

TRIBUNE

SLFP - UNP MERGER ?

straws in the wind

"Tribune" understands that certain confabulations now taking place in political circles are aimed at bringing about a SLFP-UNP merger in order to secure a stronger and more stable Government. The basis for such a merger is said to depend on the purging of certain elements from the UNP and at the same time the breaking away of the SLFP from the VLSSP.

The forces in the UNP which are anxious for such a merger look forward to Dudley Senanayake to lead the party with the assistance of R. G. Senanayake, and the fact that Dudley has appeared on a public platform (of a non-political character) during the week-end is believed to be an indication that he now thinks that he is fit enough to enter

public life. It is said that J. R. Jayawardena and Sir Ukwatte are not at all enthusiastic about a merger with the SLFP, but if such a merger arises it will be without these two politicians. It is said that Sir John is quite willing to "retire" from politics in case Dudley comes into the picture, and there are suggestions that Sir John might make a suitable High Commissioner for Ceylon in the U. K.

Re-shuffling

These same circles would like to see Dudley Senanayake as the Governor-General or the President of the Republic, and they seem to think that Sir Oliver Goonetilleke would make a suitable permanent delegate at the UNO. There are other reshuffling suggested about posts abroad to fit into the SLFP-UNP merger pattern, but these are incidental and not primary to the scheme now being formulated by interested parties.

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Inside the SLFP too there are forces which seek such a merger because they are apprehensive of the radical and sometimes anarchic tendencies of the VLSSP. These forces would rather depend on centrist UNP elements rather than the "extreme" VLSSP for a majority in the Parliament. They seem to think that when the Philip Gunawardena PADDY LANDS BILL comes before the Parliamentary Group or even the Parliament, it would be a fitting and proper occasion to cause the breach between the SLFP and the VLSSP.

It is also said that Dudley Senanayake has at long last begun to meet some of his old friends and supporters in the UNP and that R. G. Senanayake is keen and anxious that the Centrist elements in the SLFP and the UNP should get together. It is significant that a number of UNP-ers contested the local body elections in Negombo and other places as "Independents", perhaps as a prelude to their joining the SLFP after the elections.

It is not known whether Dudley Senanayake is willing to come into the political arena yet nor whether S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike is prepared to break with the VLSSP, but what is known is that influential and powerful forces which still have a great deal of say in many matters in this country are working vigorously towards the early materialisation of a SLFP-UNP merger on the basis of a centrist "socialist" policy. More and more evidence of this trend will reveal itself to the public in the coming weeks.

TRIBUNE

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Fortress in the Sky

By Lucien de Zoysa

The charm of the past is that it is the past. Some men are remembered not by their deeds but by their monuments. Which is sometimes just as well, as in the case of Kasyapa. However one may look at it and romanticise about *Sihagiri* the fact is that it was an effort at face saving — even soul saving, a sort of peace offering to the priests and the populace, on the part of Kasyapa, for the enormity of his own crimes. Every school boy best remembers him as a parricide and the man who directed (not very successfully) his groom and his cook to murder his brother. To apotheosise this man, make him a hero, visionary and a benefactor of the Singhalese, is to controvert history and give it a liberal sugar coating. I had a feeling that the author was blowing up a little fish to look like an almighty whale. The whole thing therefore rang somewhat hollow in my ears. But bad history can make good drama and here the author's attempt to whitewash history made a tolerably good play. It is the kind of play which only the author's courage, industry and burning zeal for the theatre could have got on the boards at all. But he has smoothed a path in our cultural desert which might well be followed.

The play struck me as being in the nature of a first proof and not a final print. It had several loose ends and lacked certain finishing touches which would have made it a most commendable effort and more worthy of the enthusiasm and the industry, not to mention the expense, which undoubtedly has gone into it. Perhaps the objective view of an outside producer having nothing to do with the hurly burly of the stage, would have been a considerable help. It is very difficult to see the whole when you form a part of it. There were quite a few instances of fudging of lines. There were times when I heard the prompter more clearly than the player. The play was oppressed by too many scenes. At least two could well have been spared. This removed from the cohesion and continuity of the play, and as things were, resulted in a lot of

dawdling in the dark for the audience - a fatal thing for the cause of any play. The speeches were inclined to be repetitious and long winded and the metaphors somewhat trite. But all this is not to remove from a good evening's entertainment, which GBS tells us is the only justification for putting on a play.

I liked Norman Impett as Migara and Carl-I nearly said Gamini-Goonesena as Datusena. It was largely on their shoulders that the fortress was kept in the sky. To Lucien de Zoysa fell the grave responsibility of convincing the audience that his hero was not a psychopath but a poet, visionary and a bene actor of humanity. I am not so sure that this quite got home. Nevertheless he is a competent actor, but I wish he would grimace less and went easy on the trick of rolling his optics. And might I add that for a man who generally speaks his Shakespeare well, he was rushing his words, I did not think that Kasypa's queen as played by Olga de Jacolyn was well done at all. In the second

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scene she was quite inaudible and for the rest, unconvincing.

The production was done as they say on a lavish scale with a keen

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Problem & Period

The rise of India as an independent nation has led to a phase of world and Asian history when it seems to be necessary to return to some of the first principles of modern national and political development. Mr. Bandaranaike recently said that India has been to Asia what Greece was to the West. The entry of India as a modern nation into the arena of world evolution is an event which, in a way, may prove to be more significant to the future of every people than the rise of earlier nations. When I say this, I do not in the least mean to underestimate the significance for modern world evolution of the past achievements of modern Europe since the Renaissance, the French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution.

On the contrary, the significance of India's emergence as a modern nation can be very much greater than that of the earlier emergence of any other nation precisely because India arose at the time she did as a result of the whole preceding course of world evolution. The intrinsic values of the earlier phenomena of modern history such as the anti-Stuart Revolutions, the American Revolution, the French Revolution, the Western Industrial Revolution and the Socialist Industrial Revolution have a permanence and importance arising out of the gigantic repercussions they have had on world economy and world consciousness. The emergence of India at the time she arose, however, can gain an unprecedented significance because *India's evolution since 1947 sums up in a way the main trends of earlier modern history.* Centralisation and decentralisation of political authority, democratisation not merely in the sense of 19th century political Reformism, but also in the sense of giving economic and cultural content to the ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity contain within them the impact of European and American evolution of political democracy as well as the impact of economic egalitarianism consequent on the Soviet and Chinese Revolutions and Socialist Industrialisation.

