

U.N.P.



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Concept of Commonwealth—Asia and the Commonwealth CLOSER TO WORLD FEDERATION THAN EVER

(By The Hon. Mr. J. R. Jayewardene Minister of Finance, Ceylon)

IT is indeed a happy thought that prompted the B.B.C. to arrange a series of talks during the month of the Coronation of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II on "Concept of the Commonwealth." I accepted with pleasure the invitation to speak in this series on "Asia and the Commonwealth," and I am glad that my friends in other parts of the Commonwealth, such as Mr. Lester Pearson, Sir Douglas Coughland and Mr. Walter Elliott will speak with reference to North America, the Pacific and the United Kingdom respectively. It is the Commonwealth which has brought us together, and there are many other equally distinguished and sincere men and women whom I have met during the last five years in all parts of the world and at various international conferences and with whom I have made enduring friendships, owing to the fact that they are members of this great Commonwealth of Nations.

It is not necessary for me to relate the history of the growth of the Commonwealth idea. Suffice it to say that today the Commonwealth consists of a number of independent states, equal in status, in no way subordinate to one another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, and freely associated as members of the Commonwealth of Nations. The majority of these states are monarchies; one is a republic. Some have a unitary form of government and others a federal form. Their constitutions differ, and they are peopled by men and women of various races, religions and different colours. When during the last seven years India, Pakistan and Ceylon became equal partners with the rest in this Commonwealth, a new concept arose, and for the first time a free Asia joined in partnership with the other continents for the welfare of humanity. Since that time the Commonwealth has spread out over the whole world and has its member states in every continent.

It is today closer to a world federation than any similar institution has been in the past long history of humanity.

REPERCUSSIONS ON FREEDOM

THE peoples of Asia represent some of the most ancient civilisations of the world. There was a time when the culture of Asia illumined the thoughts of mankind. During the last 400 years one part or other of Asia lost its freedom, and the independent states were reduced to a handful and were of little importance in world affairs, except Japan. The regaining by these ancient nations of their freedom once again is a fact of tremendous importance, and we are daily seeing its repercussions on world events. History will associate the names of Gandhi and Nehru of India, Jinnah of Pakistan, Aung San of Burma, Soekarno of Indonesia and Senanayake of Ceylon with the

opening of this new era in the history of the world.

Three of these nations which rejoiced in their newly-found freedom, India, Pakistan and Ceylon, continue to be members of the Commonwealth, adding influence to it in worldly affairs, and wisdom to its deliberations.

What are the ideals of the Commonwealth which have made us remain as members. In medieval days imperial conquest meant the extension of brute force, and when that conquest disappeared very little was left behind, except the memory of oppression and violence. The Roman Empire for the first time founded a civilisation and broadcast the twin conception of law and citizenship. The Commonwealth of Nations too has evolved certain ideals which will influence the actions of men for centuries to come. To my mind these ideals are:—

(a) The concept of national freedom;

(b) democratic institutions and the freedoms inherent in such institutions;

(c) the rule of law; and

(d) negotiation, rather than force, for the settling of disputes.

Let me examine for a moment these four principles which are the foundation of the Commonwealth. The Coronation of Her Majesty, who is the Head of the Commonwealth, symbolises the independence of the units that compose it. Today, the Queen is a symbol of the free association of independent states and, as far as we in Ceylon are concerned, she is the Queen of Ceylon, independent of her being sovereign of any other state. She will be crowned as Queen of Ceylon, and at her Coronation the Prime Minister of Ceylon will play an important and independent part. The Crown is today not single but multiple. From this flows the other convention that Her Majesty's Government in Great Britain would not tender to Her Majesty advice in any matter pertaining to the affairs of any of her Dominions against the views of the government of that Dominion. We are independent nations, free in peace as in war, with the right to be a monarchy or a republic, to frame our own constitution and to live our own lives. If we so desire, we can secede from the Commonwealth and live apart from its other members. Among the free nations of the world, Ceylon is one.

ELECTED PREMIERS—NOT DICTATORS

THE establishment of democratic institutions is also universally accepted as characteristic of the Commonwealth. Those who rule the members of the Commonwealth are those who are elected by the free vote of the people, and they rule only so long as they retain the confidence of the people who returned them. Those who oppose the government in office have the freedom to do so in Parliament or outside, in speech or through writing. In Ceylon, from the smallest village to

the largest town, freely elected bodies manage the affairs of their area, just as Members of Parliament, elected by the people by the free exercise of their adult franchise, manage the affairs of State. The concept of Commonwealth recognises Prime Ministers elected by the people, but not dictators.


The rule of Law is as equally important as the right of electing one's rulers. Independent courts protect the life, liberty and property of the citizen. Neither the Executive nor the Legislature would ever seek to encroach upon the independent functioning of the courts in any part of the Commonwealth. The rule of law applies equally to a monarch, prime minister or the

humblest individual. A citizen of the Commonwealth can walk without fear of tyranny and oppression.

GREAT COMMONWEALTH AND LITTLE MINDS GO ILL TOGETHER

THE fourth concept is an experiment in political association which was tried out on a large scale in the League of Nations without success and is now being put to the test again in the United Nations Organisation. The Commonwealth is kept alive by agreement rather than by force. At the conferences that are frequently held among members of the Commonwealth, either at the level of Prime Ministers or Ministers,

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CEYLON'S EMBASSIES AND SPECIAL MISSIONS

SIDELIGHTS interesting and informative are disclosed in the Minutes of evidence recorded at the meetings of the Public Accounts Committee and embodied in the Report on the Accounts of the Island for the year 1950-51 and the report of the Auditor-General thereon. Dealing with the Department of External Affairs Abroad, in reply to a question regarding the unauthorized excess of expenditure, under certain subheads and the late auditing of accounts of various embassies, the Permanent Secretary explained that the difficulty was that it takes a long time to settle matters by correspondence between Colombo and Washington, for instance, and obtain sanction of the Treasury and by the time sanction was received it was too late. "These regulations were framed, I take it for application within the Island when the books can be closed," added Sir Kanthiah Vaithianathan. "These regulations have been in operation for 150 years, no doubt, but they were intended for conditions in Colombo. Heads of Departments even in other parts of the Island could be got at and explanation could be obtained. Here we have got to write to Washington for an explanation and in the meantime the Treasury books are closed."

COMPARATIVE COSTS OF EMBASSIES

With regard to the expenditure on the various embassies the Chairman observed that there was a big difference between the Washington Embassy which cost Rs. 500,000 and the Embassy in Australia costing the country only Rs. 100,000.

Sir Kanthiah's reply was that the cost of living and the exchange had

to be considered. The value of the rupee in Washington has recently depreciated by one-third. Another reason was that in America, Ceylon had an Embassy and an Ambassador must necessarily have a Counsellor to assist. In Australia we have a High Commissioner and a junior secretary. So that a junior secretary is about one-third as cheap as a Counsellor. They had a little more staff for the Embassy in America where there are larger problems to be handled and travelling is very heavy. In India the present expenditure was very little.

"Which is doing more useful work—the Embassy in India or the Embassy in America?" was another question which evoked the reply that owing to the fact that there are more Indians here make us concentrate on everything which is related to India while perhaps something more valuable to the country may be taking place in America, but very little of it would come above the surface. This country was getting value for the expenditure.

