from the Soviets and is friendly to India).

Since Ambassador Crowe's arrival in Ceylon, the Free Asia Com-

mittee has extended its activities and work. It has spent openly over 9 lakhs of rupees, but one does not know how much it has spent "underground." Even Lake House has become alarmed at the activities of this Committee. Is the Free Asia Committee working towards a "Guatemala" in Ceylon? It must be remembered that SEATO has legalised intervention in the affairs of Asian countries, and if some group which arrogates to itself the title of "lawful government" invites the Manila Powers to come into Ceylon, massive interference will be possible.

How soon will the Free Asia Committee be in a position to set up a "lawful government" in Ceylon? This is perhaps the most serious danger facing Ceylon today. Something must be done soon if Ceylon is not to become another Latin American colony.

## G. G. Ponnambalam

Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam made his long awaited policy statement last week. It would seem that he is opposed to the Government of Sir John Kotelawala. For one thing, Sir John threw him out after having invited him to join the Cabinet. Secondly, Mr. Ponnambalam has discovered that the Government has developed nascent fascist tendencies. The minorities are being harassed even more than before. His solution is a conference of the "Tamil Speaking Peoples of Ceylon." Undoubtedly this is the old, fifty-fifty in a new garb.

Mr. Ponnambalam, however, took the opportunity to swear allegiance afresh to the late Mr. D. S. Senanayake and ex Premier Mr. Dudley Senanayake. They were Premiers about whom one could not complain, declared Mr. Ponnambalam. He, however, forgot that he had made the same accusations against Mr. D. S. Senanayake, which he is now making against Sir John, from the year 1936 to the 1948, when he joined the Cabinet.

Communalism is a dangerous game, but Mr. Ponnambalam seems determined to play it.

## GURU SANJEEVY PILLS:-

Sovereign remedy for all kinds of fevers, cough, indigestion etc. Excellent remedy for all complaints of children, and a boon for the old. Very much appreciated by H. H. Sree Swamy Sivanandaji Maharaj of Rishikesh, Maharajah of Jeypore and other eminent personalities.

Packet of 25 pills ... 0-8-0

Bottle of 100 pills ... 1-8-0

Postage Extra.

Rao Saheb M. Appalarasiah,  
Assistant Engineer, P.W.D. (Retd.)

Maharanipeta r. O.  
VISAKHAPATNAM 2.

# BEVAN ON CO-EXISTENCE

It is not necessary to spend time on formal greetings. Our presence is itself sufficient to show our support for the Chinese people's revolution. As Mr. Attlee had already said the Labour movement's reaction to the Chinese revolution followed the example it set after the First World War when it rallied to the support of the Russian revolution. It follows naturally that the struggle of the British workers in their own country against the forces of capitalism causes them to sympathise immediately with the struggles of the workers in other countries.

## Living Reality

That struggle takes various forms because it is fought under different historical conditions. These conditions do not determine the ultimate objectives of Socialism but they do influence the ways in which they are achieved and also the pace of change. There is no universal recipe for social progress. If there were our task would be easy. There are two elements always present in every political situation, the character of the goals we set ourselves and the framework of tradition inside which they must be pursued. If we fight for our objectives without regard to the national and traditional inheritance then we are in danger of cutting ourselves off from the attitude of the masses whose representatives we are. Socialism is, therefore, never solely a statement of abstract principles but a living reality which seeks to find its vitality in the actual conditions of struggle.

I say this because there is a disposition in some quarters to judge the European situation by Asian standards, as there is also a tendency for Europeans to be judged by the circumstances which prevail in Asia and elsewhere. Only by the study of the concrete circumstances in each case can we form a reliable opinion. If the formulation of socialist strategy is allowed to freeze into a rigid dogma then it will lack relevance to immediate and local necessities.

