

# TRIBUNE

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## OFFICIALS DISGRACE CEYLON HOW DELHI DELEGATION WAS LET DOWN

*The Ceylon Delegation to New Delhi consisting of the Prime Minister, senior members of the Cabinet, an ex-Premier and a would-be Premier was utterly and completely let down by the bungling and the stupidity of some of the officials who accompanied the delegation.*

Stupidity is a hard word, but there is no other word to describe the manner in which some officials had kept the Ceylon Prime Minister, his Cabinet colleagues and other members of the Delegation so much in the dark about certain matters that in the discussions that took place the Ceylon Delegation made bold to make certain statements which turned out to be incorrect and false.

If ever officials deserved to be summarily dealt with in the harshest manner, some of the officials responsible for the Ceylon Delegation's discomfiture and disgrace in New Delhi merit immediate punishment.

### Self-Confident

The story opens with a self-confident Ceylon Delegation making out a case against the activities of Mr. Desai, the Indian High Commissioner in Ceylon, and for the repatriation of a large section of the present Indian population in

the country. Sir John, the Premier, was generally silent, at the opening sessions. Mr. Dudley Senanayake set out a case with caution and restraint. Mr. Bandaranaike made an impassioned plea, it would appear, appealing to Mr. Nehru on near-sentimental lines to be "fair and just."

TRIBUNE is proud to publish the inside story of the recent talks in Delhi. From whispers and rumours of what had happened in the Indian capital, TRIBUNE realised that a great deal more than what official communiques and statements revealed had taken place. A SPECIAL INVESTIGATOR was put on the job of finding out the truth. His report together with some of the photostats that made history gives readers an account of all that happened in New Delhi in two historic days.

The star role in the opening sessions was reserved for Mr. V. Nalliah, Parliamentary Secretary. He seems to have taken upon himself the burden of unfolding the case of the Kandyans Sinhalese and of "telling" Nehru off about the misdeeds of his High Commissioner in particular and the Indians in Ceylon in general. It is not clear whether this role of chief accuser was cast upon him by the Delegation or whether he was so

moved by the plight of the Kandyan peasants (who are now being settled in Gal Oya near his constituency) that he nearly burst all the blood vessels in his frail system in his attempt to "rub" it into Nehru.

### Proud

Nalliah, the *de facto* chief spokesman of the Ceylon Delegation, at the end of the first session strutted along the corridors like a conquering hero who had vanquished the mighty Nehru. There was no doubt that the Ceylon Delegation was immensely proud of him.

Nehru, however, refused to succumb to the outpourings of Nalliah. The case, made out by this defender of Kandyan peasantry was that the Indian and Pakistani Act was being justly and equitably administered and that the so-called stateless were really persons who had no business to be in Ceylon. India, therefore, should withdraw them and reprimand Desai for having to refused to register all stateless persons as Indian nationals.

### Mr. Nadesan

When the Indian delegation attempted to point out that their information was that the Indian and Pakistani Act was not being fairly administered, the Ceylon Delegation to a man vociferously and

Continued on page 15



# Officials Disgrace Ceylon

Continued from page 1

vehemently insisted that such accusations were improper and incorrect. The allegations in Senator Nadesan's article in the *Times of Ceylon* permeated the entire atmosphere of the conference.

When the discussions reached an embarrassingly delicate stage, Mr. Nehru suggested an adjournment for the next day, on the basis that they would agree to disagree about the stateless and see whether there were any other matters where agreement would be possible.

The next day, Nalliah again stole the show in the morning sessions of the conference between the Ministers. He again laid it on thick. As the discussion tended to go round in circles, it was proposed the officials should meet in the afternoon and draw up a possible basis of agreement about other matters connected with the Nehru-Kotelawala Agreement. To this officials' Conference, two representatives of the Ceylon Democratic Congress were also invited.

## Gate-Crashing

This invitation to the Ceylon Democratic Congress was undoubtedly a successful climax to the gate-crashing they had done. Nobody in Delhi, not even the members of the Ceylon Delegation, seemed to mind this gate-crashing, because everybody admitted that it was really the fate of the members of the C.D.C. that was being discussed in Delhi. Moreover, the Ceylon Government Delegation could not very well object to Mr. Thondaman and his friends when they had themselves brought an official stowaway in the person of Colonel J. A. T. Perera, Legal Secretary of the Ceylon Estate Employers Federation. Mr. Perera also attended the Officials' Conference.

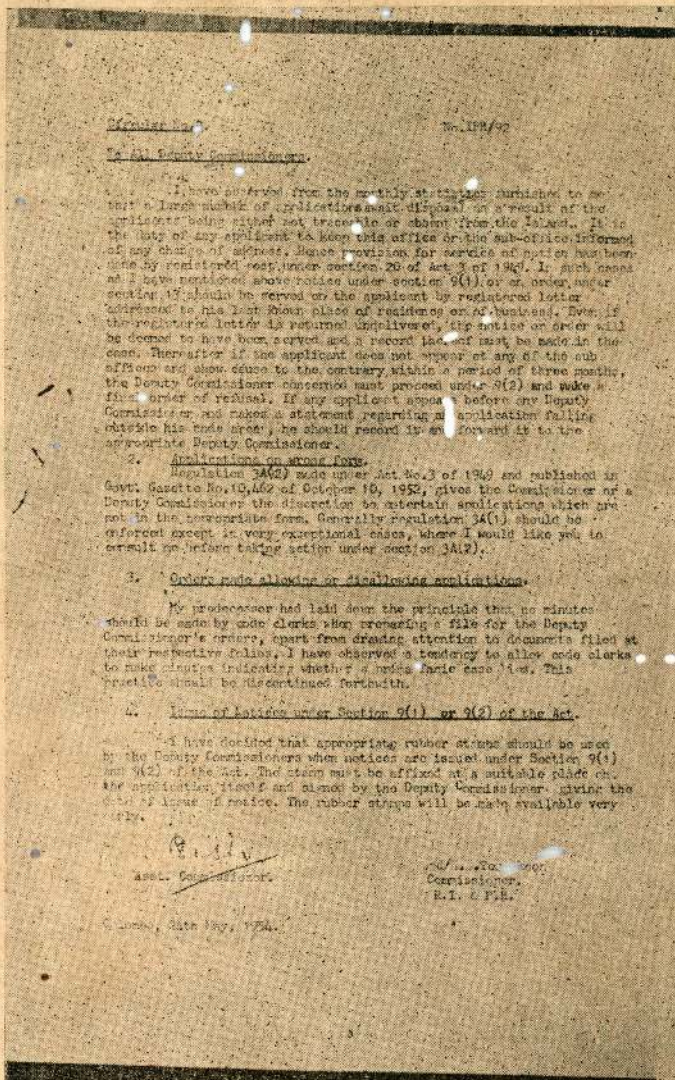
This Officials Conference turned out to be the most melodramatic affair. Mr. Dutt of the Indian External Affairs Ministry presided. The Indian delegation was headed by Mr. Desai. The Ceylon team, in addition to the officials, was strengthened by the presence of

official is one of the unsolved mysteries of the Delhi talks.) Mr. Thondaman and Mr. Aziz represented the Ceylon Democratic Congress. Colonel J. A. T. Perera, presumably watching the interests of the absentee proprietors of the plantations, did what he could to help the Ceylon Government team.

## Voluntarily

Opening the conference, Mr. Dutt is said to have stated that two major matters had to be resolved: first, the question of the Indian High Commissioner registering Ceylon Indians, who applied voluntarily, as Indian nationals, and secondly the difficulties in the administration of the Indian and Pakistani Act. He wanted to know which should be discussed first, and the Ceylon team elected to discuss the first question for a start.