LEGATION IN INDONESIA

As regards the Legation in Indonesia, Sir Kanthiah said that that country was coming into prominence. It was a young country very much undeveloped at the moment or perhaps has had a bit of bad luck in her development being retarded or set back. She produces the same commodities in which Ceylon is a competitor and it was useful to have an Embassy there. There is a Legation there not an Embassy. That is the second grade. The Legation is necessary there to be able to keep in touch with what is happening in that country and obtain first hand information, as Ceylon is competing in the world market in the identical commodi-

ties which she exports and in which she might be progressing.

REPRESENTATIVE IN ROME

The purpose an Embassy in Rome serves was next explained by Sir Kanthiah who said that it was the intention of Government to have one or two centres for the whole of Europe. One has been opened in Rome from which Ceylon's Representative could look after the various conferences which take place, say in Switzerland, which is very near by. There was provision in the current year's budget for an Embassy in Japan.

MISSIONS ABROAD

"If the Embassies are functioning efficiently, is it necessary to send personnel from here when any special issue arises?" was another question posed by the Chairman. The reply was that if there is an international labour conference, a representative of the employer, a representative of the employees and a representative from the Government as intermediary between both, have to be sent. All three must go because the Ceylon Government representative in that country cannot represent the employers, the employees and the conciliating body. At Rio de Janeiro there is a conference to discuss the division of broadcasting wavebands. There was nobody at the Washington Embassy capable of arguing the technicalities as a representative of the Telecommunications can. So a special representative has to be sent from here.

RICE MISSION TO BURMA

As regards the special rice mission to Burma, Sir Kanthiah explained that the Minister Plenipotentiary in Burma did all the negotiations. When difficult negotiations are anticipated, the Food Commissioner goes, otherwise the Minister Plenipotentiary conducts them all. Almost every month the Minister has conferences. The Food Commissioner had to go two or three times to Burma, "but it is nothing when it comes to the question of food supply of the country. Generally it was the Minister in Burma

who conducts all the negotiations in that region," added Sir Kanthiah.

SIR OLIVER'S VISIT TO AMERICA

The next question was "Then why could not our representative in Washington deal with this issue without having Sir Oliver going all the way to America?"

Sir Kanthiah replying said: "That was a very special occasion. We have put out in a communique the whole history of that negotiation. In that negotiation we were discussing with America through her Ambassador here for over two years—for very nearly three years. It never reached finality. Because the tendency was to drag on it was felt that a person of ministerial status should go to have top-level talks and to reach a final conclusion. He did succeed in reaching a final conclusion but unfortunately it was not to our liking but we knew where we stood. That is the only conference which could have given us an appreciation of the situation as it stood and what the people at the other end thought. Immediately after that conference there was a change in our policy on the sale of rubber and purchase of rice. Events developed very dramatically thereafter."

DEPARTURE FROM COLONIALISM

"Public opinion," observed the Chairman, "is so forcibly expressed in the Press today about these embassies and special missions abroad that this Committee must go into this expenditure."

Sir Kanthiah replied: I think the public is un-informed for the reason that this is a new departure in our administration. As a colony this function was not done. In those days our benevolent grand-uncle, the British Government, spoke for us, and therefore, we had no expenditure at all. This is a new thing which is born with the Independence. As an independent country we should assert our position in the world, not as a big country would do but in proportion to the propriety of a small country, and for protection and advancement of our national interests."

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Wanted—A Policy of Land Reform

By Stanley Morrison

ALL over Asia, including non-Communist Asia, the outstanding phenomenon of the post-war era is land reform, involving the reduction of the large estates and landed properties and the distribution of the land so acquired by the governments of these countries among the landless peasants. Near at hand, in India, the government has started a systematic policy for the expropriation with compensation of the Zamindaris, those colossally wealthy landlords, many of whom were created by the British rulers of India to act as tax-gatherers and who became wealthy land-owners by the most objectionable methods. But while India is expropriating these landlords with compensation, in Kashmir the radical government of Sheikh Abdulla, the friend of Mr. Nehru, last year seized, without any compensation whatever, all the lands of the Zamindaris there, leaving them just enough land for the use of themselves and their families. By doing so, Sheikh Abdulla not only ensured the support of the landless masses in Kashmir for his regime, but also set an example to Pakistan, which has not yet set in motion land reforms on any great scale. One result of Sheikh Abdulla's action has been the demand by the Indian Socialist parties that in India too the Government should seize without compensation, the vast acres of the Zamindaris and distribute these surplus acres to the landless masses. This is one of the points on which the Indian Congress and the Indian Socialists led by Jai Prakash Narain, failed recently to see eye to eye. Incidentally, the Indian Congress has a wonderful ally in Mahatma Gandhi's disciple, Vinodhe Bhawe, who has had extraordinary success in his campaign to persuade landlords voluntarily to give donations of land to him to be used for the benefit of the landless peasantry. Millions of acres have already been donated in this fashion.

But what is the position in Ceylon? Despite all the talk of religion from public platforms in a country which boasts of its ancient civilisation no wealthy Buddhist and Christian landlords has up-to-date thought fit to do what Indian landlords have done and donate even small part of their broad acres to the Government for the use of the landless men and women of this country. One would think the way people talk about the value of religion from school prize-giving and other platforms that some effort would be made by the wealthy landlords to emulate the wonderful example of landlords in India. But obviously to our wealthy paddy-land owners and others religion is only a talking-point. "Give all that thou hast and follow me"—is an aspect of religion which does not appeal to our religious landlords. And no doubt the capitalist landlords are greatly encouraged in their acquisitive habits by the spectacle of some of our Leftist leaders who are great land-owners and who intend to give up their lands, not now but only when the great Marxist-millennium dawns in this land.

As things stand, therefore, land reform as a policy does not exist in Ceylon. But isn't it time the Government addressed itself to this question, particularly in view of what is happening across the Palk Straits? While the tea and rubber

plantations should not be disturbed, since they function best as large economic units and as the whole economic well-being of the country depends on their efficient functioning, there is ample scope for land reform as regards the paddy lands and large extents of coconut land. There is a strong case for converting the vast class of tenant paddy farmers into peasant proprietors. If these men owned the land they tilled, they would undoubtedly cultivate their lands more intensively and thus help to solve our food problems. But at present most paddy land-owners are absentee owners and tenants' interest in cultivating the land is, therefore, far from wholehearted. The late Rt. Hon. D. S. Senanayake proved, in his great Minneriya experiment, that the man who owned his own paddy land was an intensive cultivator and that he was of far more economic value to the country than a tenant-cultivator. But apart from distributing virgin land in the Dry Zone to landless peasants, the Government has not yet started a scheme for making the tenant-cultivator in the Wet Zone the proprietor of the land he cultivates. But isn't such a measure essential if the grow-more-food drive is to produce better results than it has done up-to-date? Isn't it because the paddy farmer is only a tenant that some of them sell the fertilisers which the Government gives them on the black-market or to a near-by estate? Can Ceylon afford to continue to have a large mass of tenant paddy farmers when in India the Government is creating an enormous number of new proprietary peasants? Besides, there is the example of Japan, where the American Occupation authorities converted most of the Japanese tenant-farmers into owners of the land they tilled. It is a fact that before the war only some 30 per cent. of Japanese farmers owned the land they tilled. But today, thanks to the American Occupation, 80 per cent. of Japanese farmers are proprietors. This has resulted in a larger output from the land than ever before.