*Last week we published Mr. Attlee's speech at a State Reception in Peking on August 18, 1954. We publish below Mr. Bevan's speech on the same occasion.*

## Asia

For instance, the conditions of many European countries differ in two important respects from those which have prevailed and which still prevail in Asia. In the first place most European societies possess fully developed democratic constitutions. These offer the possibility of a more peaceful and orderly transformation of society. The diffusion of political power among the masses and the habit of accepting majority decisions through the medium of Parliaments converts the political franchise into a revolutionary instrument if it is used with vigour and determination. We are under no delusion about the resistance which will be offered by the forces of reaction when the people employ their political power for the attainment of socialism. But we regard it as infantile and sterile to dismiss political democracy as though it is not a political force in its own right. In the opinion of British Socialists it is this failure to recognise the challenging character of representative parliamentary institutions which has been responsible for much of the political sterility of people who regard themselves as revolutionary.

The second respect in which we differ from you and from many nations in your part of the world is that the struggles which you have waged are at the same time a struggle for national independence against imperialism. This has the effect of supercharging the social struggle with the emotions derived from national self-consciousness and the yearning for liberation. You are, therefore possessed of an emotional dynamic which is not present with us. It brings to the fight for Socialism

elements of the population which we cannot mobilise to the same degree. People who differ from you in many of your economic and social objectives are still prepared to work with you because you have offered and still offer the only means of liberating your country from foreign domination. This mobilises behind your struggle a sustained emotion which sharpens it, gives it a keener fighting edge and which therefore enables you to cut deeper and more quickly into the traditional forms of resistance.

## Understanding

It is this combination of national and social struggle which is the source of the main difference between us. If it is not understood then neither of us will be able to grasp the position of the other. It is responsible for the slower pace of our movement. At the same time it explains why we are exempt from many of the sacrifices which you have had to make. We hope that our visit and this discussion will enable us to understand each other's position better.

There is a possibility that one factor will arise with us which would immediately raise the political temperature in Europe and that is the threat of war. The consequences of war fought with modern weapons are so sinister for mankind everywhere that its prevention has now become the principal preoccupation of peoples. How to make progress and still keep the peace - this is the task of our generation. Peace cannot be based on stagnation. This is what the defenders of the old order cannot be brought to see. Collective security cannot be based on the social status quo. It must be possible for people to improve their lot without their efforts to do so being condemned as part of a plot to fasten a particular ideology on others. At the same time it must be recognised that modern war is no longer an opportunity for the emergence of

Continued on page 14

# How Washington Crushed Guatemala

Continued from page 5

power with two others in a three-man military junta, including the bitterly anti-Arbenz Col. Elfezn Monzon. Hours later Diaz was out and Monzon at the head of another junta was installed. (Diaz joined Arbenz and many of his administration leaders at the Argentine Embassy.)

Monzon showed no hesitation in meeting all surrender terms laid down by Peurifoy. The jails were quickly filled with those who had supported the government. The Labour Party's paper was suppressed, its headquarters seized. Under martial law farmers were ordered to surrender their arms within 24 hours under penalty of death. Over the country the hunt was on for the defenders of the late legally-elected government of Guatemala.

The steps won instant U. S. approval. The N. Y. Times (30/6/54) reported:

"Washington's willingness to use its good offices for a cease-fire in Guatemala reflected a general view here that the regime of Col. Monzon merited at least the benefit of the doubt with respect to his getting ahead with a housecleaning of Communists."

## The Fact-Finders

Through Ambassador Peurifoy in Guatemala and Asst. Secy. of State Henry F. Holland a "cease-fire" was arranged and a meeting set up between Cols. Monzon and Armas at El Salvador. It was understood that Armas would name the spot he wished to occupy in the new military junta to rule Guatemala.

For days the Inter-American Peace Committee had been waiting in Washington to take off for Guatemala on a "fact-finding" trip to probe Guatemala's charges of aggression. On Tuesday as Col. Monzon took over, the Peace Committee took off. The rest of the elaborate inter-American machinery, painstakingly rigged by the U. S. State Dept. to hang Guatemala, was being quickly dismantled.