Accusations were made against Mr. Desai. Documents were produced to show that Mr. Desai was refusing to register stateless and other persons on the indefensible ground that coercion was being used by the Ceylon Government to compel such persons to seek registration. The gallant Colonel J. A. T. Perera levelled heavy artillery against Mr. Desai. He quoted Mr. Singleton Salmon and referred to a number of matters to show what



photostat of a circular instructing deputy commissioners not to use "discretion" vested in them under a special amendment without reference to the commissioner

Mr. Nalliah. (How he, a Member of Parliament and a Parliamentary Secretary could be regarded as an

**LONDON LOAN**

**According to the LONDON TIMES report of Stock Exchange Dealings, the Ceylon 4% loan floated in March this year touched £ 101 on October 12, 1954. Since then, transactions have taken place over £ 101. On October 15, the rates ranged around 101 1/8 to 101 3/16.**

Continued on page 15



# A UNIVERSITY IN COLOMBO

The question of holding the superior service examinations and providing the necessary degree courses in Sinhalese and Tamil is one that I took the opportunity of studying in some detail before I wrote my rider to the Second Interim Report of the Official Languages Commission. When I was later consulted about the appointment of a Commission to inquire into that question, one of the many points I had occasion to examine was the scope of the Ceylon University. In regard to its obvious insufficiency for the national needs I wrote to the authorities as follows :-

"Our University is still unable to meet even half of the country's demand for higher education with the result that not only the external examinations of the London University but also the present practice of allowing the London graduates to take up our superior service examination will have to continue for many long years to come. For, there is bound to be widespread resentment if the Civil Service and other similar examinations were to be restricted to the Ceylon graduates alone. These circumstances, as a matter of course, will give rise to the necessity of asking the London University to change its external syllabus so as to suit our requirements a request which I have reason to believe will be considered with sympathy and understanding."

## External

With this contingency in view I suggested that the University of London should be adequately represented on the Higher Studies Commission. Since this suggestion of mine has not been accepted, and since the present Commission is hardly competent to discuss the external syllabus of London all by itself, it looks as if the Government has decided to give up the London examinations at an early date, possibly by the present opportunity itself. If such indeed has been the case, it must be considered as a step in the right direction, even though it so happens that nothing

*It is becoming painfully apparent that the University at Peradeniya is totally incapable of meeting all the Higher Education requirements of this country. We therefore commend the suggestion made by Mr. Julius de Lanerolle, Editor of the Sinhalese Dictionary, as early as March this year, for the earnest consideration of the public. Though the daily papers have mentioned at irregular intervals, the need for another University, non residential and with affiliated teaching colleges, to be sited in Colombo, it is unfortunate that the matter has not been given due consideration by the authorities. It is time that something is done.*

to that effect has been indicated in the terms of reference.

In any case, it has now become the responsibility of the Commission to recommend ways and means of satisfying the needs of those potentially eligible candidates who are weeded out every year by the Ceylon University and of those students who seek graduation through the external examinations of London.

## Two Alternatives

Two alternatives have been suggested: either to ask the Ceylon University to hold external examinations, or to appoint an independent body to conduct degree examinations. It would appear, however, that neither of these suggestions can be carried out successfully. For one thing the Ceylon University is already over-burdened with its numerous internal examinations, and it cannot possibly undertake to conduct external examinations also. As regards the other suggestion, any degree examinations held by a newly appointed syndicate, even if competent personnel could be found for it, can by no means be considered as satisfactory substitutes for what they are intended to replace.

*If I may be permitted to give my own view in regard to this matter, it is high time that a teaching University vested with affiliating powers was established in Colombo. It is one that could be brought into being without much expense and within a comparatively short period, say, of one or two years at most, if it were done somewhat on the same lines as the University of Poona was created by an Act passed in 1948.*

## Adjustment

According to the scheme I have in mind some of the collegiate schools in Colombo can be made the proposed new University's constituent colleges while some of those in outstations can be affiliated to it. The Medical and Engineering Faculties, forming part of the unitary University of Peradeniya but functioning in Colombo, can also be transferred to the new University, with the former Medical College and the Engineering (Technical) College as constituent colleges. The resources of these constituent colleges will be more than sufficient to provide all the necessary instruction for the first degree, while adequate post-graduate teaching too can be arranged by a few adjustments here and there.

The University of Poona, when it began to function in 1949, was not in possession of any buildings of its own, and designed by its own architect. But the former Governor's residence at Ganashkhind which was transferred to the University, was found to be quite good enough for its central offices and teaching departments, with adequate space for the construction of hostels, library and laboratories. In Colombo, too, the same facilities would be found, and similar procedure adopted, if only the Ceylon Turf Club could be persuaded to give its buildings and the grounds to the proposed Colombo University for a reasonable consideration.

Continued from page 10



# SABOTAGE

After the Industrial Products Act came on to the Statute Book, the Government has made certain attempts to help local industrialists and industries. The question that is being asked now in informed circles whether these attempts to help local industries are not just so much eye-wash behind which interested importers have continued to flourish at the expense of this country.

## Glass

The actions of the Industrial Products Regulations Board, which operates under the Act, in respect of local glass manufacturers is a case in point. In 1951, on 31st August 1951 to be exact, by notification in Government Gazette No. 10,288, certain types of chimneys and half-pint tumblers manufactured locally were declared under the Industrial Products Act as Regulated Products. The protection given was that imports were regulated on the basis that an importer or wholesaler had to buy one locally manufactured chimney to one imported chimney of the same variety and one locally made half pint tumbler to three imported tumblers of any variety.

At this time, the bulk of locally manufactured glass chimneys were produced at the Government Glass Factory and the major portion of the tumblers at the Swadeshi Industrial Works Ltd. factory. The protection extended by the Gazette notification of 31.8.51 was of great assistance to locally manufactured products and both the Government Factory and Swadeshi Industrials Works were able to increase production in a big way.

## Enterprise

The Swadeshi Industrial Works Ltd., in this situation, with commendable enterprise, took the opportunity of expanding their plant and started manufacturing most of the varieties of chimneys required by the country in addition to glass tumblers. This involved additional capital to the extent of over 1½ lakhs of rupees, and the

*SERENDIB in his column JUST BRIEFLY last week made a passing reference to the policies of the Industrial Products Regulation Board with particular mention about glassware. Our Commercial Correspondent has followed this up with a probe into the activities of the Board in respect of this matter. Further revelations and comments about the activities of the Board will follow in coming weeks.*

plant was modernised by the installation of American machinery of an up-to-date nature. Swadeshis also imported a semi-automatic glass tumbler blowing machine at a cost of Rs 75,000/- to enable them to meet the demand for chimneys as well as glass tumblers.

Then, in 1952, owing to bureaucratic bungling and gross official inefficiency (amounting to corruption), the Government Glass Factory closed down. Even the protection extended to its products were unable to help it to overcome its defects (which could easily have been remedied with a careful selection of staff and systematic planning).

## Revision

Sometime after the Government Glass Factory closed down, by Gazette Notification No. 10,450 of 19.9.52 the protection afforded to locally manufactured tumblers were drastically modified. By the amended "protection" the new ratio was made one locally-made half-pint tumbler to three imported half-pint tumblers.

This was nothing short of a quibble to help importers. By the earlier notification all varieties of glass tumblers were caught up, but the "amendment" confined itself to half-pint tumblers, thus inviting importers to evade the spirit of the Industrial Products Act.

Importers had only to import tumblers slightly smaller than half-pint or something bigger than half-pint to by-pass the protection. Customers do not insist on half-pint tumblers of exact measure, and importers therefore had the field all to themselves. Shortly after the notification of 19.9.52, the Colombo market was flooded with all varieties of tumblers of nondescript sizes (not half-pint by exact measure) from all parts of the world.

This indiscriminate flooding of the local market from countries which are prepared to "dump" their goods in order to capture markets has undoubtedly been a bitter blow to Swadeshi's. The sale of locally manufactured half-pint tumblers was choked off by the wholesalers and importers who depend for their profits on the indenting and importing of foreign goods.

## Representations

Strong representations, I understand, were made to the Industrial Products Regulation Board by the Swadeshi Industrial Works Ltd. To inquire into the representations the Board fixed a special meeting at which some of the Directors of Swadeshi's were called upon to state their case. But the strangest part was at this meeting representatives of importers were present by special invitation. One would have thought that importers would have been the last to have been called to this meeting.

If the Board needed special advise members of the public, the proverbial man-in-the-street, should have been invited to acquaint the Board with what he felt about imported tumblers and local tumblers as viewed from the national interests. The Board might have also invited information from the Controller of Exchange and Imports on the amount of foreign exchange being expended on the import of glass tumblers. Instead of all this, the Board (which has

Continued on page 15



# PINGLINGSSU TEMPLE

The Province of Kansu in Northwest China is sometimes known as the "Art Gallery Province," so famous is it for its many magnificent relics of ancient art. The world-famous Tunhuang grottoes are found at the western end of the Kansu Corridor, the narrow neck of the province leading west into Sinkiang. These hundreds of Buddhist rock chapels contain some of the most beautiful mural paintings and sculptures in China.