It therefore seems to be a useful endeavour to attempt to assess the significant trends of past modern evolution from the standpoint of

the broad concept of democracy at the present time when the Colombo Powers have attained a new significance for us in Ceylon and South Asia. This assessment will be useful in clearing many misconceptions and superficialities which seem to befog our vision when we are confronted with problems centring round the question: When is Democracy democracy? Is it merely the counting of heads as against the breaking of heads? Or is it something that gains an increasingly intense connotation as time and events pass?

I am desirous that the present discussion should serve as an occasion for a certain calm airing of views in which interested readers as well as leaders of political and public opinion will help. Recently the view appeared in the *Tribune* that there has been much regret that the Left has not yet been able to get together in Ceylon for effective democratic advance.

Integration and Nationalism

Sardar Patel's success in the integration of the Princely States with the rest of India has been variously assessed. He has been equalised with Bismark, as if Bismark's uni-

A correspondent starts a series this week which has intimate connection with a number of questions which affect the future of Ceylon and a large number of countries not only in Asia but throughout the world about the basis of national integration today? What was the basis in the past? This week's article opens the discussion by posing some vital questions.

fication of Germany was predominantly progressive in implications.

Bismark and Patel may seem to be a convenient starting point to embark on our effort to assess the significant trends of last modern historical evolution for the purpose of re-defining some of the first principles of modern democracy.

Bismark's unification of Germany and Patel's unification of India were expressions of nationalism in the particular historical contexts of later 19th Century Europe and post Hitler German and Indian political integration and that was that they were necessitated and aided by the technological developments of modern industrialism.

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Problem & Period

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And here it will be useful to refer to earlier and later national integration of other states: the federal integration of the United States, the anti-feudal administrative integration of France by Richelieu and Louis XIV, the centralisation of Great Britain in the 16th and 17th centuries, the integration of the Soviet Union and the integration of New China.

These various periods of national integration were periods when society and the world were undergoing significant and comprehensive changes. The national integration of Britain, of Holland and of France in the 16th and 17th centuries were the political offshoots of the economic evolution of the mercantilism by the middle classes of Britain, Holland and France. They were essentially anti-feudal integration in that those centralised states helped the economic predominance of the British, French and Dutch middle classes against the British, French and Spanish feudal forces.

Centralisation was this, at first, the administrative and political means for the economic end of mercantilist evolution by the middle classes. It was basically anti-feudal at the beginning of modern national development. The middle class of England grew fast through centralisation and the standing army in the 16th century, and achieved political supremacy in the 17th century through the anti-Stuart Revolutions precisely because the feudal forces in England had been weakened by the wars of the Roses and by the Reformation. The middle class of France too grew because of the centralisation measures of Richelieu and Colbert, but the feudal forces in France had been strongly entrenched and hence the French Revolution took place a hundred years after the English Revolution.

Democracy and Time and Place

It was this centralisation and middle-class mercantilism in Western Europe of the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries that became an expression of the then nationalism and also became the basis for the subsequent

evolution of democracy as a modern form of national development. The accumulation of capital, the advance of knowledge and scientific inventions, the Industrial Revolution — these were the direct consequences in Britain of the earlier anti-feudal centralisation and middle class mercantilism.

There has been, it seems to me, a vague superficial generality with which the term democracy has been bandied about. As a result there has been an increasing attenuation in the connotation in people's minds of democracy. Consequently, democracy has been treated as some eternal verity, some phenomenon out of relation to time and place.

This article is an effort to pose the main question and to fix the early limits of the period which laid the foundation for Democracy as a modern form of national development.

This democracy has gained deeper meaning and wider significance since 1688, 1776, 1789, 1848 and 1871. And India, one of the Colombo Powers, expresses the continuing enrichment of democracy both by her achievements and

potentialities. Between the centralisation of this India by Patel and the early centralisation of post-Renaissance Britain and France stand in point of time the centralisation of the United States, of Bismarkian Germany and of Soviet Russia.

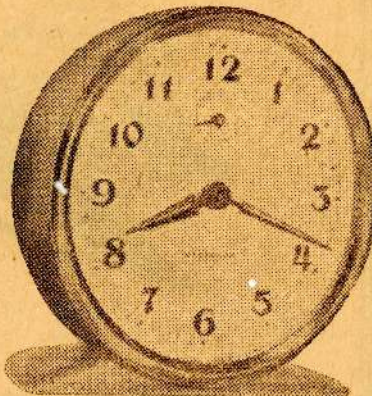
It shall be my endeavour in subsequent articles to attempt some systematic working out of some of the broad principles of Democracy arising out of the consideration of the main trends of national development symbolised by Britain and France, the United States, Germany and the Soviet and Chinese peoples. It is my earnest prayer that others equally interested and better equipped will help in an attempt to find the democratic bearings for us in Ceylon. It will be dangerous to be smug about the fact that we were the first Asian nation to have adult franchise, or to harbour the illusion that the grant of the adult franchise to Ceylon in 1931 was an extension of democracy from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean over the "dictatorial mass" of Central and Eastern Europe and central Asia!

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UNIVERSITY

It is true that the Sinhala Only Act has been passed and Sinhalese has become the only official language of the country and thus the language of administration. But one fails to see any imperative connection between this fact and the medium of instruction in the University. Is it necessary that higher learning, academic, technical and professional education, should be acquired only through the Swabasha medium according to the Sinhala Only Act? All that this Act would reasonably expect is that every citizen should be able to transact his business with the Government in Swabasha; for this, say an S.S.C. knowledge of Swabasha is more than sufficient. So why inflict the Act on the University which exists for the purpose of creation and dissemination of *KNOWLEDGE*; this being its prime function, the medium which is the best available today should be used.