## The People

The problem of dismantling democracy in Guatemala would be harder. It would be easy to repeal the

Agrarian Reform Law, difficult to make farmers give back the land; easy to disband the trade unions but harder to wipe out the memory of 10 years of unionism.

Guatemala is a country of mountain and forest. The farmers, unlikely to give up arms they were given in the last days of the fighting, could harry a dictator and defy even the Ambassador. Making the U. S. victory even more uneasy was the outraged anger of Latin Americans; every pro-U. S. government was already shaken. The assault on Guatemala had been meant as an object lesson to Latin Americans. It seemed more likely to be remembered as a battle cry.

## Nothing Can Stop It

In Europe, too, the U. S. had strained the bonds with its allies. The French and British press were bitter even before the final blow. *Le Monde* said editorially:

"This policy of force, from all evidence inspired by the U. S., has only a little time to run. An immense movement for independence is shaping up all over Latin America as throughout the colonial world under European rule. Nothing can stop it."

*Liberation* (Paris) said bluntly: "The aggressor is in Washington." The British Bevanite weekly *Tribune* called the Guatemala invasion.

".....one of the dirtiest pieces of counter-revolution ever perpetrated in the name of the free world."

The U. S. had weakened itself all over the world to gain perhaps nothing more than blood-bath and an unending guerrilla war in the mountains of Guatemala.

— *National Guardian*,  
New York 5/7/54.

## NEHRU ON WORLD AFFAIRS

Continued from page 6

Since Sir John in Ceylon is still "double-thinking" and "double-talking" about SEATO, it is advisable he read how the Indian Prime Minister argues about the SEATO. He said, "No one will doubt or will challenge the object of preventing aggression, of ensuring security and peace. But the point is whether the action taken does that or not. Does that bring in greater security? I do not think so. I think it increases insecurity in people's minds, and if people's minds, are excited, then their actions naturally are affected."

## Communist Invasion

This process of "double-talking" and "double-thinking," many in the Indian capital feel, are also the cause of Sir John's reasoning about South India's invasion of his island in case of Nehru's death. Many newspapers in India have rightly ignored Sir John's monstrous logic about this invasion but here is what the pro-Congress daily *HINDUSTAN STANDARD* (published simultaneously from Calcutta and Delhi) comments on the subject:

"Since Sir John Kotlawala cannot be presumed to have gone

off his senses he must be given the utmost credit for developing a lively imagination. It was an imaginative feat indeed on his part to visualise the death of "honest, honourable and lovable" Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru followed by South India going Communist and the Communist hordes therefrom invading and over-running Ceylon. It was, however, a very poor defence of the continuance of the existing British naval and air bases in Ceylon. Evidently Sir John's memory is not as strong as his imagination, for he forgot that even with all her bases intact in Asia, Britain during the last War could not defend most of her possessions. And even the imagination of Sir John failed at a crucial point in its adventure in the realm of possibilities. He did not visualise that the same process as might bring about the Sovietisation of South India might also occur in Ceylon even during his own lifetime, rendering unnecessary any Communist invasion from South India for the transformation of Ceylon so dreaded by the Prime Minister."

SHIBDAS BANERJI

September 12, 1954

# PUBLIC SERVANTS & DEFAMATION

THE Joint Select Committee on the Criminal Procedure Code Amendment Bill has opposed the proposal to make defamation of public servants a cognisable offence. We are glad that it has endorsed the widespread objection to the proposal as one which, if implemented, might become an instrument of harassment against the Press and might operate to prevent its discharging its duty of exposing abuses where public servants were involved. But the Joint Committee, instead of allowing matters to stand as they are, has thought fit to make certain suggestions for the amendment of the law. These, to our mind, are not only unnecessary but are calculated to fetter the free right of criticism. It proposes that a complaint of defamation, may be filed by the Public Prosecutor before a court of sessions with the prior consent of the aggrieved official; the court may thereon take cognisance of the complaint without the accused being committed to it for trial and try the case following the procedure prescribed for warrant