## Buddhist

And now another treasure house of art has been found. A new series of Buddhist rock chapels—the earliest about 1,500 years old—have been brought to light in the Lesser Chishih Mountains in Yungehing County, north of the Yellow River, about 120 kilometres southwest of Lanchow.

Here in the Hinglingssu Temple, as it is now called, are more than four hundred stone sculptures or carvings in high or low relief and many ancient murals in rich colour. They match in beauty those of the Tunhuang caves. From the time when they were first built down to the Ching Dynasty (A. D. 1644-1911) these chapels served as a place of worship and prayer. In the troubled times in which the Ching Dynasty ended, in the succeeding era of warlord wars, Kuomintang reaction and Japanese invasion, the temples fell into great disrepair, and knowledge of them became little more than a legend. Only since the people have become masters of their own country, have been restored to living knowledge and their great cultural value brought to light.

## Re-Discovered

The grottoes were re-discovered in October 1951. Attention was first drawn to them by intellectual circles in Kansu Province. Then an expedition composed of artists and archaeologists was formed under the auspices of the Ministry of Cultural Affairs to thoroughly explore them and start the work of scientific preservation and rest-

oration. It was headed by Chao Wang-yun, Director of the Bureau of Social and Cultural Affairs of the Northwest Cultural Affairs Department, assisted by Wu Tso-jen, Dean of the Central Academy of Fine Arts, and Chang Shu-hung, Director of the Institute for Research on the Tunhuang Relics. The expedition arrived at Pinglingssu in September last.

Although Yungehing County, where the grottoes are located, was an important traffic centre in ancient times just off the Silk Route connecting China with the



standing buddhas-tang dynasty (niche 51)

West, it is now almost a hermitage. The roads leading to the grottoes have all but disappeared. After crossing the Yellow River, the expedition rode up the mountains on horseback. Then the mountain paths became too narrow and steep for riding, and they finished the journey on foot. Finally they reached the levels where the cliffside is honeycombed with 124 grottoes or shrines. A rock-carved Buddha of great height dominates the site.

## Rock Chapel

The temple has two "stories": the upper temple has only two caves worthy of note. Two kilometres away and connected to

it by a narrow path is the lower temple which was a flourishing religious centre during the Northern Wei (A. D. 386-534) and Tang (A. D. 618-907) Dynasties. From an examination of the remains around the grottoes and an ancient painting of the Pinglingssu Temple discovered by the team, it can be presumed that once there were magnificent buildings here. But these structures have all been destroyed by man and time.

When members of the team finally climbed up to the grottoes, they came upon an inscription on the precipice over one dated the second year of the Yenchang Period, Northern Wei Dynasty, i. e., A. D. 513. This, however, is probably not the earliest rock chapel here, as annals of the Tang Dynasty record grottoes built here as early as A. D. 265.

In some of the chapels built in the Tang Dynasty, the expedition discovered stone tablets with small carved characters and many other signs showing the flourishing state of Buddhism at that time. The ruling class of the Tang Dynasty were devout believers in Buddhism. Aspiring for rebirth in the Western Land (an imaginary kingdom of eternal bliss), they built splendid monasteries and grottoes here. Grottoes of the Sung Dynasty (A. D. 960-1279) have not yet been found, though grottoes and stone tablets of the Ming Dynasty (A. D. 1368-1644) and restored Sung and Ming Dynasty murals have been discovered.

## Unique Sculptures

Chief artistic treasures of the caves are the sculptures, which occupy a unique place in the Buddhist art of China. The beautiful stone images of Bodhisattvas and devotees chiselled during the Northern Wei Dynasty display to an exceptional degree the characteristic qualities of Northern Wei sculpture—their strength and charm, accuracy of details, combined with vitality in the treatment

Continued on page 14



# THE ELEPHANT and the Man

*The president of the African Union in Kenya, one of the leaders of the national movement, Jomo Kenyatta, studied in England, travelled in France and Germany and lived 17 years in Europe. He was dragged before the court by British colonial authorities and imprisoned. In this fable he gives an excellent description of relations between the colonial people and their oppressors.*

Once upon a time an elephant made friends with a man. One day a violent thunderstorm started. The elephant went to his friend who owned a small hut at the fringe of a wood said to him: "My dear, good man, please allow me to put my trunk into your hut, to protect it from this violent downpour."

When the man saw the situation of the elephant, he said: "My dear elephant, my hut is small, but there is space in it for me and your trunk too. But please put your trunk in very carefully!"

The elephant thanked his friend and said: "You have done me good, and some day I will return this goodness."

But what happened? When the elephant put his trunk into the hut, it was slowly followed by his head and finally he threw the man out into the rain and said: "My dear good friend, your skin is thicker than mine, and as there is not enough space for both of us, you can very well stand in the rain, while I protect my delicate skin from the hail-storm."

When the man saw what his friend had done to him, he muttered. The animals from the nearby forest heard him and came to see what had happened. They all stood in a circle and listened to the quarrel between the man and his friend the elephant. In this upheaval, the lion came along and roared: "Don't you all know that I am the king of the jungle? How dare you to disturb the peace of my empire?"

When the elephant, one of the high dignitaries of the jungle, heard this, he answered in a calming voice: "Your Majesty, I only had a small discussion with my friend here about the possession of this

little hut in which I live." The lion, who wanted peace and quiet in his kingdom, answered in a noble voice: "I order my ministers to set up a commission of inquiry which will examine this affair and give a full account of it." Then he turned to the man and said: "You did well in making friendship with my people, especially with the elephant, who is one of my ministers of state. Don't scold anymore, because this hut is not lost to you. Wait for the meeting of the commission of my kingdom, and you will have the chance to state your case. I am sure, you will be satisfied with the decision of the commission."

The man was only too happy about the gracious words of the king of the jungle and waited for the inquiry, in the belief, that his hut would be returned to him.

The elephant obeyed his masters order and together with the other ministers formed a commission.

The following people were appointed to sit on the commission: Mr. Rhinoceros, Mr. Buffalo, Mr. Aligator, his honour Mr. Fox as chairman and Mr. Leopard as secretary. When the man saw the list of persons, he protested and asked whether it were not necessary to accept in this commission some members from his side. But he was told that this was impossible, because there was nobody from his side educated enough, to understand the complicated laws of the jungle. Besides, there was nothing to be afraid of, because the members of the commission were all very well-known for their impartiality and justice. Because they were masters, ordered by God to take care of the interests of the races, who are less well equipped with teeth and claws, he could be sure

that they would examine the affair carefully and impartially.

The elephant was called first. He approached with a haughty face, he had cleaned his tusks on a small tree given to him by Mrs. Elephant, and he said in a confident voice: "Gentlemen of the jungle, I don't see any necessity to waste your time in telling you a story, which, I think, is well-known to all of you. I considered it always my duty, to take care of the interests of my friends and that obviously brought about a misunderstanding between me and my friend here. He asked me to protect his hut from being carried away by the storm. As the storm had entered the hut because of an unoccupied room there, I considered it also in the interest of my friend, to turn this disused room to economic use, by occupying it myself, a duty, which each of you under the same circumstances would have gladly fulfilled".

After the commission had heard Mr. Elephant's final report, Mr. Hyena and other influential people were called and all of them confirmed what Mr. Elephant had said. Then they called the man, who now started to give his account of the quarrel. But the commission interrupted abruptly and said: "Dear man, limit yourself to the essential points. We have heard the state of affairs already from several impartial sources. All we want to hear from you is whether the disused room in your hut had been occupied by somebody before the elephant occupied it?"

The man started: "No, but"—then the commission declared it had heard enough statements from both sides and retired for consultation. After an excellent meal at

Continued on page 12



JAFFNA, OCT. 19

The Minister of Justice, Mr. E. B. Wikramanayake hit back at one of the Buddhist Commissioners, Mr. P. de S. Kularatne and other Buddhist leaders, in the course of an address at a dinner given by the Rotary Club, Jaffna, on Monday night.

Recalling a statement of Mr. Kularatne's that the Minister of Justice was attempting to deprive Buddhists of their legal rights by "legal quibbling," Mr. Wikramanayake said: "It is amazing that a person of Mr. Kularatne's intelligence should say such a stupid thing. It seems to me that Buddhist leaders need to cultivate a sense of humour. If they do, they will realise how ridiculous they are making themselves in the eyes of the world.

"Buddhists have no greater rights than anybody else in this country. Everybody—Buddhist, Hindu, Muslim or Christian—has the same rights" Mr. Wikramanayake stressed.