Is it not therefore the duty of the University Dons to enlighten and inform the people at large impartially, than to resign themselves sheepishly to what they call "the will of the people?" Is it not their function as men of learning and culture, of maturity and wisdom to help in the correct shaping of the will of the people?

Simple

Would the Dons who are clamouring for an immediate switch over to the Swabasha medium in the University please answer the following simple questions?

(1) Does Swabasha possess the necessary scientific and technical vocabulary and terminology indispensable to the teaching of the various Arts, Sciences, let alone the professional courses in law, Medicine, Engineering, Agriculture, Veterinary Science, Dentistry, Pharmacy, etc. at the University level? Unfortunately much of the shouting has come from the Dons of Oriental languages who, naturally cannot be expected to appreciate the problem in its true light. It is only because of the many and serious brizzling difficulties that the

Universities of India have decided to defer the question for 25 to 30 years. In fact the Osmania University which rushed madly into Swabasha has now seen more light and has already reverted to English as its medium of instruction.

(2) Even English-medium trained staff are in extreme short supply for the University in Ceylon and there is constant need to strengthen the staff from abroad. Would not the difficulty be totally insurmountable if we are to search for persons who possess the requisite qualifications in *both* their respective specialisms and Swabasha at one and the same time?

(3) The text books, reference literature and other publications such as periodicals and journals required for the pursuit of knowledge in each subject are numerous and varied. They are found abundantly and adequately in the English language. In the case of non-English publications too, translations are readily available in English wherever necessary and relevant. Could the financial resources of this country, its puny intelle-

A correspondent who knows the University and the educational problems of this country raises a number of important questions in this article.

ctual man-power and the very limited market for such Swabasha translations and publications render the supply of adequate translated material for use at University level possible? Besides, could we ever dream of keeping pace and coping with the surging streams of ever and more advanced literature entering the world each week, if not daily? Certainly, we in Ceylon wish to keep abreast of the times. Knowledge is not static, and our University was never intended to be reduced to a stagnant swamp for cranks and quacks to play ducks and drakes!

At School

The requirements of the Sinhala Only Act are met adequately by making Swabasha compulsory at the school. Swabasha may also be learnt at a higher level by those who wish to do so as a subject in the University. Provision for it always exists. But by no stretch of

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University

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Imagination could it be argued that the Act required the switch over from the English medium in the University. The Secondary school students who enter the University will always have studied English as a subject in the school. After the S.S.C. examination, those who wish to enter the University have to wait two years in the schools preparing for the University Entrance (or Preliminary) examination. Would it be too much to expect this small number of prospective University entrants to improve their English during those two years as a part of the admission requirements so that they could follow instruction through English wherever necessary at the University? Certainly nobody expects Sinhalese, for example, to be taught through the English medium at the University as was done until a few years ago. Of course some branches of study of the Sinhalese language, phonetics and philology are being taught even *today* in our University through English and perhaps it may be

necessary to continue to do so for some years more to come till the Sinhalese Etymological Dictionary is ready and till the necessary terminology becomes available in Sinhalese. In the Pali Department of which the Oriental Dean is the Professor, we certainly have to teach some subjects to a hundred per cent Sinhalese student body through English; and we do so for the sake of efficiency and soundness of education!

(4) Would you argue that the retention of English goes against the grain of national prestige? But has this to be preserved at the cost of knowledge? Besides, is not English today acknowledged as a world language and therefore the common property of all who care to use it?

(5) We got our independence without fighting and bitterness from the British and we continue to be on friendly terms with the U. K. and the Commonwealth.

Other Countries

The Irish won their independence the hard way and yet what have they done in the matter of language? According to the Constitution of

the Independent Republic of Ireland, both Irish and English are official languages. Irish is called the *first* official language and English the *second* official language. When you look at their Universities, *all of them*, including the National University of Ireland use *only* English as the medium of instruction? Why should not we do the same here? Pakistan our very friendly neighbour too has two official languages; Urdu and Bengali. Yet the medium in her Universities is only English, though Urdu and Bengali are taught as subject like and others. The Philippines has a national language, but the University medium is again English. So many other countries with better resources and larger populations are continuing to use English as the medium in the University although they have their own national language or languages. Why are they doing so? Surely there must be many valid reasons? Then why do our Dons want our children and the future generations to take a leap into the dark?

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WEEK by WEEK in CEYLON

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PUBLIC SERVANTS

The results of the elections to a number of local bodies outside Colombo have just begun to come in. It is difficult as yet to make any generalized comments about them, but one or two facts are significant. In Avisawella the defeat of the MEP-VLSSP by "Independents" has been a matter of special comment.

Avisawella, thirty miles from Colombo, is the chief town of the constituency which has returned Philip Gunawardena or (whenever he was disqualified) his wife for over twenty years. The Urban Council which has five members has also in the past been "dominated" by Philip Gunawardena in that his support was necessary for candidates to win seats. For the elections just concluded, Philip Gunawardena ran five candidates on the MEP-VLSSP ticket. Ranged against them were 5 "Independents" belonging to the "party" of Manamendra, the present Chairman of the Council.

Manamendra, it must be said, had received the blessings of the Philip Gunawardena group in the past, if not directly, at least indirectly. But he probably would not join the MEP-VLSSP platform now.

The results of the elections came as a surprise to a number of people outside Avisawella. Philip Gunawardena, and particularly his wife Kusuma (M.P. for Kiriella) had made the Avisawella elections a personal matter. There was door to door canvassing, and number of meetings in support of the MEP-VLSSP candidates. In spite of all this, the "Independents" of Manamendra won decisively. The state of public feeling in the town can be gauged by what happened in Ward No. 2. A candidate put up by Manamendra issued a statement a few days before election day that he was withdrawing in favour of the MEP-VLSSP candidate and called upon his supporters to vote for the rival. This statement, it is alleged, was the result of Gunawardena pressure tactics. This particular candidate has a "boutique" in a townlet near the Gunawardena ancestral home and for business reasons he is said to have issued a statement withdrawing his candidature. But his name remained on the ballot paper (it was too late for it to be removed), and the voters of Ward 2 returned this candidate as against the MEP-VLSSP choice.