Can Ceylon afford to remain out of the land reform movement which is sweeping Asia? And would the Government not immensely strengthen its hands if it were to initiate such a movement now while the food problem looms so large? The Government would be winning the hearts of the rural population if it started with a scheme for buying up the paddy lands of absentee landlords and handing them over to the tenant-farmers to be paid for in instalments over a period of years. Since the Government's coffers are at a low ebb it could pay the landlords, too, on an instalment basis until better times arrived. So much for the peasantry. As for the middle classes—a very numerous class today—the Government could buy up annually coconut estates and parcel them out to middle class folks to be paid for on an instalment basis. Middle class men who wish to take to coconut planting could be given an intensive six-months' training to enable them to take over the coconut lands. There is also plenty of scope for poultry and pig-farming on large idle plots of land in the environs of Colombo and all along the coast-line if these idle lands could be made available to middle class people with taste for farming. Far more of these pen-pushers and desk-warmers would take to farming if the facilities existed.

Thus the crying need today is for land reform. It is an Asian movement and it cannot long be resisted in any country in Asia.



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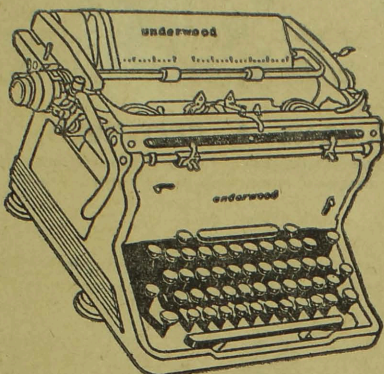
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Financing the Development Programme of Ceylon

By The Hon. Mr. J. R. Jayewardene

THE people of Ceylon have today to meet the challenge of a population fast outstripping her resources. Owing to the virtual elimination of malaria and the fall in the death rate consequent upon the application of modern scientific medical and sanitary methods, the rate of population growth in Ceylon is now one of the fastest in the world. For some generations past our productivity has maintained its place in the race with the population growth. Today in spite of all the modern methods of land utilization, increase in the population has taken the lead. The Government and the people have, therefore, to devise ways and means of expanding and diversifying the methods of production. We have to do this not only to maintain but even to improve the standard of living which is one of the highest in South-East Asia.

To meet this challenge since the grant of universal franchise and the election of National Ministers 22 years ago, a large scale development programme has been inaugurated. With the obtaining of freedom this programme took a most specific form and shape and under the name of the Six Year Plan has sought to achieve definite targets in agriculture, industry and social development. With the conclusion of that Plan in this Budget year a new Six Year Plan for the economic and social development of Ceylon is under preparation using the recommendations of the World Bank Mission as the basis. It is obvious that these development programmes entail the expenditure of large sums of money and that a considerable portion of that development must be undertaken and initiated by the State. I wish to speak to you today a few words about the financing of the Development Programme by the State.

Let me first consider the period of the First Six Year Plan, namely, 1947-48 to 1952-53. In my 1949-50 Budget Speech I contemplated that on revenue as well as Loan Account we would spend Rupees Four Thousand millions during the period of the Six Year Plan. I find now that the total sum will be nearer Rupees Six Thousand millions. We have found that money from our own earnings; by taxation direct and indirect and by the voluntary savings of our people. We have had no recourse to loans from outside agencies or from gifts from other countries. The aid from the Colombo Plan has been voluntarily given and falls outside the Development Programme of the Six Year Plan.

To find this money we have to increase our methods of direct taxation until Income and Profits Tax paid by both individuals and Companies has reached levels comparable with the highest taxed nations. We have had to impose Import and Export Duties in order to extract the maximum possible from this source of revenue without causing harm to our staple commodities. We have raised loans from our people in a way never anticipated before amounting to almost Rupees Three Hundred and Forty millions in 5 years. We have had recourse to deficit budgeting in order to finance this programme. The old Colonial Budget which sought a balance between the revenue and expenditure from loans only for specific objects and not exceeding the amount of the yearly loan was changed to one of substantial deficits. These deficits were financed partly from borrowing and partly from resources built up during the war. During the current financial year, and the previous one these deficits have got out of hand to such an extent that we

have had to use accumulated resources which have dropped from Rupees 889 millions in 1947 to Rupees 500 millions.

It should also be noted that during the period of the Korean War our external assets went up to Rupees One Thousand Two Hundred millions. We could not have financed this vast Development Scheme without the establishment of the Central Bank which was given wide powers to control the Banking System and to regulate the supply of money.

If we look at the expenditure incurred during this period we find that Capital Expenditures more than doubled during the first 4 years, and have maintained a level of between Rupees 200 to 250 millions since then. It is from this expenditure that the development of our national wealth, namely, irrigation, colonization, industries and our social and utility sources have been financed. Food subsidies also kept increasing but more gradually except in 1951-52 when they doubled owing to the high cost of rice entailing a Budgetary expenditure of almost Three Hundred million Rupees, that is even more than the four years' Development Programme.

When we consider the amount of money that is being spent and that it has been found entirely from our own national wealth it is not a matter for surprise that we have now reached a stage of financial exhaustion. I prefer to use this phrase rather than to use the words more popularly used today, such as financial crisis or bankruptcy. In the new year we must devise ways and means of recovering our national strength to venture out on a new Development Programme. While, no doubt, we can have recourse to International Organisations for aid, though we have not done so in the past.

The main source of our finances for development must come from our own wealth. It is essential that development should be financed as much as possible from budgetary surpluses. That is surplus of revenue over expenditure from revenue.

This is necessary because our capital market is not fully developed and the savings available from Government borrowing are limited. They would not total more than 75 to Rupees 100 millions in an average year.

The balance of the Development Programme amounting to 150 to 200 million Rupees, if we are to maintain the programme of the past 6 years must be found from revenue. Such surpluses can only be found either by increasing revenue or by decreasing expenditure. As I said before the avenues of increasing revenue are limited if not almost exhausted. Decrease in expenditure, however, is always possible, but the difficulty is to choose the proper items of expenditure which we can delete.

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People no longer trust our experts who advise on money matters. They are fed up with experts who can get up and say that "planning is unnecessary." That one remark gave the show away. It shows how outdated, how amateurish the advice of our fabulously paid economic experts can be. People wonder why the Planning Committee has become a Cabinet Budget Pruning Committee. People wonder whether there really is a serious economic crisis or whether the miscalculations of those who advised the Finance Minister are being hastily covered up with this phrase.

People wonder why we should belong to a World Bank which asks for 6 per cent. interest on loans and yet talks of its ostensible ideal of "helping the undeveloped countries." Any respectable moneylender will give us the same terms.

People want to know whether this 166 million on food subsidies, part of which we get back in sugar profits, is going to crash our country's economy, or whether we have indulged some comparatively junior Civil Servants too long in positions of Sir Oracle and paid the price of leaning on reeds by falling into the river.

People want to know why we still import cement and also pay steep prices for cement from KKS, without getting ahead with a second Cement Factory at Ambalangoda. Is it not a fact, they ask, that the expert report on Cement Production recommended Ambalangoda as the best site in Ceylon, but that we put the factory at KKS to give our northern brethren a share of industrial development. Then, if KKS won't do, and high cost of cement halts building of homes, why are we closing our eyes to the need for a second factory?

People ask, why there is still a waiting list for telephones, nearly five years after the war ended we still need phones. What has happened to the Post Office?