*This editorial from the Madras "Hindu" of September 8, 1954 has a great deal of significance for Ceylon.*

cases. The Committee's proposal seems to have been advanced as an improvement on the procedure suggested by the majority of the Press Commission. That procedure would permit of the complaint being laid before a District Magistrate by an official superior to the person defamed; thereupon would follow a magisterial inquiry or a departmental investigation to decide whether there was any truth in the allegation, before a process was issued in pursuance of the complaint.

The improvement made by the Joint Select Committee lies in the requirement that before the Public Prosecutor (not the departmental superior, as the Commission proposed) lays a complaint he should get the prior consent of the official aggrieved by the defamation. The Joint Committee's proposal, unlike

the Press Commission's keeps in mind the principle underlying Section 198 of the Cr. P. C., that is, that only the aggrieved person can set the law in motion where the offence complained of is an offence against the person. But it would sidestep another equally important safeguard for the accused in such cases, by dispensing with the existing requirement that the complainant should be examined on oath before the magistrate can take cognisance of an offence. It has been argued that public servants are averse to launching complaints against a traducer because a good deal of mud may be thrown at them in cross-examination and some of it is bound to stick. But that is an unpleasant experience to which the non-official who is a complainant in defamation cases is equally subject. There is no reason why special protection should be offered to officials alone in this respect, though, as the Press Commission points out, it might be worth examining what restraints if any should be laid on the right of cross-examination in all defamation cases in the interests of fairness.

We recognise that Government servants are not generally keen on taking action for defamation, because of the worry and the expense. It may be that some of them are deterred by the fear that it may have a boomerang effect. In either case, the public interest may suffer. The proper course for the Government to adopt when an official is attacked would therefore be to satisfy themselves whether there is a *prima facie* case for an action for defamation and its prosecution is called for in the public interest. If there is, they could require the official, even if he does not himself apply for permission, to file a complaint, and give him such financial help and other facilities as he might need to vindicate himself. More than that much of protection no official is entitled to, just because he is an official. And this protection can be given without in any way amending the existing law as it bears on defamation of public servants.



## INTRODUCE A FRIEND

Fill in the name and address  
of a friend or acquaintance on  
the form below, and send it.

To

# TRIBUNE

109 2/5, Dam Street, Colombo 12.

We shall be pleased to mail  
sample copies of the paper to  
him or her.

Name .....

Address .....

Sender .....

# BRIBERY-DIRECT AND INDIRECT

Continued from page 4

I am not going to talk about things of which I am not personally aware. I know personally that there is a person who is running a bucket-shop. People are going in and out of this bucket-shop and placing bets. There are friends of mine also who place their bets there.

The Rt. Hon. Sir J. KOTELAWALA : Do you?

Mr. KEUNEMAN : I do not bet. This is one bucket-shop of which I am aware and, if I did bet, I would certainly go and place my bets there. It is a well known bucket-shop.

## Police Bet

Police Officers also place their bets there. Not only constables and sergeants but also higher officers place their bets there. I have seen certain responsible senior officers sitting in this bucket-shop-keeper's house of an

evening having drinks with him and talking to him. When people see this, they know why no action is taken against this bucket-shop-keeper.

Why is it that bucket-shops can flourish in spite of the law? Can you blame people if they say that these law-breakers who are known to the police are not punished because the police patronize these places? I dare say that in a few cases a man is caught and fined Rs. 5 or Rs. 10. But this form of corruption does exist and it is a matter which should definitely be remedied.

## Unpaid Bills

I have another matter which has been brought to my notice. I have not been able to go into the matter but the allegation that was made is this. It is an allegation that I have not completely verified myself. There are certain people who deal in fish and at the same time also deal in certain other things forbidden by law. Allegations have been made to me by a fairly responsible person which I am now investigating. Every morning a certain leading police officer who supervises this particular area goes there and gets his fish and never pays the bill for it—

\*Mr. WILMOT A. PERERA : That is a common thing.