### So Funny

"It is excruciatingly funny that Buddhists who protest so vehemently against Christians proselytising should raise a million rupees to proselytise Germans who are capable of looking after themselves," he said.

Mr. Wikramanayake referred to the outburst of violence over the construction of a church in Kalutara in a predominantly Buddhist area "Buddhists who protest so violently even to a point of violence when Christians wish to build a church in a Buddhist area, have themselves no hesitation in wanting to build a vihare in London where the number of Buddhists could be counted on the fingers of one hand."

Mr. Wikramanayake said that the Prime Minister would have said the same had he been present. "He and I think alike in these matters" he said.

— From Ceylon Observer.

## Overdue

# Challenge of Mobsters

By Our Political Correspondent

*One of the most refreshing political statements in recent times is the one made by Mr. E. B. Wikramanayake, the Minister of Justice, at the Rotary Club Dinner in Jaffna this week. For sometime in the recent past, politicians and other gentlemen who seem to have a supreme capacity of getting headlines in certain sections of the daily press have been deluging the country with statements to make out that this island was a Buddhist country where only one religion and one language should prevail.*

These statements did not merely stop at praising the Buddhist religion or demanding that Sinhalese be the sole State language. They went further and decried other religions and denounced other languages. By such demagogic statements, on which a great deal of unnecessary attention was focussed by sections of the daily press, mass hysteria of the most dangerous character was being engendered.

### Virulent

So virulent had this campaign become that at times one felt that the Government of this country, composed of peoples of different religions, and races, and speaking different languages, was far too often being blackmailed by this perverted propaganda of a few tub-thumping jingos.

Mr. Wikramanayake's statement, an *Observer* version of which is reproduced on this page, is perhaps the first responsible declaration of a senior Minister to tell the religio-racial mobsters where they should draw the line. A statement like this was long overdue, and the fact that Mr. Wikramanayake has taken the initiative in this matter is a matter for congratulation.

### Challenge

Mr. Wikramanayake's statement in Jaffna is undoubtedly his first

major political declaration. It is a challenge to all those who have been at pains to reduce this island to the position of sole property of a few religio-racial husksters.

Mr. Wikramanayake in his speech went on to add with emphasis that the Prime Minister agreed with what he had stated. This is again a matter for praise. If Sir John Kotelawela will pull his weight to bring sanity to all those who now seemed to be dazed by a pseudo-religious fervour of recent origin, he would have done a great deal towards making this island a truly democratic state.

Sir John Kotelawela's triumphal progress in Jaffna, in spite of the mock heroics of unending garlands (including a King-Emperor's crown), has been distinguished by statements to the effect that he would fight communalism and take early steps to make Sinhalese and Tamil state languages, on an equal basis, and thus ensure a healthy democratic tradition in Ceylon.

### Assurances

The assurances he has given that this island belongs to all communities, Sinhalese, Tamil, Muslim Ceylon Indian, Burgher and all others who have made this country their home and are prepared to work for its betterment, has not come a day too late. The recent decision of the Government to organise the Buddha Jayanthi had created a great deal of misgiving in the country, and but for Sir John's statements a most dangerous situation would have arisen.

Sir John can, however, remove the suspicions in the minds of certain persons that the Jaffna speeches were meant for local (Jaffna) consumption, only by taking early steps to put them into practice. Nevertheless, Sir John must be congratulated for having made these statements at all.



- NEW DELHI DEBACLE
- UNSCRUPULOUS OFFICIALS

# Comment

## SIR JOHN KOTELAWELA

**No Prime Minister** could have been worse served by his officials than Sir John Kotelawela was at New Delhi during the recent talks. The report by a Special Investigator, which we have published in this issue, throws light on the way in which discussions developed and the manner in which the Ceylon Delegation was placed in a false position owing to the action and activities of some officials entrusted with responsible work.

The question whether the Commissioner of Indian and Pakistani Registration was correct in issuing "instructions" to quasi-judicial officials like his Deputy Commissioners is a matter that needs looking into, just as much as the question whether some of the "instructions" violated the spirit of the Indian and Pakistani Act itself must be investigated. But what is relevant at this moment is the fact that it has now transpired that the Commissioner for Indian and Pakistani Registration had issued a series of vital "instructions" of which the Prime Minister, the Minister of Justice, nor a single member of Ministerial team were even aware of.

Undoubtedly, the head of a Department need not keep the Cabinet informed of every executive act he resorts to in the discharge of his duties, but in this instance it was a duty cast upon Mr. Tennekoon, at least before the Delhi discussions, to have informed the Prime Minister and the Delegation of all he had done and that was being done in the administration of the Indian and Pakistani Act. This duty, Mr. Tennekoon has failed to discharge with disastrous consequences. It would appear from the trend of discussions that the Ceylon Delegation had built up a case on premises that turned out to be false and incorrect.

One cannot guess how the Ceylon Delegation decided to accept these premises, but it was only Mr. Tennekoon who could have appraised the Ceylon Delegation of the correct facts. On the other hand he was caught out denying that he had ever issued certain circulars. Ceylon could have suffered no greater disgrace than to have had officials who either were ignorant or for some strange reason were reluctant to admit certain realities. And when this is publicly exposed at a diplomatic conference between two countries, it is time the Prime Minister and his Government did something about these officials.

### Scapegoats

It has been reported that Commissioner Tennekoon, since his return, instead of hiding his face in shame and penitence, is busy trying to discover how photostats of "secret and confidential" circulars issued to over twenty Deputy Commissioners suddenly turned up in New Delhi to create sensation and history. Mr. Tennekoon is again barking up the wrong tree.

The fact that he had issued these instructions and even kept the Prime Minister and his colleagues in the dark about them is a worse crime than the "leakage" of these circulars. Truth, like murder, will out and Mr. Tennekoon should, instead of trying to discover scapegoats for his discomfiture and undoing, search his heart and conscience to find out if all that he has done has been fair and correct. Above all, he must consider whether he has been fair to the Prime Minister of this country.

And the Prime Minister must seriously consider what he should do with officials like Mr. Tennekoon. We have had occasion in the past to point out that the greatest handicap that Sir John suffers as Prime Minister is the fact that

has advisers who let him down heavily.

The events in New Delhi illustrate this more forcefully than anything else in recent times. Many of the matters of which we have been critical of Sir John may really have been the result of bad advice and information from his officials. But newspapers will not be able to discover this unless dramatic exposures such as the one in New Delhi occur. We would therefore urge that Sir John spend a little time to "purge" himself of all such advisers and officials.

### Integrity

There is no doubt that Sir John showed that he was a man of determined integrity in agreeing in New Delhi to "withdraw" the restrictive circulars issued by his officials without his knowledge and consent. The same kind of courage he showed in the Indian capital, he has after his return displayed in Jaffna in ample measure with his assurances about the position of the national minorities and religious groups in this island. The rare determination, moreover, he has shown in the matter of Mr. N. U. Jayawardene, about which we will say more next week, merits praise even from the most hardened of Sir John's critics.

It is perhaps a legacy from our colonial past for officials to think that they should really "run" the country. It is time that this dangerous fallacy is given a final burial. By spotlighting the misdeeds of such officials, as *Tribune* has been doing and will continue to do, this paper seeks to draw the attention of Government to a deplorable state of affairs. It is in this spirit that we have published the report by our Special Investigator on the New Delhi talks and we trust that Sir John will not hesitate to take appropriate action against all officials who let Ceylon down in India.



**JUST BRIEFLY**  
*by*  
**SERENDIB**

- AIR CEYLON . . . . . KING EMPEROR
- PRIESTS . . . . . APOLOGY
- RUBBER COMMISSIONER . . . . . PRESS

# THE JAFFNA MAN

The sorry spectacle of the squabble between Mr. P. Nadesan and Mr. J. L. M. Fernando about the future of Air Ceylon Regional Services reminds me of debates in the days of my callow youth at school. And probably a great many others will also recall verbal bouts at school where one scored by describing one's opponents in language intended to create excitement and by countering every argument with another argument whether it was relevant or not.

In the ex-Director of Aviation and the present boss of Air Ceylon cannot restrain themselves and insist on a public washing of dirty linen, it only means that there is a great deal more in the affairs of Air Ceylon than meets the eye. The recent discovery of unauthorised gold bars in an Air Ceylon plane together with allegations that have been made in the *Trine* adds a measure of mystery.