THE COLOUR BAR IN AFRICA

AT a conference held at London's Newman International Centre nearly a dozen lectures were given by clerical and lay authorities on the subject of the Colour Bar in Africa and were followed by discussions when the Christian responsibility to aim to improve race relations in Africa was stressed. From the lectures and discussions the following main points emerged:—

1. That Christianity having come to Africa with the Europeans the African tends to identify Europeans with Christianity.

European Society in Africa is becoming less and less Christian and hence the African tends to view the European as hypo-critical and failing to practise what he preaches. This leads to fear.

2. That the antagonism between the races in Africa are not fundamentally due to race at all. The causes are social, historical and economic at root but because cleavages due to these causes tend

(Continued on page 10)

People ask why Radio Ceylon still runs a Commercial Radio when it is a loss to revenue, and publish a radio magazine which is also run at a loss.

People ask why we have a Film Unit which produces a film a year when its Director is paid Rs. 36,000 a year. People ask why it cannot be Ceylonized when there are men who can do the job.

People ask what happened to the brave visions of the Electric Age—and wonder whether the right men are there to execute the plans Sir John dreamed of when he pushed on to complete the first stage of the Hydro-Electric Scheme. Where, oh where is the planning ahead to use power to produce wealth? Where is the power to illumine the villages?

These and a myriad questions, people ask, and happily, they await the return of the P.M. and Sir John to take the steps necessary to put things right again.

Sir John's responsibility is immense. In the old days we could have left it all to the "Old Man." No problem was much of a problem to him. After we had got quite excited about anything he would smile and say: "Actually as a matter of fact....." and would go on to give us the facts, the analysis and the remedy.

Today he is not with us, and while we have many publicised geniuses we have only one man with the "Old Man's" practical sense, that experience, that knowledge of policy and antecedent and background—and that man is Sir John.

All our theoreticians and professors seem to be still immersed in World Bank reports, statistics, theories, books, speeches and other highly academic studies. We want now to get on with the job. That job needs a co-ordinator, a man of action, a man who can get things done. So, we hope the P.M. and Sir John and the Finance Minister will get to grips with the country's needs and lead us out of this confusion.

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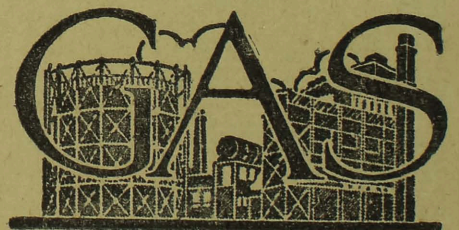
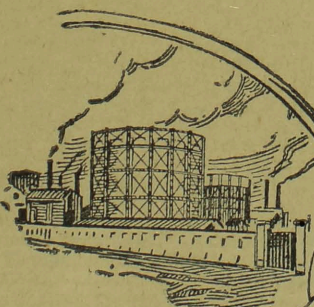
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u.n.p.

Friday, June 26, 1953

A GREAT SPEECH

One of the most interesting, and perhaps the most profound B.B.C. talk associated with the Coronation was delivered by our Finance Minister, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene. We publish the full text in this issue of the U.N.P. Journal, and would draw the attention of our readers to the paragraphs in which he has summed up the purposes for which the Commonwealth exists. The four points he lays down need to be clearly understood by all those who still find solace in outdated and primitive attempts to rouse sectional and racial prejudices among our people. That there is something bigger, greater and more worthwhile outside the narrow confines of local patriotism alone is a significant utterance.

Mr. Jayewardene's statement that "a Great Commonwealth and little minds go ill together" is an observation on which a whole book can be written. It applies with equal truth to lower planes of political thinking and can be applied with benefit to the parliamentary and party work of all of us. Little minds are impelled always and only by personal interest and advantage. The motivating force behind the activities of such minds is the hope of getting power or glory or both. It

takes a great mind and consequently great character to do something because it is the right thing, to support something because it is just or fair or right to do so. How often do we not see a policy opposed by people because they envy the credit that the person who first proposed the policy might get? When we hear politically canvassing by groups and cliques rousing support or opposition because of someone or other who should either be boosted or downed, then we are perilously close to disaster. There is only one reason, and one alone why anyone or anything must be supported—because that person or that thing is right. Political advantage or disadvantage is the last consideration that should enter into the decisions of statesmen. A statesman must be ready to sacrifice his seat in Parliament or position of influence or authority in a Party for the good of his country or his Party.

It is, we believe, in that context that Mr. Jayewardene thinks aloud about the Commonwealth. Members of the Commonwealth, banded together on the four points laid down by Mr. Jayewardene, must necessarily think of any particular policy from the viewpoint of its justice and its correctness—and never from the angle of the narrow, sectionalism interest of one power group or another.

However difficult it must be in a human world where personal prejudices, ambitions, jealousies and ignorance often break through idealism, a sustained effort must be made to keep our political thinkers on the highest possible plane.

National Library

"Reading maketh a full man; conference a ready man; and writing an exact man." So wrote that eminent writer, Francis Bacon. The truth of this saying has been proved as mankind progresses to the ultimate goal of civilization. The place of the Library and moreover a National Library, in the daily lives of the peoples of the world of today cannot be overemphasized. It is something that is well nigh indispensable.

What is a library? It has been defined as "a place to collect the intellectual deposits of all lands and of all times, to organise them in accordance with their intellectual specificity, and to use them as a means of sharpening the primary senses, cultivating the intellect, refining the emotions, enriching and externalising the memory, and helping in the release of intuition in the members of the community, each in a measure best suited to him." Thus it is an institute meant primarily for the diffusion of knowledge, mainly by way of circulation of books, papers, manuscripts, etc., among its members.

It is indeed a fact to be regretted that in Ceylon, today, there is a sad deficiency as far as library facilities are concerned. Many other countries have a chain of libraries which serve the needs of the peoples, whereas independent Ceylon has only a few libraries to do this function. The libraries include the Public Library, Museum Library, University Library, those run by a few foreign embassies, and those of a few firms. It has been mentioned, of the largest of these institutes—the Public Library, that the services maintained are hopelessly inadequate. Indeed, there has been

an increase in the demand for library facilities while there has been a deterioration of the services. This has been mainly due to inadequate financing, insufficiency of staff, and insufficient accommodation.

A library and more so a National Library is a tremendous asset in this connection. A Library is of economic value too. It provides a stimulus to self-improvement, and thus the improvement of the country as a whole. Further, it is observed that our National Literary works are not given a proper place in the sphere of the ordinary man's life. There is also a decline in popularity of these works among the peoples. These works could be given the credit and popularity they truly deserve, by means of a National Library. The average Ceylonese shows a hateful disgust of the fine arts. Art, music (classical), drama, etc., have no meaning to him. A National Library would be a great help in a cultural re-awakening and betterment in Ceylon.

The fitting and memorable monument to our first Patriot Premier, Rt. Hon. D. S. Senanayake, a man who would have wholeheartedly welcomed such a worthy cause would be a National Library.

A National Library would be a worthwhile addition to the heritage of Lanka, for it will prove true to its purpose as time rolls on. The Nation will progress intellectually, morally and physically. Yes! It is not at all futile to its dream of the day when a chain of National Libraries in Ceylon and throughout the world would help in the intellectual development and exchange of ideas and ideals towards the final goal of peace and happiness.