Mr. KEUNEMAN : The hon. Member here says that these are common occurrences. But I am only referring to matters of which I have personal knowledge. This particular officer get his fish from this place regularly and does not pay for it. Is that not a bribe? Very probably he is running up a bill. Of course, there is a similar inquiry taking place just now. I want to ask whether it is a question of the amounts that makes the difference? This is one example of potential corruption which is very serious in the Police. And I think, looking at the faces of hon. Members opposite, they know that this type of thing does take place.

## Sinister

If the right hon. Gentleman wants the Police to really understand the meaning of some of the

anti-bribery posters stuck up in every police station, he must not merely be satisfied with seeing that those who accept Rs. 2 or Rs. 5 are dealt with. He must also deal this more sinister social corruption that is now permeating the Police. It must be stamped out. I do hope he will see that it is done.

I know there are in the Police Department a number of very upright officers who will not tolerate such state of affairs. If they are used to stamp out this kind of thing there will be better relations between the police and the public.

## BEVAN ON CO-EXISTENCE

Continued from page 11

successful social revolution. Just as the industrial techniques of modern science make political helotry impracticable, so the techniques of modern war might condemn all of us to destruction. It must therefore be made possible for people to attain their legitimate national and social aspirations without war or the threat of war.

## Co-Existence

The acceptance of peaceful co-existence, is therefore, not only the condition for man's survival; it must also have a positive quality. To co-existence we must add cooperation including cultural, commercial and economic intercourse. We must base our policies not on the leadership of this or that nation, however powerful; but on the equality of all nations, great and small. Not on blocs of nations seeking to establish uniformity amongst themselves, but on diversity and mutual interplay of natural differences. Each national revolution stands on the shoulders of the previous one, learning from it but not necessarily imitating it in every respect. It is in that spirit we have visited your country. I am sure that it is in that spirit we shall leave it. We trust that the prospect before you is fairer than the one through which you have fought so long and so courageously, and that the people of China will harvest in peace the fruit of their sacrifices.

# TRIBUNE

CYLON NEWS REVIEW

Office:

109-2/5, Dam Street,  
COLOMBO 12.

## SUBSCRIPTION RATES

One Year .. Rs. 7.50  
Half Year .. Rs. 4.00

## Special Introductory Offer

2 Years .. Rs. 13.50  
1½ Years .. Rs. 10.50

Please make your cheques  
payable to "Manager, Tribune"

Rates for Foreign Countries  
on application.

# Settlement With Finality Imperative

Continued from page 2

## Negotiations

On that occasion *Tribune* demanded "that Government take immediate steps to resolve the difficulties with India by opening fresh negotiations." This paper also emphasised: "Ceylon cannot afford to quarrel with India, just as much as India too cannot do so. There is no need for such a quarrel. If the present U.N.P. group is unable to effect such a settlement, it should invite all others who can help to bring about a settlement to participate in such discussions. Ex-Premier Dudley Senanayake, Leader of the Opposition S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, Ceylon Indian leaders and the leaders of all the other political parties should be invited to help bring about settlement.

More complicated international problems have been solved at conference tables. This problem too can be solved."

## Dead Letter

Again in the issue of the *Tribune*, dated July 24th this Correspondent stated "that the Nehru Kotelawela Agreement, undoubtedly Mr. Desai's handiwork, has not solved any of the problems centring round the existence of the Ceylon Indian community..... Within six months of the signing of the Pact, all persons except Sir John and Mr. Desai, had come to the conclusion that the Agreement was a dead letter."