The forces that combined to defeat Philip Gunawardena's nominees came from the Left as well as the Right. The UNP which still has a following in the town backed the Independents and the Left forces also went against Philip. Only one NLSSP candidate fought the elections but he lost.

This phenomena of the UNP backing "Independents" or even fighting the elections as "Independents" (in Negombo and other places this is happening) is indi-

cative of move to bring the UNP and the Right Wing of the SLFP together. The name UNP evidently evokes many hostile antagonisms and UNP stalwarts seem to be fighting the elections as "independents" as a first step towards merging with the SLFP.

Coconut Board

There has been a "storm" — a minor one at that — about the recent happenings in regard to the Coconut Board. When the Minister R. G. Senanayake was away, the acting Minister Lakshman Rajapakse made certain appointments to the Board. The Low Country Products Association (LCPA) which had fathered the Coconut Board (in order to make effective the marketing of coconut products) protested against the appointments on the ground that the weightage had been given to the coconut oil milling interests.

Apart from a number appointments of persons on the outside fringe of the coconut planting world, for political reasons, the three "effective" persons — Donald Wijewardene, Wood and Wickremasinghe — represented milling interests. When the Minister returned, Donald Wijewardene did the decent thing by sending in his resignation. Wood, who is one of the Directors of the British Ceylon Corporation, refused to quit and rumour has it that he sought to advise all and sundry, including the Minister himself, on how to run the affairs of the coconut producing world. It must be remembered that the British Ceylon Corporation, which is in the main a foreign concern, has been accused by Ceylonese coconut producers of

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The wound caused by the communal disturbances in the Eastern Province during the eventful days of the passage through Parliament of the Official Language Act, has almost completely healed; but the recent appointment of the Gal Oya Commission by the government is bound to prise it open and cause a recrudescence of communal bitterness. And the dead will be awakened to all their tales!

The Commission consisting of Lajtha Rajapakse, N. E. Ernst and R. R. Selvadurai has been appointed "to hold an enquiry and to obtain information in regard to certain incidents amounting to civil disturbances and their causes in the Eastern Province during the period 1st January 1956 to 30th September 1956, with special reference to such incidents which occurred in the area under the administration of the Gal Oya Development Board and in particular to inquire if the occurrence of such incidents was due to the faulty administration of the Gal Oya Development Board. They have also been authorised to make recommendations for the prevention of similar occurrences in the future, if need be by changes in the administration of the Gal Oya Board Area or by amendments of the written law applicable to such area of authority."

The terms of reference specify the period 1st January 1956 to 30th September. Why? Who claims that "certain incidents amounting to civil disturbances" lasted that long? Is the appointment of the Commission really to probe the incidents or merely a convenient peg to hang the case for the dismissal of certain unwanted members of the Gal Oya Development Board?

In any case, why make the Gal Oya Development Board the scapegoat of the whole unfortunate episode which followed the first day of the introduction of the Official Language Bill in the House of Representatives? Did not civil disturbance take place in Colombo and other parts of the country? It could be understood, if the government appointed a Commission to

probe into civil disturbance in the country as a whole, but this invidious distinction smacks of a conspiracy against certain members of the Board. The whole country knows whether the incidents which occurred in the Eastern Province and other parts of the country were due to the "faulty administration of the Gal Oya Development Board or not," without a Commission having to tell us that. And the terms of the Commission seem to let the cat out of the bag; especially that part which states "if need be, by changes in the administration of the Gal Oya Board area."

It is unfair to anticipate the findings of the Commission but the people of the country are legitimately entitled to ask what is the purpose of a Commission coming so late as it does, when communal bitterness has subsided, and all is green in the Valley. Everyone knows that the trouble in the Eastern Province was political and not social or administrative. Now that there is political quiet there why create a storm of controversy by appointing a Commission to inquire in obsequies? Let obsequies be obsequies.

To quote an extract from an editorial which appeared in the *Morning Times* last month under the title "Call Off The Gal Oya Inquiry":

"Four months ago, or even two months ago a Commission would have been useful. Today it is no longer necessary and in fact may defeat its own purpose which is to ensure communal peace in the Gal Oya Valley"

The government claimed that it had decided not to prosecute the author of the scurrilous pamphlet "Kanni Mariyage Heti", in the interests of religious harmony in the country. The country should remind the government that what is sauce for the religious harmony goose is sauce for the racial harmony gander too.

SCURRILOUS

A man writes and publishes a scurrilous pamphlet which sinks to the lowest depths to outrage the

religious feelings of the Christians in this country, and barefacedly insults their religious beliefs. But the government decides not to prosecute him, acting quite democratically of course, on the advice of the Hon. Mr. Attorney General, the government's legal adviser.

This is section 291 B of the Penal Code, which is still part of the law of this land: "whoever with the deliberate and malicious intention of outraging the religious feeling of any class of Her Majesty's subjects by words either spoken or written or by visible representations insults or attempts to insult the religion or religious beliefs of that class shall be punished...". The punishment:—Simple or rigorous imprisonment not exceeding two years, or a fine or both imprisonment and fine.

Mr. Attorney General has thought it fit to advise the government not to prosecute under this section. He has given no reasons, as he is quite legally entitled to do. But the Home Minister has given certain reasons for the government's decision not to prosecute and the most interesting among them is this prize one: "In the interests of religious harmony in this country, it is best not to proceed with a prosecution". Blah Blah, with a vengeance.

The other reason given by the Home Minister:—"I have accepted the advice of the Attorney General in view of an undertaking given by the author that the publication of the booklet will be stopped forthwith and that immediate steps will be taken to recall all copies now in circulation". How kind of the Home Minister! Such men are hard to come by these days.

The cry was raised through the length and breath of the country, from public platforms and church pulpits: "Ban the booklet". The Home Minister's answer: "Under the present law it is not possible to have the booklet banned, as it is a local publication. Only literature that is imported into the country could be banned". How clever of the Home Minister to act according to the letter of the law of the land.

JUST BRIEFLY

BY
SERENDIB

I wish to offer my sincere congratulations to the Government Medical Officers' Association for its decision to extend the deadline for the report of the Implementation Committee appointed by the Minister of Health, to December 2nd. The reason the Association gave for its decision was that it was satisfied there was a *bona fide* delay in the presentation of the report and as such, it was prepared to give two weeks more for the report of the Committee.

