

# RIGHTIST FRONT ALSO STANDS DISSOLVED



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## SPOTLIGHT

### ★ WORLD TRENDS

**\* GATHERING STORM** — While the dark clouds are gathering on the international horizon, leaders of nations are busy rushing around meeting each other in an effort to ease the tension which has increased considerably since the spread of nuclear power into more and more hands. China now has the atomic bomb and she is threatening to use it in the interests of the socialist camp (unlike the Soviet Union which keeps it like a deterrent). To offset China's possession of the atom bomb, the USA has signed an agreement with West Germany in order to pass the nuclear trigger to the revanchists and militarists in Bonn under cover of the MLA. West Germany will no doubt unhesitatingly use the atom bomb to promote the cause of capitalism and neo-colonialism. It is this confrontation of powers which want to use nuclear power for a "cause," be it capitalism or socialism, that makes the world situation so deadly dangerous. Unless the nations of the world decide that the conflict between capitalism and socialism — and all other outstanding conflicts — should be resolved through peaceful competition, there is no doubt that the world is in for a dangerous period ahead.

The main responsibility for the increasing tension rests with

the money bags in the USA and the other leading capitalist countries. They do not want to surrender their privileges and power through peaceful means of civilised competition. This naturally leads to trouble. The recent discussions that took place in London and Washington between Shastri, Wilson, Johnson, Swaran Singh, Rusk and others were mainly centred on the questions of war and peace owing to the spread of nuclear power. These talks have been inconclusive, and day by day the danger increases. A new Taylor plan seems to have been approved which is most likely to extend the theatre of war of Viet Nam. And, this means more trouble. The Soviet decision to reduce its defence budget by Rs. 2,700 million and its 11 point proposal to effect disarmament has not evoked much response from the Great Powers who are militarily strong and possess the atom bomb. The United States in a grudging way has also indicated that it will reduce defence expenditure, but from what McNamara has done this year it would appear to be no more than shutting obsolete bases.

A bizarre and unpredictable pattern of world events is slowly unfolding itself. Whilst Kenya has become a free Republic, the Congo has been

With the dissolution gazetted at midnight on December 17, not only did a memorable Parliament come to an end, but the anti-coalition ganging-up successfully effected by vested interests to defeat the Government was also dissolved. In the objective historical conditions of today the urge for unity among the pro-coalition forces on the basis of the 14-point agreement are stronger, whilst the reactionary conglomeration of ultra rightists, racial chauvinists and frustrated dissidents will tend to disintegrate in the fight for seats in the new Parliament.

On December 3 vested interests achieved something noteworthy in the political annals of Ceylon. Through chicanery, trickery and deception in secretly arranging for the "crossing over" of thirteen SLFP Parliamentarians led by C. P. de Silva, the second in command of the Sirima Bandaranaike Government, reaction defeated the Government in Parliament and made dissolution and fresh election inevitable. Before this, a united front against the coalition Government had been mobilised under cover fighting the toddy proposal, for the preservation of the freedom of the press, for the safeguarding of religion against the "Marxists" and the like, and the stage was being set for an extra Parliamentary onslaught through incitement to civil war.

The defeat of the Government and the decision consequently of the Prime Minister to dissolve Parliament, without seeking to continue to remain in power depending on the majority (though a slender one) which Government still had in the House of Representatives, undoubtedly side-tracked the efforts of subversive foreign agencies to plunge Ceylon into chaos and disorder through extra parliamentary conflicts. The General Elections will take the sharpening political crisis away from the field of "direct action" civil-war-like struggles to ordered parliamentary contests under the law in a General Election.

Not only does the General Election remove the immediate danger of a civil war being pro-

voked by vested interests (it is in their interests to incite extra-parliamentary disorders to thwart the programme of the 14 point Coalition Government) but it has also the added advantage of breaking up the grouping of anti-coalition forces which had been brought together. The press barons are already pleading that the unity of the Rightwing forces should be maintained. But they are unable to say how this "unity" is to be maintained, or on what programme it is to be sustained. *It is one thing to bring such forces together against the Government which has made so many blunders in its efforts to implement a radical programme, but it is a totally different thing to persuade such forces to stick together during an election campaign.*

field candidates in all electorates it is becoming clearer that the polarisation of politics in this country is such that people are not likely to be fooled by wolves who parade in sheep's clothing.