*The fact that Dudley Senanayake has now been constrained to de-*

*clare that the Delhi pact should be scrapped is only a reflection of what the country is feeling. This Pact has satisfied nobody. It has solved no problems. On the other hand, it has accentuated all the difficulties.*

One of the dangers spotlighted in that article by this Correspondent on July 24th was that "dissatisfaction among U.N.P. followers and adherents, arising from the fact that a large number of vital matters have been left vague and nebulous, has given rise to a most dangerous phenomenon in the form and shape of the Thri Sinhale Peramuna Movement."

## Thri Sinhale

Attention was also drawn that "it has been stated in Parliament that the American Embassy is encouraging this movement and that it is indirectly financing this campaign. The Americans could not have wished for a better opportunity. And it is tragic that this opportunity has been presented on a silver plate to the Americans by the impetuous and foolhardy diplomacy of the Indian High Commissioner in Ceylon."

Since these words were written the situation has deteriorated. Internationally, the Sinhale Peramuna Movement, secretly financed, it is alleged, by an American agency, has begun to spread its poison. Harsh and unnecessarily unjust measures are being adopted against the Indian settlers in Ceylon in an effort to resolve the frustration arising from attempt to enforce an unworkable pact.

All this is doing harm of the greatest magnitude to the amity and friendship that has so far prevailed amongst people who have Ceylon for a home.

Internationally, the situation is no better. SEATO threatens Asia. Legalised intervention in the internal affairs of Asiatic countries by the Western Powers is now a reality. In such a context, it would be suicidal for Ceylon to become estranged from countries like India and Inonesia.

## Settlement Imperative

The Nehru-Kotelawela Agreement should be given a burial without more ado. To attempt to patch it up will lead to greater difficulties and increased tension.

But the problem must be settled without delay. India, with SEATO threatenig Asia, must be as anxious as Ceylon herself to have this problem or the Indian settlers in this island resolved with the greatest possible expedition and this can be done at new Delhi when the Ceylon delegation go there next month.

## MYSTERY RUBBER

Continued from page 1

unpleasant probe and its consequences could be avoided if a few individuals (under four we said) are transferred from the Department. This has not yet been done.

*Tribune*, therefore, invites the officials at the Ministry to probe the transactions we now refer to as the MYSTERY RUBBER DEAL. The officials might also look into the question whether the rubber that the Commissioner sold at a low price and re-bought at a higher price (all the time knowing that the price was moving up shortly after the sale) ever left the stores of the Rubber Commissioner.

## White Ants

*Tribune* hopes that the documents have not yet been destroyed. It may be that white-ants from a rubber estate might be brought into the Department to feast upon certain pages of the books, but nevertheless if the officials look for transactions starting on or about 11/11/52 they will be rewarded. In the case of one shipper Contract No. 43 of 24/11/52 was the last one in regard to the MYSTERY RUBBER DEAL.

*Tribune* is not anxious to hold post-mortems about matters that took place two years ago, but since officialdom continues to remain apathetic and since action is essential in the public interest, this paper will supply further details about the MYSTERY RUBBER DEAL in future issues if the matter is not investigated.

## COMMUNITY

The International Magazine of Creative and Critical Writing on Current Affairs and the Arts, edited and published in Colombo.

Rs. 1/50 copy (Postage 12 cts)

Rs. 6-00 year (post free)

from 13, Macleod Road,  
Colombo 4.

# MANJUSRI

Our last week's appeal to our readers for subscribers has had a heartening response. Up the moment of going to press we have received over cheques and postal orders from thirty new subscribers.

Thirty may seem a small number, but we consider this a very good beginning. It needs a great deal of prodding for a person to sit down to write a cheque for a sum under Rs. 10. Our annual subscription is only Rs. 7.50, and it is because of the reluctance of persons to write such small cheques that we are offering the very special attractive rate of Rs. 13.50 and Rs. 10.50 as subscription rates for two years and 1½ years respectively. Our suspicions about persons, reluctance to write small cheques has been justified because a very large percentage of the new subscribers are two-year ones paying Rs. 13.50.