The Editor of the *Tribune* would have particularly welcomed this decision, for in his Comment last week he urged the G.M.O.A. to put off any strike decision till the report of the Committee was completed. He said: "We therefore urge the G.M.O.A. to hold its guns (if it still wants to fire them) until the Committee has concluded its deliberations."... and again "We wish to get two points straight: first the doctors should generously overlook the alleged insult to the deputation and perhaps the whole medical profession. If they do not they might find themselves chasing after the shadow and losing the substance in the process; second, the doctors have waited so long for redress of their grievances and a week or two more is not going to materially affect their position".

As he wished for in his concluding sentence, good sense has finally prevailed with the doctors.

The doctors, following a decision to propagandise their cause among the public, have published pamphlets in the three languages explaining their demands. In them, they discuss the ethics of strike action, in the event of failure of negotiations between them and the government. In response to a question "Have doctors the moral right to strike?" they say "We are governed by the ethics of the profession. A private practitioner has the right to refuse to undertake to treat any patient. But once he has started to treat it is his sacred duty to treat that patient until he is cured or desires to be treated by someone else. Once we join government service the right to continue to

treat our patients is taken over by our employer, the government. As government doctors we have no patients in the way a private practitioner has. The employer is responsible for the patient and a doctor has no right to protest if he is transferred or asked to leave the hospital on the grounds that his patients are not cured."

Does the G.M.O.A. seriously contend that this forgoing paragraph explains the ethics of strike action and the arguments therein absolve the doctors of their responsibility for the health of the patient?

I do not wish to comment on this matter except to say that doctors will be doctors and patients will be patients, and if the doctors do not discharge their responsibility by the patients, will doctors be doctors for long?

Echo

One of the best things I have heard for a long time is a report of a statement on the Suez crisis by a BIG SHOT in this country. In fact he was a BIG FISH among WHALES during the last war, and did a great many things in that period about which a great deal has been said.

When the Suez crisis broke and when it looked as if it might flare-up into a major war, all that this worthy gentleman thought fit to declare was that "Ceylon has a vested interest in this war as in all wars We must make some money out of this war". I do not know just what this WE included, but knowing the person who made this remark it cannot be a particularly altruistic WE.

Now that the main crisis has passed, it does not seem worth pursuing this matter, but it is good to remember that we have in our midst in high places persons who continue to echo the philosophy of the last war period of making money by hook or by crook.....

Profiteers, blackmarketeers and others who subscribe to the same ideology (if that term can be used to describe the mental processes of

such anti-social vermin), it would seem, are not confined to the lower orders of shopkeepers and traders.

Bases

Last Sunday's *Observer* carried a front page splash that Trincomalee had been used by a certain British vessels and warships just before they went into the Suez invasion. This report is said to have been made by Commodore Royce de Mel of the Ceylon Navy. This report naturally created a *furor* in many quarters, for Prime Minister Bandaranaike has been assuring the public that Britain had undertaken not to use the Trincomalee or Katunayake bases for any vessels or planes participating in the Middle East onslaught of the Anglo British.

As I write these notes, the papers report that Commodore Royce de Mel's report has been relayed to Bandaranaike in England and that he seems to have discounted the findings with a statement that the vessels had used the facilities in Trincomalee five weeks ago and that it had been merely routine fuelling, etc. It is not possible to make further comments before more facts are available, but whatever may be the explanations the British offer about these vessels it is clear that the earlier Britain quits the Ceylon bases the better for all parties concerned.

Propaganda

Talking of the British, reminds me of the British Movietone Newsreel that I saw this week. It showed the invasion of Egypt and the occupation of Port Said. The commentary praised the action of the British forces in occupying Suez and endeavoured to pretend that this action had to be taken in order to safeguard free movement through the Canal (shots of the Canal blocked by the Egyptians were shown in such a way as to give the impression that the Anglo-French forces had taken action only after the Egyptians had sunk ships to block the Canal). But the finest piece was the statement that the destruction in Port Said (which was enormous) was due to the fact that the "Egypt-

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Week by Week in Ceylon

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juggling and manipulating the market to the detriment of the local producers.

Wood and Wickremasinghe, who is a broker for milling interests refused to resign as Wijewardene had done, and the Minister removed them by virtue of certain powers vested in him.

It is unfortunate that all this should have happened, particularly as it is said that the Minister R. G. Senanayake had left a minute to the effect that appointments to the Coconut Board should await his return from Geneva where he had gone for the ECAFE Conference. In spite of this memo, it is said that Lakshman Rajapakse exercised his rights, and it led to all this trouble.

Public servants

Early this month the Prime Minister announced that public servants who were dismissed under "undemocratic regulations" during the previous government's regime, would be offered re-employment "on terms and conditions which will be determined by government in each case."



In announcing this decision the Prime Minister said he had reviewed the charges framed against the officers who were dismissed for breaches of administrative regulations and found that dismissal was too severe a punishment if the charges had been viewed in the light of the present government's attitude towards public servants expressing their disagreement with government policy.

He also announced that "as a first step the Minister of Finance has framed a new administrative regulation setting out the rights of public officers in regard to the expression of disagreement with the policy of government. This regulation is numbered 267."

Government servants who asked for bread were given stone!

They have clamored for many months now for the repeal of Administrative Regulation 208 B, 220, 262 and 275, and are given a new Administrative regulation, Administrative Regulation 267.

And according to this regulation the punishment of dismissal meted out to the officers, is considered "too severe", but the guilt remains! Rightly therefore did the Government Clerical Service Union at its meeting on Sunday pass the following resolution: "When the present government which is pledged to foster trade unionism undertook to review the case of employees who were penalised under undemocratic regulations by the previous government the Union rightly expected that the government agreed with the view of the All Island Conference of Public Service Trade Unions that the employees were wrongfully dismissed purely for trade union activity and that they should be re-dressed in that light but we regret to note that the government has not accepted this basic position. This union is further perturbed that the government regards these employees guilty of a punishable offence even in the light of their own administrative regulation and also because by virtue of such regard it is clear that the position of trade unionists is not safe even under this revised regulation."