The only thing that can be suggested in the circumstances is a Commission of Inquiry. Undoubtedly, the country is plagued with commissions, but there is no help. If something is wrong, there must be a commission. Sir John declared sometime ago that he had appointed more commissions than anybody else. One more commission—one to inquire into the affairs of Air Ceylon—will only add to his fame.

## Jaffna

One cannot think of Sir John at the moment without thinking of Jaffna. He seems to have taken the place by storm. Or has the shrewd Jaffna man allowed himself to be taken by storm?

What makes me a little suspicious of my co-citizens from the North is that they have been overdoing the garlands and the like a little too much. But I suppose

they are entitled to approach Sir John's heart in the manner they think most appropriate.

Judging from Sir John's reactions, it is apparent that he has been won over completely by the Jaffna man. The crowning act at Delft seemed a little farcical, particularly when the Crown was made up in Kandyan style. But in the back and beyond of a little island a little playacting must not be taken too seriously. And Sir John evidently got into the spirit of the whole drama.

But nothing was more funny than to see our old friend Sir Kanthiah (Castor) Vaithianathan acting as *muttu* in a horse carriage ridden by Sir John. Chavakachcheri Kumaraswamy had evidently been knocking spots off Sir Kanthiah in the matter of wiping the dust off Sir John's feet and the noble knight must have wanted to put one over Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam's political heir (according to *Ceylon Observer*) where handling horses was concerned.

But the real hero of Sir John's visit to Jaffna, from all accounts reaching me, is Mr. Mailvaganam Srikantha, Government Agent. It was really he, according to my informants, who "persuaded" Jaffna to great Sir John as saviour. Mr. Srikantha is a gentleman whose future is well worth betting on. From what I have heard of him, he is not the kind who will resort to the Vaithianathan technique in wooing Sir John or the Prime Minister whoever he may be. Srikantha will not act, but he will find an acceptable one.

## Priests

A great deal has been said about the behaviour of a section of the "young priests" during the in-

auguration of the Buddha Jayanthi at Independence Hall on October 12. I, for one, am totally opposed, like the Member for Matugama, Mr. Wilmot Perera, to Government participation in the Jayanthi celebrations.

And equally improper was the conduct of these protesting priests. If they did not know any other way of registering protests, then something is vitally wrong with not only the state of Buddhism in Ceylon. The million rupees which some Buddhist evangelists want to spend in Germany might be better utilised in Ceylon in an endeavour to teach priests on how they should behave and to convince young people that "crime does not pay."

## Apology

I am told that a member of the Cabinet recently caused his lawyers to write to a newspaper concern that unless a full and unconditional apology was tendered, he would sue the paper for damages for Rs. 50,000.

I understand that negotiations are now going on the basis that such an apology would constitute the settlement.

If and when such an apology does appear, readers will know the parties concerned; if no apology is forthcoming, the plaint will be filed for a claim of Rs. 50,000.

## Rubber Commissioner

Mr. Jinadasa, the Rubber Commissioner, returned a few days ago and one of the first matters that was brought to his notice was the *Tribune* exposure about the MYSTERY RUBBER DEAL.

Continued on page 10



# THE JAFFNA MAN

Continued from page 9

It would appear that Mr. Jinadasa was and is more concerned as to how the "leak" took place. He has resorted to a novel technique into blackmailing his subordinates into silence. He had declared, it seems, that a person whom he thinks is the editor of *Tribune* was at the University with him, and that he lived in the same hostel too; and that therefore he could ferret out from the alleged editor the information as regards the persons or persons who had supplied the information to this paper.

With this threat Mr. Jinadasa, it would seem, hopes that there would be no further "leaks". What he does not seem to realise is that no newspaper editor ever reveals the source of his information regarding the MYSTERY RUBBER DEAL is not from within Mr. Jinadasa's department. What about persons who were there in 1952? And what about gentlemen in the two firms alleged to be in the racket?

But Mr. Jinadasa will do well to investigate the MYSTERY RUBBER DEAL and take appropriate action. To attempt to turn Sherlock Holmes to discover how the truth "leaked" out would be futile.

## Morning Daily

I am now informed that the *Times of Ceylon* morning daily has been put off *sine die*. The reason for this decision seems to be connected with various financial implications of the venture. The *Times*, however, have announced that they are bringing out a *Times Junior*. Many of the leading papers in England have a *Junior* edition. A Paper for the young is undoubtedly a great necessity in Ceylon, and if the *Times Junior* can effectively take the place of the American comics now being read by school children, it would have achieved a great deal.

In the meantime, Lake House can perhaps breathe a little more freely now that competition has

been postponed. Will it mean that Lake House will start blacking out news it doesn't like until the *Times* decides on a morning daily again?

## Guardian

In the meantime, the *Guardian* has increased its size and is coming out more strongly reinforced by SQUAREWORDS. There is no doubt that SQUAREWORDS

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## I WENT TO ATLANTA

### AMERICAN NEGRO-SONG

I went to Atlanta  
Nebor been dere afo'.  
White folks eat de apple,  
Negro wait fo co'.  
Catch dat Southern,  
Grab that train,  
Won't come back no mo'.

I went to Charleston,  
Nebor been dere afo'.  
White folks sleep on feather bed,  
Negro on de flo'.  
Catch dat Southern.....

I went to Ralaigh,  
Nebor been bere afo'.  
White folks wear de fancy suit,  
Negro over-o'.  
Catch dat Southern.....

I went to Heben,  
Nebor been dere afo'.  
White folks sit in Lawd's place  
Chase Negro down below.  
Catch dat Southern.....

---

can make the *Guardian* group of papers a powerful competitor of Lake House in a short while, but the danger is that a great deal might to have subordinated to SQUAREWORDS.

Anyway, it is a good thing for the country that another one morning daily should develop in such a way as to offer strong competition to Lake House. Only such competition can minimise the evils of press monopoly which has affli-

cted this country right through the entire period of its recent political history.

It is time, however, the *Guardian* should evolve a policy which will give it character and a personality. At the moment it is neither fish nor fowl. But this may be part of the technique to woo advertisers. I can foresee an advertising-rate war in the near future. The *Guardian* group will undoubtedly attempt to break the present vicious ring in the advertising world by "under cutting" rates. And this will not be a bad thing in the public interest.

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## A UNIVERSITY IN COLOMBO

Continued from page 3

## Rivalry

When a teaching and affiliating University is established in Colombo there is bound to arise a healthy rivalry between it and the unitary and residential University at Peradeniya. This is a very desirable rivalry which cannot but be conducive to the welfare and development of both institutions.

The early establishment of some teaching institution on the lines outlined above is admittedly a matter of extremis necessity, especially because it is now a foregone conclusion that the University at Peradeniya admits of no further expansion. As a matter of fact, no Unitary and Residential University should hold more than, 2,500 students. This is the verdict of the University Education Commission of India (1948/1949)..

It is to be hoped that the Commission will give some serious thought to this problem, even though there is no direction given in the terms of reference to report as to how the candidates thrown out by the Ceylon University and the students seeking graduation through the external examinations of London can be accommodated.



# CHOCOLATES

"Well! I will get it for you"

"When? How long have you been telling me that you will get me a big packet of chocolates? When Auntie Magaline brought me a packet and that too a small one, Malli snatched it from me and ate the whole thing"

"Why do you want to deceive the small child...?" cried a voice from inside.

"What makes you think that I am deceiving the child?"

"What else is it? You know that you haven't brought a cent home for the last three months."

"As if I have never brought anything home before that... I know what you can bring... I will come out with it but for the child."

"You have brought for others but not for your own children. You have other people to entertain...."

"Will you say that again?"

So went on this wrangle which is the apportioned lot of many a family in that row of houses known for extreme destitution. But Jamis was not always like that. There was a time when he brought a few rupees home every day from being a waiter in a hotel. Those were the days when things were smooth. War was on...the tips were plenty and with a few rupees in one's pocket one could approach a girl in one of those rich houses where also there was plenty and the servants were idle for most part of the day and if you were persistent enough you could get one of them to a corner. It was in one of those ebullient moods that he had stood under cover of dark near the gate of one of those big houses and expected the prettiest of the girls to come out.

Of course Jamis did not expect it to be so serious as all that. She was all for settling down where as he only wanted a nice time. It

couldn't be however. The girl's will prevailed and he found himself drawn into marriage. He was half-hearted. He didn't know what it all meant. He expected that it would continue to be like what it was before marriage when she nestled against him and said some gentle things that touched him, that she will really be a mother to him, that he should give up his irregular ways. How much nicer it would be to come back to a home—that is your own home. And he thought there was some truth in what she said. There was one occasion of all that he remembered with shame. After taking drinks, he had with others done some awful things—well he wanted to be rid of all that. For after all Jamis was a sensitive young man, or at least his mother had told him while he was in the village that such things were all wrong. So with these things hammering at him he consented to marry the girl, the first girl he had something to do with in the decent way.