While there is no doubt that caste, creed, race, religion and language will play an important part in the ultimate victory of particular candidates in the different electorates, it is equally certain that the political issue between the forces of neo-colonialism and capitalism on the one hand and the forces of nationalism and socialism on the other will supercede and over-ride other considerations in most of the contests.

The dissolution of Parliament has ended the united front of reactionaries and dissidents, set up by foreign and local vested interests for the purpose of waging a civil war on the camp of the progressives, and it is essential that the progressive forces should not make the mistakes made in the past which enabled vested interests to bring these dangerous forces together.

Politics in the country should be resolved through peaceful and parliamentary methods, and the technique of trying to create chaos and disorder so that vested interests could flourish (by howling that the other side was trying to establish a dictatorship) should be exposed and rooted out.

turned into a major battlefield where the forces of western neo-colonialism are seeking to suppress the legitimate aspirations of African peoples. In New York, Cuban exiles have been brazen enough to open gun-fire against the UN building simply because Che Guevara, one of Castro's lieutenants was addressing the Assembly. This is no doubt symbolic of Goldwaterism which has no use for the UN because coloured Africans and Asiatics are now able to dominate the scene. In the deliberations of the UN it is becoming more and more clear that the conflict between black and white has become as persistent as the conflict between capitalism and socialism. Many people in Ceylon refuse to see the gathering storm in the world around them as they get more and more involved in the rush and tumble of politics and elections in the country.

While the UNP and the SLFP(s) may agree on fundamentals and even negotiate a no-contest pact, it would be virtually impossible for the JVP-MEP to come to any terms with the UNP or even the SLFP(s). The FP may not directly clash with the UNP because they operate in two separate territories, but it is well-known that the UNP would favour the TC rather than the FP — it is likely that the FP and the TC are preparing to wage war all down the line. Though the Brains Trust of the political vanguard of the Vested Interests may think that the entry of the MEP-JVP, the SLFP(s) and LSSP(r) into the scene, would draw votes away from the pro-coalition forces, and may encourage these parties to

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THIS WEEK

# P.M.'s Role

Having procured the services of traitors to stab the SLFP in the back, the reactionaries, generally, and their handmaid, the monopoly press, now pretend a pious concern for the SLFP's spiritual well-being. Both before and after its annual conference in Kandy last week-end, the headlines have portrayed a moral conflict that is allegedly convulsing this party.

Violent emotions, it seems, have been aroused over the question of whether the SLFP should fight the general elections virtuously alone or sinfully in the company of its Left allies. By means of such lying reports concocted in their offices, these newspapers have endeavoured to instigate the SLFP membership to revolt against the Prime Minister's policy of continuing the Left alliance. The reactionaries evidently believe that there are still some C. P. de Silva's left in the Sri Lanka Freedom Party.

In the course of another memorable speech on the occasion of her Party Conference, the Prime Minister has made it completely clear that she is aware of the tactics of her enemies. ".....now, due to the social and political changes that have taken place from 1948 onwards," she declared, "there has occurred a polarisation of forces between Socialism and Capitalism. In such a polarisation you cannot prevent the reactionaries from joining reactionary parties and the progressives from joining progressive parties."

She went on: "We saw the germs of this polarisation somewhere around 1958, during the time of the late Mr. Bandaranaike. On that occasion, as a result of the late Prime Minister being under the control of the Rightist faction and being drawn into their ken, he lost his life at the hands of those forces. This time too, a similar thing nearly occurred. The sudden action of those traitors to our Party who are favourable to the policies of the UNP, has fully revealed to me that they too had sought to create a similar situation for me by alienating me from the progressive camp."

"At the next general elections, these people would be using against us every force at the command of the capitalist world," she stated further. "As an answer to the power of money, the power of organisation, the power of the thug and the power of the Press, we have only one force, that is the force of the people. I know that we will receive for certain the collective support of the middle-classes and the poor workers and peasants of this country."

Every progressive-minded person must ponder these words seriously and grasp their full meaning. They state, firstly, that there is a clear division of the country into two camps: the camp of progress and the camp of reaction. The battle is joined between them and it is a battle to the death. The reactionary camp has powerful weapons at its disposal: money, organised thuggery and a monopoly of the press. The people have only their force of their united ranks to depend on.