At best, therefore, the Prime Minister's decision to re-employ (and not re-instate) the dismissed officers could only be interpreted as a sop to Cerberus.

Regulations

Earlier both in Parliament and outside the Minister of Finance tilted at the Public Service Commission which he described as "a good institution badly handled." He said that there was administrative difficulty in having the dismissed officers reinstated through the Public Service Commission and was therefore "considering amending the administrative Regulation to give effect to the policy of government that public servants should have full trade union rights." In unmistakable terms he laid the blame of the government's inability to reinstate the officers, at the doorstep of the P.S.C.

Whatever the rights and wrongs of the action taken by the Public Service Commission in dismissing public servants who contravened the "undemocratic regulations" are, one fact cannot be gainsaid and that is that they were acting under regulations framed by the government, and were well within their powers in doing so. If today they took similar action against public servants no one can blame them, for not only are they acting within their powers but would also be failing in their duty if they did not take such action. For the "undemocratic regulations" still form part of our Statute Book!

It may be uncharitable to infer that the government is keeping the door open for action against public servants who contravene the administrative regulations, but that is the impression that springs to mind when one considers that the government which declared that it was pledged to foster trade unionism, is the self-same government that continues to have on its statute book regulations that undermine the growth of trade unionism.

It is time that the Minister of Finance gave up playing hide and seek with public servants. Pious assurances all can give, but what the public servants demand is that they be translated into action, so that there can be no two words of this government's good intentions or inclinations!

The public servants have reiterated their demand for unconditioned reinstatement of this dismissed public servants and the repeal of the "undemocratic regulation." The Minister of Finance cannot afford to turn a blind eye to their demands any longer.

WORLD AFFAIRS

BY
ARIEL



CRIMINALS



NATO



WARSAW



HUNGARY



EGYPT

Since I last wrote this column a great deal has happened in the world and it seems a little difficult to pick up the threads just now. But I shall make a beginning with the Middle East crisis. All that can be said in a big way has been said, and I cannot do better than pick out some interesting sidelights and comments which have not received sufficient attention in our daily papers.

From the *Bonn News Letter* sent by the *Hindu* correspondent and published in Madras on November 15, comes this rather intriguing news which speaks for itself:

"Among the victorious Powers who, when the last war was over, were particularly insistent that Germany be punished with utmost severity for having been the aggressor, Britain, France and Soviet Russia stood out and took the lead. Many Germans were hanged, others were given long prison terms for having either prepared or conducted a war of aggression.

"The Deputy 'Feuhrer' Rudolf Hess, for instance, is now serving a life sentence in the Spandau Prison for having 'prepared' a war of aggression.

"When his lawyer, therefore, right after Britain and France had begun their wanton attack against Egypt, sent a telegram to the United Nations demanding that either Hess be set free at once or Sir Anthony Eden and Premier Guy Mollet incarcerated as war criminals, in accordance with the Nuremberg laws, a wave of sympathy swept over West Germany. Nobody expected Hess to be freed or Mollet and Eden to be imprisoned. But many Germans thought that lawyer's telegram was a clever move that threw interesting light on the world's sense of justice."

Nato

The correspondent makes a further point that, though the tragedy in Hungary has made a deep impression and accentuated the anti-Russian feeling among large sect-

ions of the population already anti-Soviet, "this does not mean that the Egyptian tragedy has been ignored in West Germany. On the contrary, almost the entire Western German Press reacted strongly to the British-French invasion of Egypt." What was significant was "the conviction expressed by numerous newspapers that the NATO, which it took so long to build and which cost so many millions of dollars, is now doomed if not already dead."

The events in Egypt have not only shaken NATO to its very foundation, with the US accusing Britain and France of breaking the NATO agreement by using arms supplied under it for a totally different purpose, but also hit the BAGHDAD PACT to its very core. Four of these Powers met, at the height of the crisis, without Britain, the main architect of the Pact, and called upon Britain, Israel and France to quit Egypt. Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Pakistan did this more because of pressure from the masses in their country and not from the ideological sympathies of the ruling cliques.

The fact that Turkey supported the Arab countries is believed to be under US inspiration. The BAGHDAD POWERS are in conclave as I write these notes and it is hinted that the US which has so far been only an *observer* at meetings of these Powers may join as a full member now that this group has won some sympathy from the Arab world by ostensibly condemning the Anglo-French-Israeli attack on Egypt.

Warsaw

Just as the events in Egypt have shaken the NATO and BAGHDAD PACTS, the happenings in Poland and Hungary has undermined the WARSAW PACT. *The New York Times* correspondent William J. Jordan sums up in a despatch from Moscow (27/10/56) the situation that has arisen in Eastern Europe in the following terms:

"These events of the past week testify to an important and deep-seated transformation in the nature of the Communist world.

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World Affairs

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"Like a partially completed building, we can as yet see only the outlines and few of the details. What has happened in Poland and Hungary, however, provides an illuminating glance at what seems now to be a new pattern for the Communist structure. It is not, of course, the essential nature of Communist doctrine that is undergoing these profound changes, nor the ultimate goal of those who have accepted doctrine. What is changing before our eyes is the form of Communist administration, the role of the autonomous and national groups and, above all, the relationships between states and parties within the Soviet sphere....."

"Much that has happened in the past year, and especially in the past week in Poland and Hungary, indicates the Communists here and in the satellites are working out a new formula to govern their relations. What emerges will be vastly different from the familiar system of the Stalin era. To assume that such a change necessarily means a fatal weakening of the foundations of the Communist world could be a great mistake. There are some, apparently including a majority inside the Kremlin, who think otherwise."

Hungary

A great deal has been said about the events in Hungary and about the departure from the *Panch Sila* that the Russian action constitutes. But there was one matter which intrigued me. The Soviets have charged, (and this charge has also been made by Janos Kadar the new Hungarian Premier, and also by Tito of Yugoslavia), that Western reactionaries have had a great deal to do with the events in Hungary. Confirmation about this has come from a totally unexpected source. The *Newsweek*, the organ of American Big Business (without the finesse or the subtlety of the *Time*) in its issue of November 12, openly confessed thus:

"For U.S. broadcasters, it was significant and heartening that the demands voiced independently from each station (inside Hungary) closely resembled the demands previously voiced by Radio Free Europe (another name for Voice of America)."