But the war had to come to an end and very soon after the war was over, the hotel where he was working had to close down for lack of customers. For such hotels thrived mostly on the 'paying guests'—mostly soldiers who came with their women. But even before that lots of other things happened on the home front for Jamis. Jane had told him certain things that shocked him completely. He never expected her to be capable of that...to have gone so far with the young master of the house where she was employed. But Jane wanted it all to be straight and clean, although she hadn't the courage to tell him all before they got married. Jamis's pride suffered a terrible shock although he too wasn't entirely innocent and that too after marriage. But those things must be put aside when confronted with your own wife's indiscretions. Jamis knew that Jane should be taught a lesson and so he thrashed her properly. And Jane could only regret her folly in trying to get things so straight and clean.

It was not long thereafter that Jamis lost his job too. He came home dead drunk, banged his hand on the table and asked her whether she knew what he had done, and before she could say anything he blurted out about his losing the job and of how he had been carrying on with another woman. He himself couldn't explain how had come to say both those things together unless of course it was to spite her and he did it really to spite her. So started the life of wrangles... thrashings...tying the woman to the leg of the cot, and on a day when somebody had stood him a couple of drinks, he would invite the neighbours to come and see what he had done. In fact on one occasion one of his neighbours got soon enraged that he thrashed Jamis properly...However when he was sober he would regret his having thrashed a woman..but the e was always an excuse..hasn't she cheated him?.....

So they went on..It was a case of his getting an odd job or other..for a few days, but he did not know how to hold on to the small pittance that he got. He would get drunk on what he got..over-sleep and get late for the work and so would get the "sack". And five years after marriage he was a man with two children. Whose fault was it? A man has certain privileges but a woman must know where to draw the line...a man cannot do that...otherwise what is a woman for?

It was not long thereafter that he realised that his wife was going her own way. He would be out during the way doing odd jobs or doing nothing at all and when he came back there would be some thing for him, and the children too were well clothed and fed. Jane when questioned would say that her mother had come from the village or that an old aunt of hers had sent her something or something like that. Jamis had a lurking suspicion. He knew that Jane was still pretty. The ravages of

Continued on page 12



# CHOCOLATES

Continued from page 11

misfortune had not affected her to the extent that it affected others. So one day when he was returning in the dark some one shouted. "Who is Jane's husband...Jamis or Joseph Mudalali" he knew that was that. Although he half suspected it was Sarnelis's voice and although Sarnelis was not well disposed towards him he believed what was said. He went home and thrashed Jane only a little more ferociously than on other occasions till she came out with the truth. The young master of her earlier days now married and well settled had sent word to her and she used to be driven out to one of his estates on the outskirts of the town.

So things went on...each cursing the other, though we know for a truth that hard is the lot of man on this earth especially if you are not born with vast vistas of space which you could call your own or a lot of money vaulted away safely. So things went on like that with no hope, no hope of relief. Joseph Mudalali would help no more and Jane was afraid to venture out on anything else. She would have done it for when hunger gnaws at one's vitals, what will not one do? But she was afraid.....

For some days after the incident mentioned at the beginning, Jamis was missing from home for a number of days...Jane was scared.. Has he left us all? For with all her hatred for him, she wanted somebody to be in the house, some male. Jamis came back after a few days. It was however a different Jamis that walked in. He had a nice silk shirt on and wore a nice silk sarong too and what do you think...he had brought chocolates for the young ones too. Hug slabs...Banda had never seen the like of it in all his life. Jamis did not forget Jane—although they hated each other and one could not say that they were the same pair that Joseph Mudalali had taken to the Marriage Registry on a fine morning in his huge Saloon car. All the same he brought her for a saree and some blouse material. Jane could not recover from her surprise. Jamis with a faint smile cryptically said.

"Don't ask me anything. But Jane would not be at peace till she had a few words with him. Jamis would not say a thing. But both agreed that they should not advertise this new found prosperity and should go slow. The two boys were called and given strict instructions not to say anything.

Jamis was gradually beginning to be fond of his wife. She was not nagging him as before. She now came to him sitting by his side and talking to him soft and gentle things as of old and the children too came to them without fearing to be scolded and beaten for nothing at all. Of course to make it appear to others that he was earning and the change was all the result of his having got a good job Jamis used to get up early morning and go out and did not return till late in the evening. Nobody knew where he went.

It was some six months after this when the whole lane had gone to sleep and there was no noise anywhere except for the occasional barks of Pariah dogs here and there that there was a gentle tap on the door of Jamis's hut. He took the bottle lamp went near the door and asked who it was. There came a reply. "It is me, Sarnelis". Yes it was Sarnelis's voice. He opened the door. It was Sarnelis all right. But behind him there were a few others—police constables as he could make out by the dim light. They pushed Jamis in forcibly and shut the door.

"No time to waste' get ready soon".

"Who has come?" asked Jane getting up in a hurry.

"Your grandfather and grandmother" said Jamis.

"Why, my God", cried Jane and rushed towards them.

"Don't ask them why. I will tell you why?" Jamis moved a few steps closer to her and raising his hand slapped her on both cheeks. "Because of you and these wretches".

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The two children had got up from their sleep and were standing close to each other. Jamis took both their heads and knocked them hard against each other. And then he came up to the Inspector, stretched out both his hands and said "I am ready". The cuffs were put on and Jamis was led out.

In the peace and the quiet of the night there was to be heard from Jamis's hut the continuous wailing of a woman and the muttering of a child to himself sitting in a corner. "Why did he do that to me? I only told Wilson that Father had brought a lot of chocolates home for all of us. I mentioned only the chocolates...And only later when Wilson's father asked me that I told him about the other things... Why did he knock my head against Malli? Why did he do that?"

## The Elephant and the Man

Continued from page 6

the expense of Mr. Elephant, they declared sentence, called the man and explained to him the following.

"According to our opinion, this quarrel arose from a regrettable misunderstanding, the origin of which can be found in the backwardness of your ideas. We believe that Mr. Elephant fulfilled a holy duty, by taking care of your interests. It is clear, that it is only for your own good that this room can be used as economically as possible, as you yourself do not reach yet the necessary circumference to fill it, we consider a compromise necessary to satisfy both sides.

Mr. Elephant will occupy your hut, but we shall give you a permit to select a place where you can build a new hut for yourself, a hut more adequate to your needs, and we shall give you our protection."



# ENERGY UNLIMITED

In Abidjan, on the Ivory Coast, a new plant under construction will transform the heat from the sea water into electric energy, the first factory of this kind in Africa and probably in the world. Two 3,000 kilowatts units are planned and the society charged with this project is "Energy of the Seas," under French state control, and set up in 1948.

The engineers claim that the problem of application is solved. The lagoon will provide the plant with water at 28° centigrade and a four kilometres long pipe will carry the cold water to a huge 500 metres deep basin, whose great depth retains the temperature of the water at 8° centigrade.

The process consists of evaporating of the high temperature water drawn from the lagoon, and the vapour is "inhaled" by the condenser cooled by the deep waters. As the warmer water is drawn in, it passes through a turbine which in turns powers an electric generator. Yes, it is simple that, based on elementary principles which most of us know, but applied on a gigantic scale.

## Practical and economic

Those who favour this potential source of energy declare that it is a practical and economic proposition. The plant can at the same time distill the water for salt, soda, chlorine, magnesium, potash and other products of salt sea water. In addition, thermal energy can be used for dehydration and refrigeration.

An interesting by-product would be the fish, which it is forecast, will be drawn in at the rate of several thousands of tons yearly. Experiments have also been carried out to raise the top temperature by spreading petroleum on the surface. This increases the capacity of absorbing the warmth of the sun, and in turn greatly increases the differences of temperature.

## One 32,000 kilometres

It is estimated that there are 32,000 kilometres of sunheated

coast where such turbines could be built. There are also the tropical islands, and floating islands can even be constructed for this purpose. Experts estimate that, in this way we could obtain quantities of energy equal to 5% of the present needs of the world. This energy could not of course be transported over long distances and would be used on the spot, but there are other unexploited forms of energy we could use.