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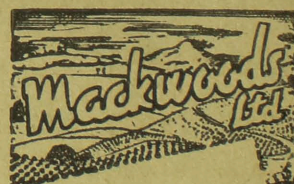
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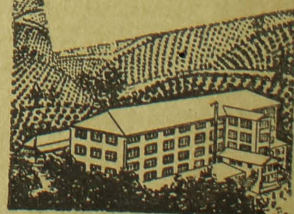


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Scientific Investigation in Crime Detection "Thirst to Penetrate the Unknown"

THE value of the scientific investigation is realized when one reads the contents of the Administration Report of the Government Analyst, disclosing the work he is engaged in at the scientific institution of which he is in charge. The large volume of analytical work undertaken during 1952 and the results achieved disclose his "thirst to penetrate the unknown." His assistance is sought by the Criminal Investigation Department, the Medical and Sanitary Department, the Customs, Excise, Food and Marketing Departments. The work of the department continues to increase steadily. To the Police and the Courts in the field of criminal investigation, the Government Analyst has been of the greatest assistance. The number of cases reported on in 1952 has shown an increase of nearly 150 over the previous year. The figures for the past six years are as follows:—

Year	Productions	Reports
1947	4,826	1,134
1948	6,014	1,090
1949	5,836	1,169
1950	4,928	1,369
1951	6,969	1,371
1952	8,300	1,516

POISONING CASES

Among the suspected poisoning cases submitted by the Police and Courts were 12 of acetic acid, 5 of cyanide, 3 each of phenolic bodies, datura and kerosene, 2 each of ganja, sulphur, glass powder and one each of Hondala, fried oil, arsenic, mercury alcohol, and acetic acid, avomine tablets, dettol, sulphuric acid, arsenious oxide and barium carbonate (rat poison), potassium chlorate, calcium carbonate, soap, nitric acid bleaching powder, formalin, mercuric chloride, yellow phosphorous, camphor, magnesium sulphate and tetraethyl ethylene. The hospitals submitted 412 productions in 240 cases. Of these the Judicial Medical Officers of Colombo and the outstations submitted 63 productions in 30 cases, the district hospitals submitted 389 in 216 cases.

CASES OF INTEREST

The inmates of a house, after partaking of a meal of rice and curry, felt giddy and were soon unconscious. They were then robbed. A mydriatic alkaloid and datura seed were identified in one of the curries.

A child who was given a dose of white mixture, died soon afterwards. Magnesium Sulphate was found in the stomach and intestines. The sample of white mixture contained 72.5 per cent. of magnesium.

A woman was admitted to hospital

with a history of having drunk half a bottle of kerosene oil, nearly three ounces of kerosene oil were separated out of the vomit.

A woman committed suicide by drinking Izal. Twelve grams of phenol were separated from the stomach contents.

A man who is said to have drunk a bottle of arrack in the night became boisterous a few hours later and died early next morning. 0.3 per cent. alcohol was identified in the blood from the heart and 0.05 per cent. alcohol in the urine.

In a case of death which was alleged to have been due to heart failure, 1.2 grams of acetic acid in the stomach and 2.7 grams in the liver and spleen were identified.

Two children were given "Sakkara" (white jaggery); one died about 15 hours after ingestion of the sweets and the other suffered from severe vomiting. Arsenic was identified both in the vomited matter and in the liver, spleen kidneys and stomach of the deceased.

HIT-AND-RUN VEHICLE TRACED

A Commer Station Waggon which was alleged to have knocked down a cyclist and driven off was traced a few days later to a garage in Colombo. There was no apparent damage to the vehicle except a small abrasion of the front buffer. Examination of the inside of the waggon revealed small spurts of blood—later proved to be human—on the inner side of the windscreen near its offside end and on the offside backrest of the front seat. The floorboards appeared to have been swept out but particles of glass were picked out from along the offside edge of the boards. Examination of the glass shutters revealed that the front windcreens and shutters were all of one type and similar to the glass found at the scene of the accident, but differed from those on the offside. There was evidence that these latter had been recently fitted. The waggon was painted a grey colour with an undercoat of yellow. Similar paint was found on the buckled rim of the bicycle, the patch on the front mudguard of the car which appeared to have been painted recently was found to have a coat of white paint under the grey instead of the yellow as on the rest of the car, clearly showing that a portion of the mudguard bore paint which was not the original paint of the waggon. These findings left no room for any doubt that this was the vehicle which had knocked down the cyclist.

Concept of Commonwealth

(Continued from page 1)

or at official level, we seek to reach agreement on matters in dispute voluntarily. There is no sanction behind these conferences other than voluntary agreement. A decision or compromise by force is not even thought of. It has been my privilege to attend during the last five years several Commonwealth conferences, and the only sanction that I have been able to see is the sincere desire of the members to work together and the knowledge that obstruction and pettiness would force this mutual and free association into dissolution. The thought that inspires such a conference is "a great Commonwealth and little minds go ill together."

What of the future? The period of physical expansion is over. New additions into the comity of free nations will come in the same way that the Asian nations joined the Commonwealth, by the evolution from colonial status to freedom of other parts of the British Empire. I am one who believes that this should happen as early as possible, and that our strength lies in the liquidation of the Empire and its merger with the Commonwealth. It may also be that countries which are independent today outside the Commonwealth may wish to be

more closely associated with us, and if there are any, I am sure the other members of the Commonwealth will welcome their joining us.

I see the future development of the Commonwealth to lie more in the path, firstly, of a joint effort to maintain within itself, and to preserve and also to encourage in other parts of the world, the ideals of the Commonwealth which I have already mentioned; and, secondly, to seek to add to the happiness and prosperity of the people living within the Commonwealth as well as outside it. The Colombo Plan for the co-operative development of the peoples of South and South-East Asia, which had its origin at a Commonwealth Conference of Foreign Ministers held in Colombo in 1950, is symbolic of this new conception.

It is with gratitude that I mention the aid, financial as well as technical, which the developed and older members of the Commonwealth have given to the developing and younger members. A nation, as well as a group of nations, can in the final analysis be judged by the happiness of those who live therein.

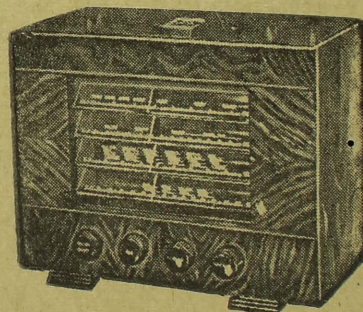
I believe that the purpose of the Commonwealth is to provide an example of successful co-operation for the achievement of the ideals I have mentioned.

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THE RED NETWORK IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

(Continued from last issue)

THE Party works in much the same way in the penetration of other less important organizations. Its main function is to establish and maintain its membership in key positions where it can exercise the greatest influence on public opinion and where it can perform other tasks which may further the ends of Soviet policy.

For this purpose it is organized into a number of committees and groups, both central and local, under the direction of a central committee whose members are trained and trusted Stalinists. With their

discipline goes a considerable degree of secrecy in some of their activities. Many Party members make no secret of the fact that they are Communists, and indeed they could not perform their allotted tasks without disclosing the fact. Others conceal their sympathies and their membership of the Party and thus obtain positions of trust and responsibility. The Party's ordinary political activity is intense, but since the appeal of the Communist creed in the United Kingdom is small, and the direct impact of Communist propaganda correspondingly slight, an important part of their activities is turned towards influencing public opinion indirectly through the apparently independent bodies described in the following pages.