The report goes on to say that American sources flew out an "iron lung" to a Hungarian rebel outpost which wanted this medical equipment (there was an SOS). A very big plane was needed for this "iron lung" and it was obtained from the US Air Force and an "iron lung" was flown to some airfield in Hungary. Whether *only* an "iron lung" was carried is not known, nor is it known whether the term "iron lung" was not a code word for arms, but it is significant that there was a definite organisational and radio link between some of the "rebels" in Hungary and Western European groups anxious to overthrow the regimes and governments in Eastern European countries.

All this only lends support to the position taken up by COLOMBO POWERS that not only should all military agreements and pacts should be torn up out that there should also be no interference from any quarter in the affairs of Hungary or any other country. Radio Free Europe and those who seek to supply rebels with "iron lungs" should stop interfering in the affairs of Hungary just as much as the Russian Army.

Egypt

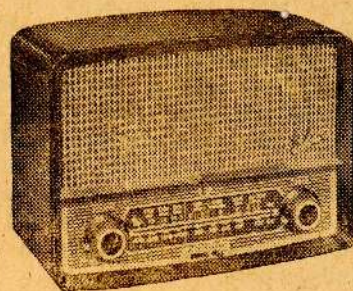
The *Newsweek* has also very bluntly stated the position that has arisen from the Anglo French adventure in the Middle East. In the issue of November 12, 1956 stated.

"..... Israel said it had attacked to wipe out Egyptian commando bases. Britain and France said that their action was aimed at safeguarding the Suez Canal and separating the combatants. Actually, whether by collusion or coincidence, all three nations aimed at getting rid of Nasser.

"London and Paris had based their action on four main assumptions — that the military campaigns would be short and easy, that other Arab nations would be shocked into passiveness, that the war could be limited to Egypt, and that the United States would ultimately fall into line. There were now misgivings on all four points....."

But *Time* in its issue of November 12 had no misgiving about HOW BRITAIN FRANCE AND ISRAEL GOT TOGETHER. This leading US weekly stated "in this conspiracy France was instigator, Britain a belated partner, and Israel the willing trigger."

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TO PAKISTANIS

I am an Egyptian journalist on the staff of "Al-Ahram" a leading daily of Cairo. I belong to the Arab race and I want to reach the eyes and ears of my Islamic brethren in Pakistan. Why then do I not write to some paper in Karachi or Lahore or Dacca?

The answer takes me to the root of my problem, which is the problem of all Arabs *vis-a-vis* Pakistan. For if I write to a Pakistan paper, it will not publish my complaint. Such is the existing state of affairs between Egypt and Pakistan. That is why I address this appeal to my Pakistani co-religionists through the columns of a popular weekly, like BLITZ, which has become so famous in Cairo since it made our case in regard to the Suez its own.

Dear Brother Pakistanis, I want to ask you, what is wrong with you? Why are you betraying Islam, Asia and Africa and Arabia, which should really be your blood ally, for the sake of the few dollars and rusted armaments you receive from America and the West? Why did you have to promise us your support on the Suez, twice, through the mouths of two different Governments and Foreign Ministers only to stab us in the back?

Your Dishonour and Ours

You did this, for the first time, at the London conference on the Suez, through your Foreign Minister Chaudhuri Mohammed Ali. And you did it again, for the second time, more recently, when your new Foreign Minister Feroze Khan Noon who led you to join the Suez Usurpers' Association against the legitimate Egyptian Authority in control of the Canal.

My comrades and I have put these questions several times to Pakistanis in Cairo. Their stock reply is that they are ashamed as much as we are of some of your Government policies. Their excuse is that you, the sovereign people of Pakistan, are not a free people at all, but tied to the wheels of the Anglo-American war machine in Asia.

Such is the reality of your degradation and ours, the dishonour of whole Islam and entire Orient, that an Asian nation should be tied by treaties, blocs and plots made in Washington against Afro-Asia. What else could have led you to betray the cause of Muslim and Arab countries and of Afro-Asian nationalism on the most vital challenge of the Suez nationalisation?

Pakistan People with U.S.

Our despair at your Government's policies is nevertheless, relieved to an extent by our knowledge of the fact that the good people of Pakistan are with us. We have heard of your processions and demonstrations. We have read your resolutions. We know of the very strong movement emerging in your country against SEATO and Baghdad Pacts and for an independent foreign policy.

The only thing that stands between you and the realisation of your independence is the opposition of your ruling clique, their subservience to Western bribery and blackmail.

We therefore want you, brothers and sisters, to persuade your Governor-General Mirza and his clique

By courtesy of the Bombay weekly BLITZ we publish this letter which indicates what an Arab feels about the role of the Government of Pakistan in the contemporary crisis in the Middle East.

to quit their alliance with the butchers of Arab freedom and join us as a really free country in ushering in a new dawn of Afro-Asian independence and sovereignty. They may tell you that they cannot do without American or Western aid.

Why Be Afraid of India?

We can assure you from our own experience, that in case the West seeks to bully you by refusing economic co-operation, there are other countries like the USSR, China, Arabia and all Asia ready to come to your rescue.

They many also tell you stories of Indian designs against Pakistan, about Kashmir and all that. But we know that you are not such fools as to believe that Pakistan, supported by a whole girdle of Muslim powers stretching from the Middle East to South-East Asia, can be really afraid of India.

We guess that India would be ready to join us in offering the required guarantees to Pakistan. We are even sure that a noble-minded leader of Nehru's stature

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TO PAKISTANIS

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would co-operate with us in finding a mutually agreeable solution to the problem of Kashmir, once he is assured that this vulnerable and strategic State is not turned over by Pakistan to its Anglo-American patrons for their imperialist designs.