During recent years, in Wairakei, on the Northern Islands of New Zealand, engineers have been searching for a means of utilising the subterranean warmth of the soil to transform it into electricity. They have explored geysers, craters and the deposits of warm mud to tap the immense reserve power of natural steam.

## The geysers

They are following in the footsteps of the Italians who have exploited the warm springs of Larderello, near the Volterra, in Toscana, to produce electric energy.

All this is deduced from the simple fact that a geyser consists of one conduit through which the cold water descends into the crust of the ground. There it meets with warm rocks and burning gases which reheat it. As the temperature mounts, the water changes into steam and begins to rise in the conduit, meeting again cold water descending to the lower temperature. The eruptions of the geysers are in fact sudden explosions of steam which drives the cold water out and ejects it. The engineers are attempting to use this natural vapour. The history of research for new sources of energy is a part of the picture of world history. The world needs more nourishment and power for machines, and the need for raw material of fuel power increases every year.

In the Netherlands for example, since 1925 the consumption of solid and gaseous fuels has doubled or nearly doubled, and the consumption of electric energy

is five times greater than twenty five years ago. The same thing applies to all countries.

Millions of inhabitants of India, South America and other parts of the world are denied a tremendously higher living standard, without a great increase of energy at the disposal of mankind.

## Inexhaustible resources

The unexploited energy resources are immense. In Pakistan for instance, a recent survey has shown that there are millions of tons of coal reserves to be extracted. Expert opinion says that world reserves of coal, lignite and turf at the present rate of use can last for thousands of years.

Articles are published from time to time, telling us how we are exhausting the resources of the world. In some ways this is true, for example in the United States, since 1900 more minerals have been extracted from the soil than at any time in the history of the whole world. Since 1900 we have used 97% of all petroleum produced in the world.

But the scientists are constantly discovering new natural solutions to this problem, and particularly the secret of the sun, our main energy source. It would be wrong to be pessimistic about future energy resources.

With acknowledgements to

"La Marseillaise",

May 1954

## COMMUNITY

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## GUATEMALA

President Carlos Castillo Armas last week called on Guatemalans to go to the polls October 10 and decide whether or not he should remain in power. The election call as on-ishly soon after the President's June coup against the pro-Red regime of Jacobo Arbenz. But the terms of Castillo Armas' decrees made the election practically defeat-proof.

The decrees casually dispensed with the secret ballot. Instead, to save "unnecessary paper work", voters will go before election boards and orally proclaim their choices. First they elect members of an assembly to write a new constitution. Only one slate, from a newly formed National Anti-Communist Front, will be offered, on the theory that the people are "tired of politics". Next the voter will be asked: "Do you wish President Castillo Armas to continue in office for a term to be fixed by the Constituent Assembly?" He can answer *si* or *no*, but cannot vote for anyone else.

Just why anti-Communist Castillo Armas chose to hurry into such an obvious one-candidate election was a puzzler: it seemed unlikely that his motive was to try to force a rigid, Soviet-style show of unanimity out of the people. More likely, the election was scheduled to provide a form of constitutional legality for his regime before any strong opposition could develop. Ironically, all present signs show that he could have won a free and discreet ballot just about as easily.

— *Time*, October 4, 1954

*It must be remembered that Castillo Armas has abolished adult franchise, and only landlords, plantation owners and their semi-feudal hangers-on now have the vote.*

—Editor, *Tribune*

# PINGLINGSSU TEMPLE

Continued from page 5

of folds of clothes, foreshadow the genius of the paintings of the famous Ku Kai-chih of the Chin Dynasty (A. D. 265-420).

These grottoes have preserved for us some of the most characteristic sculptures of the Northern Wei and Chin Dynasties. In the Wei cave of A. D. 513 mentioned above is a sculptural masterpiece, the like of which can seldom be found after the Northern Wei Dynasty. It is an image of Manjusri sitting between two other images. It is endowed with a profound air of solemnity as well as vitality, splendour as well as simplicity, "movement caught in a moment of time."

The sculptures in the Tang caves represent the climax of the development of Chinese sculptural art during the period of the Six Dynasties (A. D. 420-589). The turmoil and unrest in the later days of the Northern Wei Dynasty gave way to peace and prosperity in the Tang Dynasty. This change was reflected in art: simplicity gave place to mellowness and maturity. One of the masterpieces of the Tang chapels is a beautiful bust of the deity Avalokiteshvara, carved with exquisite elaborateness and realism.

## Gandhara

The biggest Tang grotto is a sculptural unit hewn on the cliff from the solid rock. Some of its images of Buddha, six or seven feet high, are astonishingly magnificent.

These images of the Tang Dynasty represent a synthesis of the Gandhara type of Indian art, which was introduced to China with the Buddhist religion, and the traditional art of China.

The mural paintings in the caves are largely restorations of earlier paintings done in Ming times. The main subject matter treated is the *mandala* (pantheon of the tantric school of Buddhism). The artistic treatment of the Buddhist stories, images of devotees, and ceiling de-

signs in these paintings are different in style from those of the Sung and Yuan (A. D. 1280-1368) Dynasties as well as from those which come from Tibet in modern times. In some paintings dealing with the theme of transmigration of souls, the broad and forcible strokes and bright colours, characteristic of most Ming murals, are strikingly evident. They enrich the history of murals since the Yuan dynasty. They form a valuable supplement to the Tunhuang murals.

## Heritage

Such is this artistic treasure that has come down to us marvelously preserved despite all the vicissitudes of time. It is a great monument of China's splendid cultural heritage, to the skill of arti-



Head of Buddha-Northern Wei Dynasty  
(Cave No. 81)

sts and artisans and the genius of the people.

The strange beauty of the Lesser Chishih Mountains is itself a natural wonder. They seem to be the prototype of what is typical of classical Chinese landscape painting. To find such a treasure as the Pinglingssu Temple in such a beautiful natural setting is a rarity, and there is little doubt that, with the re-opening of communications (the railway has recently been extended to Lanchow), this hitherto neglected place will attract not only an increasing number of specialists but of ordinary art lovers.



# Officials Disgrace Ceylon

Continued from page 2

an impossible man Desai was, but the Indian High Commissioner took the wind out of the Ceylon team's accusations when he declared almost at the beginning of the discussions that he was willing to register any person who applied to him and that he would presume that it was a voluntary act unless the contrary was established.

## Stowaway Perera

Nevertheless, Colonel Perera thought he should have his "kill" having journeyed all the way to New Delhi and made a profound declaration that on every estate there were twenty or thirty families who were willing to retire and go back to India voluntarily with a compensation and gratuity the generous proprietors were prepared to give them. Unfortunately, Mr. Thondaman gave the lie direct to the statement about it being voluntary when he made Colonel Perera admit that the condition precedent about the granting of the gratuity was that it was payable only at Trichinopoly after the family had reached Indian soil.

Those grievances having been aired and the Indian side agreeing to register all those who applied for registration, discussion passed on, it is said, to the matter of the Indian and Pakistani Act.

## Mr. Tennekoon

Here the centre of the stage was given over to Mr. Tennekoon, the Commissioner for the Indian and Pakistani Registration. With a vehemence and vigour unexpected of a person vested with judicial powers under the Indian and Pakistani Act, Mr. Tennekoon made out a case which was exactly similar to the one made out by Mr. Unamboowe M. P. in a letter to the *Times of Ceylon* in reply to Senator Nadesan Q. C.'s article on the Stateless Indians. Mr. Tennekoon insisted, as Mr. Unamboowe had had done, that the Ceylon Indian Congress had boycotted the Act for eighteen months out of the twenty four months allowed for making applications. He also stressed that the Act was being administered fairly and equitably, in fact generously, and stated that all criticisms about the administration was poppycock.

Mr. Tennekoon, it is said, warmed up when he spoke about how decently applicants were being treated and when representative of the C. D. C. spoke of unfair practices he stoutly denied them. His first discomfiture arose from the fact that the C. D. C. proved that the boycott was only for seven months and not eighteen months!

*When he was asked whether instructions about rejecting applications on flimsy technical grounds were issued, as alleged in Senator Nadesan's article, his anger knew no bounds. No such instructions were every issued he hotly declared.*

*Asked whether he had ever issued instructions about rejecting applications because the signature of the J. P. attesting the affidavit was illegible, Mr. Tennekoon thumped the table and made it out that such a charge would be incorrect.*

## Photostats

At this stage, Mr. Desai to whom certain photostats had been given by the Ceylon Democratic Congress representatives, started quoting tit-bits from a circular about such affidavits. Even at this stage, Mr. Tennekoon endeavoured to hold the bridge like Horatio of old and denied such instructions. But when Mr. Desai started reading *in extenso* from this circular, beads of perspiration began to form on Mr. Tennekoon's brows. He became a little tongue-tied.