Another link from the old Politburo, and now from the Praesidium, to the British people, is a group of organizations in the United Kingdom, some openly associated with the Soviet or a satellite government, and others affiliated to the Communist-controlled international bodies. There is a difference in function between the two types. The openly associated group is concerned simply with spreading the picture of Russian and satellite life and policies that the governments wish to see circulated in this country. It is a one-sided arrangement, since the chain of communication is from the government of the Communist state

to the British people, while there is no corresponding communication from the British Government or people to the peoples of the Communist states. These organizations have a part to play in selecting persons to visit Soviet Russia and its satellite states who can be relied upon not to dispel the illusions about their countries which are fostered by Communist governments. They have a non-Communist facade, comprising fellow-travellers and those who, out of ignorance or faith, believe that now or in the future such organizations may contribute something towards mutual understanding. At present, of course, the organizations operate solely to the advantage of the Soviet or satellite government and to the detriment of Great Britain. The principal organizations of this first type are:—

British-Soviet Friendship Society
Scottish-Soviet Friendship Society
The Society for Friendship with Bulgaria
Britain-China Friendship Association
British-Czechoslovak Friendship League
British-Polish Friendship Society
British-Rumanian Friendship Association
British-Yugoslav Association (anti-Tito)
British-Hungarian Friendship Association.

The second category of organizations are those in which the interest

or the control of the Soviet Government is not immediately apparent. Many of these are linked with the international organization already described, and all of them contain an operating nucleus of members of the British Communist Party. It is an essential feature of such organizations that their ostensible purpose should be to serve interests not apparently related to the interests of Communism or of the Soviet Government. They appear to be concerned with the interests of women, youth, science, ex-servicemen, the law, music, etc., and all are now linked to the preservation of "peace." Their specific object is to appeal to non-Communists, and their usefulness to Russia is likely to collapse wherever it is made clear that they are serving solely Russian interests.

The principal organizations of this second type are:—

The British Peace Committee (associated with the World Peace Council)
Student Labour Federation (linked with the International Union of Students)
International Youth Council (associated with the World Federation of Democratic Youth)
International Women's Day Committee associated with the Women's International Democratic Federation)

The National Assembly of Women. There are also a number of small movements, apparently initiated by the "peace" movement, namely, the Ex-Servicemen's Movement for Peace; the Medical Association for the Prevention of War; the Authors' Peace Appeal; the Musicians' Organization for Peace; and the National Committee of Scientists for Peace.

There are two relics of past Communist campaigns: the International Brigade Association and Friends of Republican Spain, and the League for Democracy in Greece. And lastly there is the National Council for

Civil Liberties, originally a reputable body, but long since degraded by Communist penetration. The Haldane Society (associated with the International Association of Democratic Lawyers) has suffered a similar fate.

At this point it must be made clear that it is largely irrelevant whether or no persons active in these bodies are members of the British Communist Party or are consciously serving the interests of the Soviet Praesidium. Whether they are acting deliberately on behalf of Soviet policy or are dupes acting in ignorance of the true significance of their actions and of the role they are playing, is immaterial to the present analysis. Their contribution to the aims of the Soviet Government has to be assessed solely by their words and deeds, how these words and deeds conform to instructions issued by the Praesidium, and their exact role in the Soviet Government's plan.

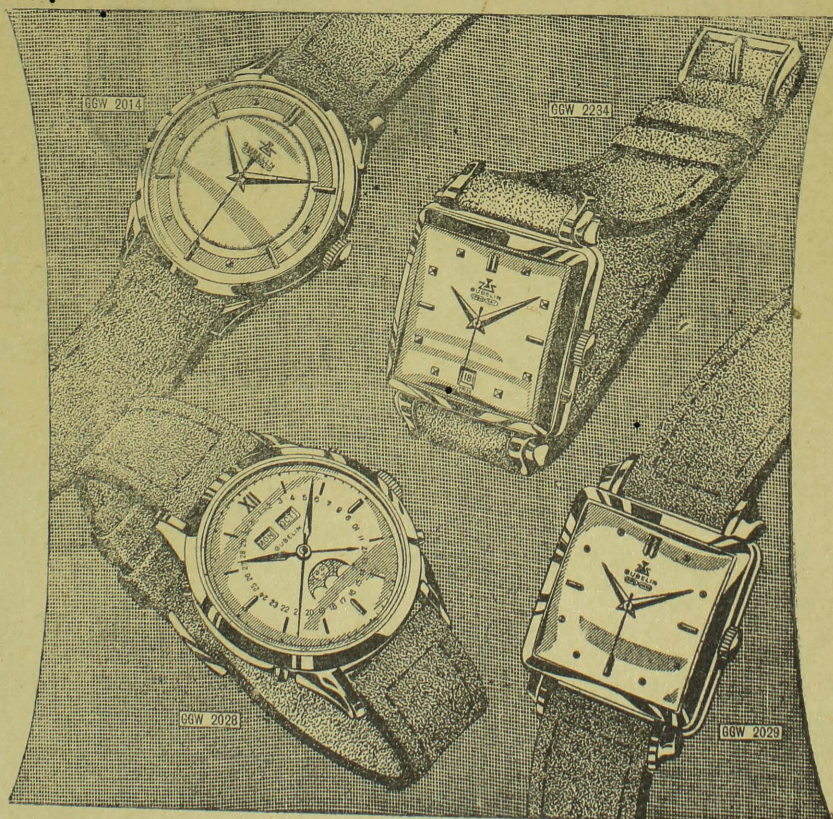
The ideal arrangements for the Soviet Government might be to have groups organized in the United Kingdom containing no Communists at all, but conforming to the policy of Soviet-controlled organizations which have a non-Communist facade. This they have failed to achieve and in the case of the British Peace Committee which is one of the main Soviet propaganda instruments in the United Kingdom, any attempts to conceal its Communist affiliations have apparently been abandoned. The full membership of the British Peace Committee appears never to have been disclosed, but it includes Communists or Communist sympathisers such as the Dean of Canterbury. Its Chairman is Gordon Schaffer, a journalist, who is also Chairman of the British-Polish Friendship Society and a member of the World Peace Council. He is also associated with the British-Rumanian Friendship Association, the British-Soviet

(Continued on page 11)

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SUDDEN DEATH OF BURMESE AMBASSADOR

A Devout Buddhist and
Social Worker

WE regret to record the death which took place suddenly on Tuesday morning, of U Tint Swe, the Burmese Ambassador in Ceylon, at the General Hospital to which he was taken on Monday, after a heart attack. He leaves behind his wife and 11-year old daughter.

The remains were removed to Burma House, his residence in Ward Place, where they lay in State till Saturday.

The cremation took place that afternoon at the General Cemetery, the cortege leaving the residence at 4 p.m.

A military Guard-of-Honour was provided at the entrance to the cemetery and an Army Salute of 17 guns was given in honour of the late Envoy Extraordinary.

Wreaths were placed at the foot of the bier by Capt. H. T. Gunasekera, Extra A.D.C., on behalf of the Governor-General, and by Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, Chairman of the Cabinet, on behalf of the Government of Ceylon.

U Tint Swe was a devout Buddhist and social worker, who did not

however, limit his social work to that particular sphere, and has a record of active association with the Rangoon Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. and the Women's Christian Temperance Union.

U Tint Swe joined the Burmese Government as Secretary to the Ministry of Welfare and Religious Affairs and in that capacity gave considerable help to Christian missionaries stranded in Burma.