Join Our Fight for Independence

That is why this appeal is addressed to you, brother Pakistanis. The time is ripe for you to change the wrong course of your foreign policy and start taking a more independent line in international affairs. Quit your foreign patrons, infidels that they have proved both to the cause of Islam and the Orient,

and join us in the fight we are putting up for political and economic independence. Break the chains of the Baghdad Pact and SEATO alliance which have tied both your hands and feet to the imperialist power and use your liberated limbs to embrace us in friendship and solidarity.

Our uncommitted world of Peace and Co-existence is growing in length, breadth and power every day. See how Egypt of Nasser has confused and confounded the NATO, SEATO and Baghdad conspirators joined together in an open challenge to Egyptian independence. Who has won the fight? Nasser or Eden? With whom would you side?

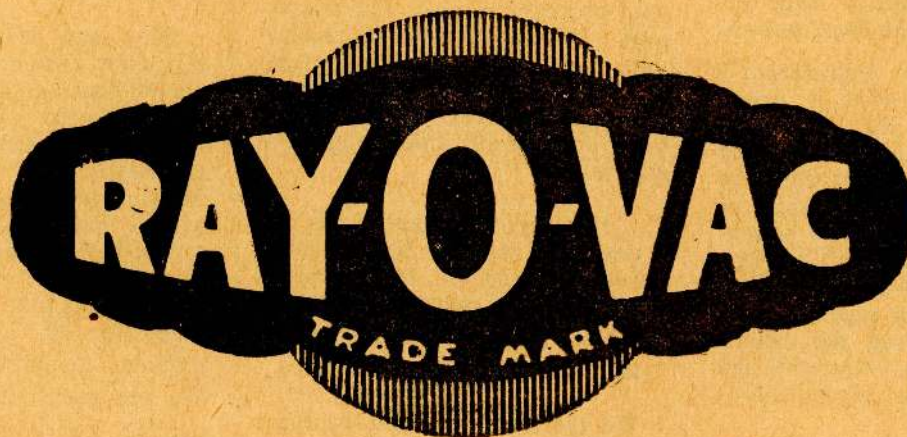
Strengthen Spirit of Bandung
Make up your mind Pakistanis!

Let not History expose you as the only Islamic power worth that name to have gone to the rescue of the dying Imperialism against living Freedom. Let not posterity condemn you as the harlot of the West. Quit the SEATO. Break the Baghdad alliance. Smash up your colonial chains and join us of Asia, Arabia and Africa in making the spirit of Bandung prevail.

I am nobody. Let my name remain anonymous. For what I am writing bears the authentic seal and sanction of a lordly name greater than mine or yours — the name of Islam and of the Freedom and Independence our Great Prophet enjoined upon us.

I remain, therefore,
Cairo
30.10.56
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AMARADEEPAM

Ganesan, Padmini, Savithri
Tamil at KINGSLEY, PLAZA

It is not easy to review a Tamil film particularly if one has grown with the traditions that have been associated with films from the West, America, Britain and the Continent. Though I have always tended to judge Tamil films from the standards of the best from the West, I have never kept away from these films however poor they were compared to the entertainment and dramatic power of the English language films.

REVIEW

(continued from page 434)

eye I suppose to historical accuracy in the way of costumes. It was a pleasing spectacle and practically out technicoloured anything I have seen in technicolour. All told a brave and courageous effort.

And lest we forget. A word of praise for Edward Hettiarachi. His prologue delivered in his best didactic manner set the play off to a splendid start. And his subsequent appearances very nearly convinced me that he had joined the Sangha.

N

I had gone to see "just another" Tamil film in *Amaradeepam*. The actors and actresses were the same, -the currently popular stars of South India. But I was pleasantly surprised when I sat through the film. Grudgingly I had to admit to myself that *Amaradeepam* was an improvement on the best Tamil film I had seen so far. The story was full of stock situations with the stock gags for the comic episodes. But the story was cleverly told. The script was less heavy handed, and the dialogue was 'slicker' than one gets in South Indian films, and above all the photography and editing was of a much higher quality that I have seen in any recent Tamil film.

I must say that in spite of the fact that I started with the customary prejudice I enjoyed *Amaradeepam* more than any other Tamil film I have seen. The film was only marred by a few "overdone" scenes: in the South Indian film land heaviness of touch and exaggeration is still mistaken for tragic and melodramatic intensity. *Amaradeepam* is a film that any person who knows Tamil will enjoy.

S. A.

JUST BRIEFLY

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ians did not surrender." The newsreel also praised the easy victory of the Israelis over the Egyptian (forgetting that it was the British stab-in-back destruction of Egyptian planes on the airfields that made the conquest of Sinai so easy).

After showing how "humanitarian" the Anglo-French action had been in occupying Port Said, British Movietone went into a high key and put over a terrific tale of misery and woe (sob stuff of the highest order) in Hungary and how the world was protesting only about the Russian action in Budapest. If one saw the newsreel (and nothing else one would get the impression that there were no world-wide protests against the Anglo French attack on Egypt.

British Movietone would do well to send its cameramen to Cyprus, Kenya and Algeria — just to get the record straight. And the commentator thanked God that the casualties in the Port Said invasion was less than a hundred: that is British casualties! What about Egyptian casualties? What about the 150,000 rendered homeless by the bombing of Port Said? What about the piles of dead still unburied?

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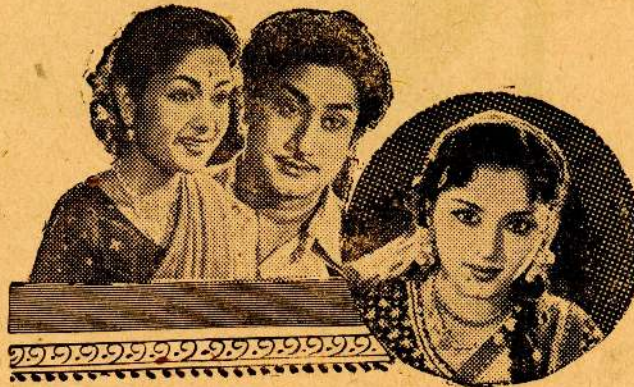
Nagiah

★

Nambiar

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Thangavelu



Starring:

Padmini

★

Savithri

★

E. V. Saroja

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