Mr. Gunasena de Soyza then thought it was time he took charge of the situation. He tried to indicate to Mr. Tennekoon that the game was up, but persistent Mr. Tennekoon now endeavoured to shift his ground. Faced with a photostat of a circular issued by

him with his signature, a circular the existence of which he had denied stoutly only a few minutes before, Mr. Tennekoon endeavoured to argue that it was within his province as Commissioner to issue such circulars.

## Withdrawn

Mr. Gunasena de Soyza could not stand it any longer. He intervened and declared to the conference that he knew nothing about these circulars and that this and other similar circulars would be withdrawn. If Mr. Gunasena de Soyza spoke the truth that he was ignorant about these circulars, he certainly had no business to have had the foolhardiness to lead the Ceylon official team to discuss the operation of the Indian and Pakistani Act,

Thereafter, the Ceylon team was completely demoralised. The heroic Mr. Nalliah quietly slunk away, deflated because he had himself insisted at Ministerial discussions that the Act was administered fairly to the point of generosity. Further discussions revealed more photostats, and further attempts by Mr. Tennekoon to rehabilitate himself landed him into greater difficulties. Even Colonel Perera

Continued on page 16

## SABOTAGE

Continued from page 4

always shown special solicitude to importers and their interests) entertained the imaginary grievances of the importers and refused to protect the locally-made tumbler in the ratio as originally fixed: one half-pint tumbler to three imported of any variety.

## Tint

One of the main "grievances" of the importing firm was that locally-made tumblers had a "slight tint", and that this was not good from a sales point of view. Importers were always anxious to choke off local manufactures and they are the last persons who should be consulted on this matter. The Board, if it was so incapable of making up its own mind, could have invited you, Mr. or Citizen Perera to state whether we minded a "slight tint" in our tumbler in order to help a local industry to survive.

owing to pressure of space this article will be concluded next week

## NEXT WEEK

The N. U. Jayawardene

Report

Lawyers and the A. I. C. C.

Circulars and Indian and Pakistani Registration



# OFFICIALS DISGRACE CEYLON

Continued from page 15

## Knots

could not help him. In fact, the Colonel assisted the C. D. C. to establish that estates were not legally bound to preserve check rolls and other documents for more than two or three years (though he mentioned that some estates had these books for ten years or more).

Ceylon officials began to get tied up in knots, and the only Ceylon official who seemed to keep his head cool, Mr. V. J. H. Gunasekera, at this stage suggested that the real officials should sit down to the task of drawing up the recommendations to the Ministers, and

Mr. Dutt (thereupon called the C. D. C. and Colonel Perera to withdraw. The conference thereupon proceeded to draft the memo on which the Agreement which was subsequently signed is based.

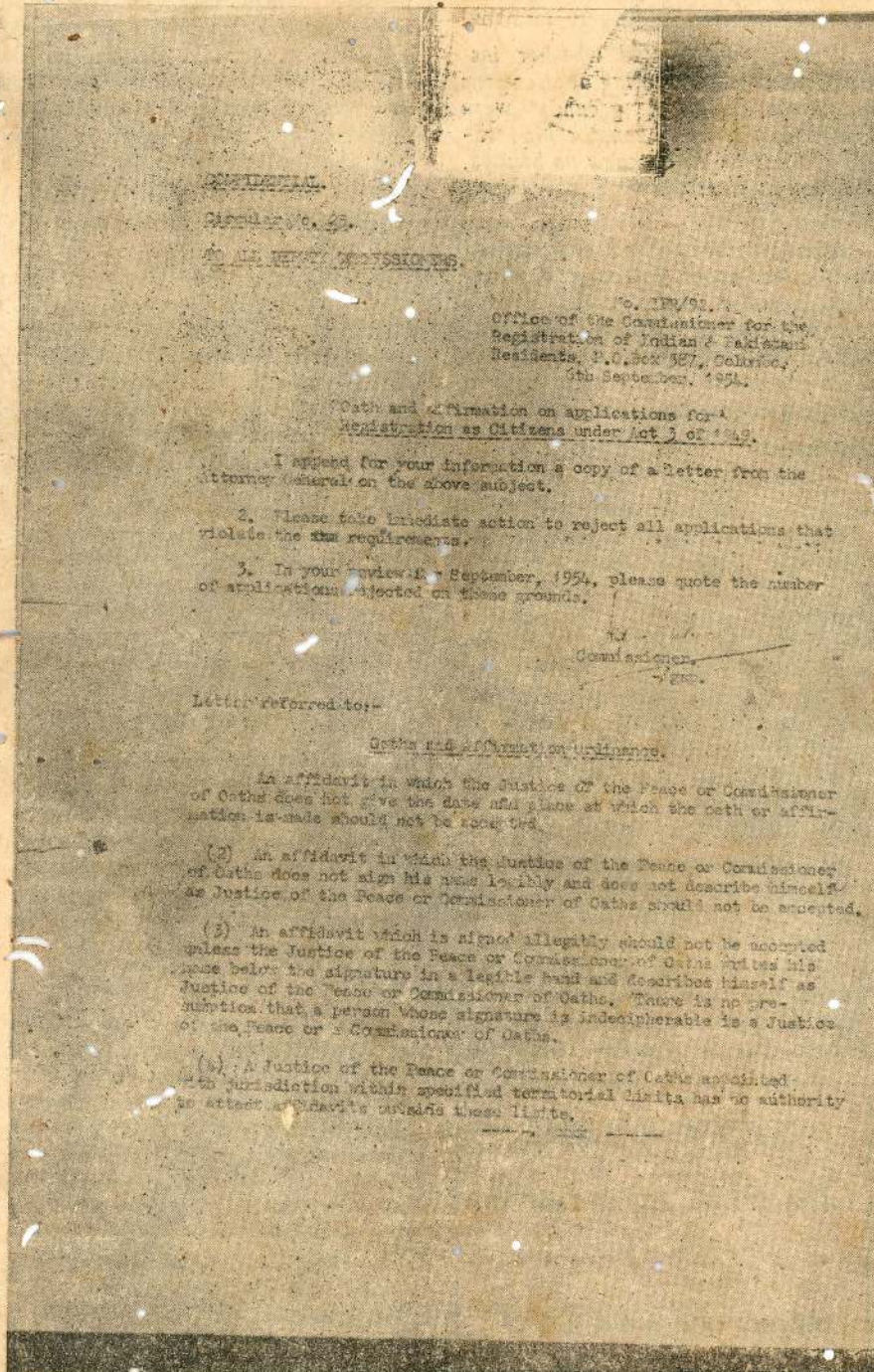
*But with this debacle at the official conference, the Ceylon Delegation was shattered. To put it crudely, the Delegation had been caught out lying. Some officials had lied to the Ceylon Delegation, and the Delegation had insisted on these lies at the Ministerial discussions, and when they were confronted with the truth, they were in a pickle.*

## Humpty Dumpty

Thereafter, the Ceylon Delegation could do little else than put on a bold front and attempt to put Humpty Dumpty together again. In the next morning sessions, the discussions were tame and only attempts were made to re-fashion the recommendations of the officials. The stumbling block again was the stateless.

A fresh attempt was made to get some sort of agreement even on this, and "officials" were again called upon to prepare a draft. The Indian side had Mr. N. R. Pillai and Mr. Dutt of the External Affairs Ministry and the Ceylon Delegation sent in ex-Premier Mr. Dudley Senanayake and would-be Premier Mr. Bandaranaike to act as the "officials" for Ceylon. So completely had the officials who had gone to New Delhi let down the Government Delegation that two senior and important members of this Delegation had to act for the officials at a crucial stage of the conference.

Such is the sad and almost unbelievable story of what happened in New Delhi. Credit must be paid to Premier Sir John, Mr. Dudley Senanayake and Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike for having safeguarded Ceylon's good name in spite of officials who denied circulars they had issued until confronted with photostats. The Ceylon Delegation had attempted to build a case on the basis of information supplied by their officials, but some of this information turned out to be incorrect and false and the Ceylon case had collapsed like a house of cards.



photostat of a confidential circular No. 25 issued by the commissioner based on a letter from the attorney-general on the question of the legitimacy of signatures of justices of the peace