He was a member of the first Burmese mission to Tokyo and also visited Malaya, Indo-China, Formosa and the Philippines.

U Tint Swe who spread his life over a wide and varied field, served on the Burma Education Policy Enquiry Committee, the Burma Cinema Control Board, and the Burma Press Advisory Board, and the Burma Research Society. He also identified himself for many years with the activities of the Moral Rearmament Movement.

The First Secretary of the Burmese Legation, Aung Myt Kyaw will be the new Burmese Charge d' Affaires.

THE STORY OF INDIAN CITIZENSHIP

By Joe Karunaratne

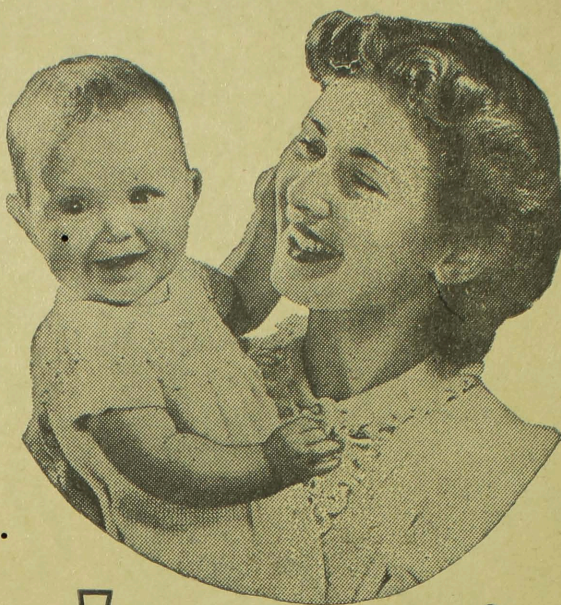
(Continued from last issue)

THIS act was passed by the Dominion Parliament by an overwhelming majority but there were no doubt a few stray dogs that barked at the caravan but the caravan did pass and their barks amounted to a cry in the wilderness. In the Parliament that passed this Act there were six Indian members. Of these only one spoke against the Bill. What the honourable member did was of signal importance. He assumed the perpendicular position, vehemently criticised the Bill in all its entirety, summarily rejected the offer of Ceylon citizenship and then resumed his seat. Hats off to him for he was the only vertebrate among them who acted in subservience to the dictates of his conscience. The other five sat glued to their chairs with an expression of grave concern on their faces. The Indian leaders were now foiled in their objective and their plans had ended up in smoke. They organised a widespread boycott of Indian citizenship and when August, 1951, which was the closing date for would-be applicants to send in their applications drew near, a phenomenon began to manifest itself. The faint trickle of applications that came in at the beginning of 1949

began to gather so much momentum that when the closing date dawned there were over 500,000 waiting to be enrolled. Meanwhile the revision of registers had taken place and on that register only 8,500 Indians had been granted the vote. The Indian leaders were now on the horns of a dilemma. They had led the masses off the beaten track. The Indian masses had been deceived by the laudatory epithets of their leaders. The leaders on the other hand had been deprived of their seats in the supreme legislature of the land because 8,500 Indians were not a factor to be reckoned with when considering the total voting strength of the whole Island. The Aziz's and the Thondaman's then hatched a new plan. They organised a Satyagraha campaign and determined to offer passive resistance to the Government. The noble movement of Satyagraha which had been organised by none other than the Apostle of India to fight for just rights was now subverted by our local politicians who were fighting for their rights after they had accomplished their political doom. The Satyagraha movement fizzled out and the Indian leaders bowed their heads in shame. But however in 1952 a premature election had to be staged because it was necessitated by the sudden death of our much-loved Father of the Nation. This was in short the march of Ceylon's franchise.

This question of Indian citizenship has unfortunately become blurred, embellished and twisted by mischief-makers and saboteurs of Democracy. Their statements are a perversion of reality, an assertion of lies and a distortion of facts. Some of them have even gone over to India and painted hideous pictures of the treatment meted out to the Indians by the Government of Ceylon. But Ceylon could rest contented in the fact that steering the ship of state both in India and in Ceylon are two statesmen whose reputation does not lie engulfed within the confines of their respective countries with sound common sense and political sagacity and we can rest assured that they will steer their courses safely and calm all fears and apprehensions and ultimately bring a satisfactory solution at an early date. So that the Indians and the Ceylonese hand in hand, with heads erect may proudly assert their fundamental rights and may walk the earth in dignity, in majesty and in peace.

Why Mother knows



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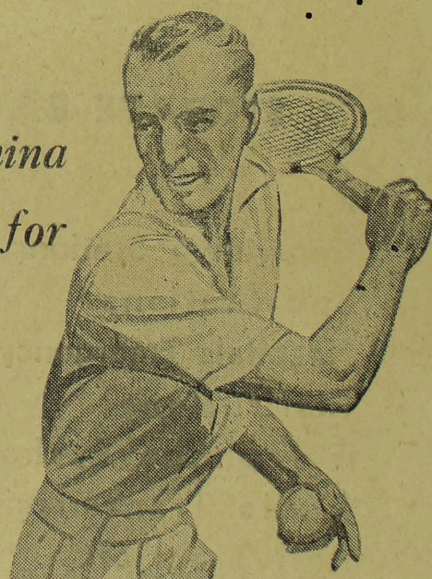
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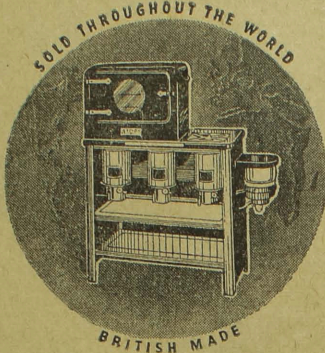
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THE U.N.P. AND TRADE UNIONS

By **Eardley Gunasekera**

TWO weeks ago, Mr. Ananda Tissa de Alwis stressed the importance of U.N.P. entry into trade union activity and last Friday I observed with a deep sense of satisfaction that he has transformed his aspirations into a preliminary move of action by submitting a memo to the U.N.P. high command. It must never be imagined that what Mr. Alwis has so far advocated in this direction is only a cry in the wilderness, a wave of opportunism or an idea to "hit the headlines."

It must be conceded that the U.N.P. has not interested itself sufficiently in trade union work for reasons I cannot myself discover. But let us not lament over our shortcomings of the past but look to the future for other avenues whence this party would be able to display with pride another direction of efficient activity. There is no point in developing agricultural schemes, education, health or building more houses for the homeless because the assessment of a party are not always based on those topics. The Government clerk, mercantile clerk, and labourer require us to show a deeper concern in his direct welfare. He wants better salaries, more amenities, and an attitude of humaneness on the part of the employer towards him. And these he could only get through the media of the trade unions.

Why, you will ask, should the U.N.P. sponsor such moves? I do understand the frame of mind such a questioner is placed in because trade unionism has always had a red-colouration. This is so specially in this country because it must be remembered that the trade union is the cherished domain of Leftists. A statement of this nature has just the absurdity as when we say that the hat or pair of shoes is the hallmark of the educated and the gentlemanly. To feel and be aware of the pangs of hunger, misery, want and poverty, are the characteristics not only of Leftists but a natural reaction of all rational human beings. It is high time that other gentlemen who feel in a similar fashion step into the arena of trade unionism with a view not of fostering individual assertions, but with the genuine intention of ameliorating the conditions of gentlemen who have fallen victim to the caprice of sly and crafty leftists.