## Circulation

Once again, we wish to appeal to our readers to help us in this campaign of enrolling subscribers. On

another page we have published a form asking our readers to send in names of their friends or acquaintances so that we could send them a few specimen copies of the paper. We feel certain that our readers will assist us in this matter to help us extend our circulation and influence.

We have also received a number of letters this week about the Report we made to our readers last week. A reader from Nugegoda has written in to say that "about ten persons read the *Tribune* I buy. It is a pity that copies of this paper are not available in Nugegoda..." We have since remedied the situation and an agent has been appointed in Nugegoda.

Another reader, a government official, wrote in to say that his copy of the paper is read by three persons at his house, but "my neighbours borrow my copy and god knows how many read it when they take it."

It is no doubt encouraging to know that the paper is read by a larger number than the copies actually sold, but it will help in our circulation drive if readers will persuade friends and acquaintances to buy copies of *Tribune* and not borrow it.

## Manjusri

What we are more anxious to find out from our readers is the kind of articles and features they would like in the paper. It is difficult to discover what would interest the average reader in this country in a weekly paper. We can stop guessing if readers write in to us.

This week we have introduced a new feature. We have published a copy of a drawing "copied" from an old leaf manuscript in the Colombo Museum by the well-known artist Man usri together with a note from him about the Poet King Ra'adhira'asingha. We hope to publish more from him in the future. Manjusri is now one of the most regular writers in the Sinhalese Press about matters connected with art in this country, particularly art connected with the temples and by gone days.

## TRI SINHALE

"The Tri Sinhale Peramuna founded in Kandy would have it that the only legitimate citizenry are 'the descendants of every man woman and child who agreed finally on 2nd March 1815 to the sovereignty of the British King in place of the sovereignty of the local King, over Lanka.'" (Letter of Wijeratne Rambukwella". 'Senadhipathi' Tri Sinhala Peramuna, in C. D. N. 3.9.54). In other words the only true citizens are the descendants of those Kandyans who participated in the betrayal of their king: everybody else is a foreigner, and all our troubles are due to these foreigners.

"If foreigners are got rid of there'll be plenty of everything for the Sinhalese. If you don't believe this, it, only means you are not a true Sinhalese. If you are permitted to argue any further and you tell them there'll be precious little of anything if only Sinhalese lived in Tri Sinhala, you'll be one of those denationalized traitors who doesn't even know our history and the glorious prosperity we had under the Sinhalese Kings.

"The same reasoning underlies the more limited anti Indian demand to send away every Indian from Ceylon. How are we to work the estates and get the revenues from them and from all the ancillary transport, commerce, etc., connected with plantations? Pat, comes the answer: All those belong to capitalists. We'll close them all and have a pure race and the glorious prosperity we had without Indians and without capitalism in the days of the Sinhalese Kings. . . . .

"The anti-capitalist cry by Sinhalese feudalists originates in the Central Province. The avowed feudalists have come to life with the many unprincipled attacks on democracy, and on bad legal advice that the ending of British Rule puts them back at feudal 1815. Say they: We don't want Indians, we want Kandy for the Kandyans and all the rights and duties of the people that were in force in 1815 at the reign of the last King of Kandy.

Vernon Gunasekera

Ceylon Daily News, 8. 9. 54.

## SHERLOCK SPECIAL

Shortly after "Tribune" was on the newstands last week with the thrilling tale about MYSTERY RUBBER, Mr. J. L. D. Fernando, the Rubber Commissioner during the relevant dates, rushed to the Rubber Commissioner's Department and examined books. It must be mentioned that Mr. Fernando was at that time Rubber Commissioner in addition to his duties as Assistant Secretary to the Minister.

By examining the books, Mr. Ferrando has probably discovered a great deal of what he perhaps never knew. Among other things, Sherlock informs us, was the fact that these books have not been audited up to date. When they are, will the Audit surcharge the officer responsible for the delinquency which has entailed so much loss to Government?