The large majority of trade unions in this country are leftist sponsored which places the worker who has no wish to associate himself with organisations of this type between Scylla and Charybdis; that is the oppressing employer on the one hand and the exploiting trade union on the other. The memorandum's suggestion that we should deal first with non-Governmental labour before we approach directly with intricate trade union work is a valuable one.

Non-Governmental labour is always more pliable and we could learn for a beginning by working amidst them. There is no point in making a loud boast that we are prepared to undertake large scale trade-union work when in fact we are not. It is therefore necessary that we equip ourselves adequately before embarking on active trade union work. The principle is that we must first enter the Trade Union field and then work out the details later.

Hitherto the assistance of our party has not been readily available to the workers. A trade union, it must be remembered, will form an useful channel of communication between the Party and the workers. The party would be able to obtain first hand information of their working conditions and grievances and those in charge of trade union work would be able to give without distortion the problems that have arisen between employer and employee. An immensely important reason in promoting trade union work, should be of a dual nature. Though, of course, the foremost idea of the trade union movement

is to secure for the worker the best possible conditions we must recall to our minds that the trade union will serve as an united and powerful front against unscrupulous employers. Nevertheless, it does not mean that once we have launched the trade union campaign we could afford to be pugilistic and hostile towards employers, because we have derived our strength from unity and solidarity we could then be in a position to teach our leftist counterparts on what lines we are to tackle the difficulties of the worker, whether we are to employ as they do the miserable methods of coercion and force or persuasion and understanding.

LONG FELT NECESSITY

Finally it must be mentioned that this move is a long felt necessity and there is a no more opportune moment than this when we could move freely with all workers in the broadest sense of the term. The U.N.P. has always been mitigating and compromising in the diverse problems relating to the workers and it has, as far as my memory goes, never in any way militated against the progress and welfare of the workers and it would be of the greatest service that we could render these less privileged workers if we decide to enter the trade union field. And without the slightest doubt it could be assured that we could achieve far more than all leftist groups put together in union work (if ever they have) in the past twenty-five years or as a matter of that in the next fifty years to come.

The Colour Bar in Africa

(Continued from page 5)

to follow racial lines the social, historical, etc., antagonisms are projected, through fear, on to the racial divisions, thus leading to racial antagonism.

This proposition is supported by the present good situation in the Gold Coast.

3. That the only possible solution of the problems is the Christian solution which unite all men in the mystical body of Christ.

4. Following from this there are certain rights which may not be denied to any man, whether African or European. This emphasises the importance of the South African Bishop's letter in which these rights are clearly set out.

5. Following from this, since both Europeans and Africans have rights in many parts of Africa, co-operation between the races is essential. If fear goes the causes of racial antagonism should go and co-operation become possible in principle.

6. If, however, co-operation is to be effective in practice the standard of African life must be raised. In this connection discriminatory laws are a hindrance and are deeply resented by Africans.

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Political Outlook of Ceylon at a Glance

By A Law Student

IS there an alternative Government to the U.N.P.? This is an important question that is troubling most of the responsible citizens of Ceylon.

Let us first take Lanka Sama Samaja Party. This party which was split into two parties, under the leadership of Dr. N. M. Perera and Dr. Colvin R. de Silva respectively, marked a further split when Mr. Philip Gunawardene formed a different party. Is it wrong to anticipate further splits in the future? After all Sama Samajists together in Parliament are a few and if their party splits continue further, can they even justify their mere existence. There is absolutely no sense of co-operation and compromise among the leaders. Everybody wants to be a leader. The result of party differences among themselves is the outburst of a new party. Can we pass on the responsibility of a Government to these irresponsible persons who cannot even properly administrate a party? People who have at their heart the party they belong to, and the interests of the country, should surely be able to sacrifice a few personal ambitions. Leadership is not essential if one desires to work for a country. The ideal example for these selfish politicians is Sir John Kotelawala, who decided to remain under our young Premier. Sir John must have had an ambition just as anybody else, to be the Premier of his country but he loved his country greater when he cared for the views of his fellowmen. It was not because of any obligation towards Mr. Dudley Senanayake who was at that time a junior, that Sir John did not form his own party as a protest, but he preferred to sacrifice a personal ambition, in order to strengthen a Democratic Party, rather than to present an opportunity to Marxists, whose activities are a menace to the people of the country.

Talking of Communists, they command only a handful of seats in Parliament. This alone is sufficient to justify the extent to which the people of this country disapprove of their activities. There is a mass scale of dismissal of party members.

This attributes to the fact that the governing body of the party expels anybody, who disagreed with them. Can this country be governed by a coalition Government of Communists and Sama Samajists? The answer is obviously in the negative because even if they do form a coalition, they will not be able to outnumber the rest, as there are hardly any prospects of their maintaining a continued unity among themselves. A slight difference of opinion is enough to upset the entire unity which would mark the downfall of their Government.

What about the Freedom Party? The leader of the party, who has been an ex-Minister in the U.N.P. Government for four years, gave wide publicity to his disapproval towards the U.N.P. work during the four years, the moment he burst out from the party. Why did Mr. Bandaranaike remain in a Government so bad as that for four long years without a word of dissatisfaction? Could it be that all the evils happened during the fourth year? Mr. Bandaranaike is educated enough to understand that as a Cabinet Minister a share of this alleged blame passed on to him. Mr. Bandaranaike is a great lover of Democracy and therefore made attempts to overthrow the Democratic Government with the joint efforts of the Marxists. Mr. Bandaranaike's principle motive was to defeat the U.N.P. even at the cost of Democracy. He did not for a moment consider the danger that this country would have to face, if Marxists were given a place in the Government. It was quite clear that Mr. Bandaranaike could not have formed a S.L.F.P. government, unless a coalition with the Marxists was arranged. Here is an opportunity extended by a Democratic party for Marxist, whom the people of this country despise. Why cannot the S.L.F.P. fight the battle in a Democratic manner? People have now realised that though S.L.F.P. present a Democratic picture its activities are almost threatening Democracy.

It is wrong for us to say that U.N.P. is a perfect Government. In fact there is no perfect Government in the world. We all make mistakes and it is up to us to see that we do not repeat them.

In spite of the fact that the U.N.P. Government was deprived of an Opposition with any sense of co-operation, we must be proud that they have produced satisfactory results of a system of Government, that was entirely new to us. There is hardly anything creditable to be spoken about the Opposition.

They have failed miserably in their duty. It was a question of day to day destructive criticism that we heard rather than helpful suggestions. Some of the criticisms were purely of a personal and an irrelevant nature. A strong Opposition can be of immense value to a country. It would point out any mistakes and pass on to the Government valuable suggestions in the interest of the country. Certainly not in a destructive nature so as to create a public crisis. The motive of the Opposition should not be the downfall of a Government but to serve as a part of the Government in an advisory capacity. There is no doubt that our Opposition has misunderstood their worthy task. As a result of this, the country has lost a great deal. People are now wondering whether these gentlemen who failed to make an effective Opposition could ever be called upon to perform the important task of forming a responsible Government?

THE RED NETWORK

(Continued from page 8)

Friendship Society and the British Council for German Democracy. He was one of the sponsors of the International Conference for the Defence of the Rights of Youth, and a member of the British Sponsoring Committee of the World Peace Congress in Vienna in December, 1952.

(To be continued)

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