Secondly, the main strategy of the reactionaries is to divide the popular forces and set one against the other. This is not something that has been

thought up in recent months. After the victory of the popular forces in 1956, it was this strategy that hounded Mr. Philip Gunawardene out of the MEP Government, thereby isolating Mr. Bandaranaike from the progressive forces and enabling his assassination. It was the same strategy that attempted to isolate Mrs. Bandaranaike from the progressive forces in the past few months and thereby bring about her own annihilation. It is necessary to add that it was the same C. P. de Silva who played the leading role as the agent of the reactionaries in 1959 who has figured in the same role today.

Thirdly, nothing anybody can do can prevent reactionaries from joining reactionaries. It is futile to placate those who are in the camp of the enemy or to concede to their pressures in the hope of winning them over. All our energies and efforts must be directed towards those who are progressive by nature, as a result of their social situation. These are the workers, peasants and middle-classes. Our task in the days ahead is to promote firmer unity between these down trodden sections of the population and to consolidate this unity through organisation and education.

The Prime Minister's words make it clear that she is increasingly becoming the symbol of this new unity of progressive classes. Until recently, the main emphasis of her appeal was to the peasants and the rural middle-classes. She personified the great popular movement that was led by her late husband and its many significant achievements. But this movement was essentially a movement of the countryside, even in many ways asserting itself against the dominance of the towns. The formation of the Coalition Government, for the first time, linked this rural movement with the aspirations of the organised urban masses in a significant way. This is what the reactionaries shuddered at, terror-stricken at the thought of its consequences for them. Their plot through C. P. de Silva has the result of temporarily defeating the Coalition Government. But it has failed to break up the SLFP's alliance with the Left or to disorient the masses by means of false religious or racial slogans.

This is the most prominent feature of the political situation in the country today: a new and growing unity of the masses under a new leader with an evocative countrywide appeal. While this unity is preserved and developed, all the vast resources of the enemy can be of little avail.

HECTOR ABHAYAWARDENE



**THURSDAY, December 10** — The President of the Asia Foundation Dr. H. Williams arrived in Ceylon today. A Catholic priest was fined Rs. 12,000 by the Customs when he was caught attempting to smuggle out of Ceylon 400 American dollars and Rs. 2000/- in Indian currency. Prime Minister Cheddi Jagan, who emerged as the leader of the biggest party in the recent British Guiana elections and failed to get a clear majority, informed the Governor that he will not resign. Congo's Prime Minister Tshombe was received by Pope Paul in a 20 minute audience. Mr. Swaran Singh met Mr. Dean Rusk in New York today.

**FRIDAY, December 11** — Mr. C. P. de Silva announced the formation of a new Party, the Sri Lanka Samajavadi Nidhas Pakshaya. The Ceylon Government and a group of 100 Scottish firms signed an agreement today for a loan of 400 million Rupees to finance the Fisheries Corporation. Senator W. Wimalaratne was expelled from the SLFP today. The British Labour Party commenced its annual conference at Brighton.

**SATURDAY, December 12** — The SLFP began its 12th annual sessions in Kandy today. Lionel Gunasekera M.P. and Senators Somaratne and Weera Wimalaratne have joined the new party formed by Mr. C. P. de Silva. Kenya became a Republic at 12 midnight today with Jomo Kenyatta as its first President. There was a bomb explosion at yesterday's UN meeting as Dr. Guevara, Cuba's Minister of Industries, was addressing the General Assembly. Tshombe's visit to Rome sparked off demonstrations in the city. Malaysia will increase its army to 40,000 next year.

**SUNDAY, December 13** — The SLFP annual conference came to a close today with a mammoth rally at Bogambara Grounds in Kandy. In her Presidential address yesterday the P.M. emphasised that "the political stab in the back" by Mr. C.P. de Silva clearly indicated that the polarisation of the forces of reaction and the camp of progressives had now grown clearer: that the SLFP had its allies and to contend with a powerful enemy with all the resources that money could secure, but she was certain that the common peoples' determination to destroy the power of capitalism would triumph at the forthcoming General Elections.

**MONDAY, December 14** — Mr. C. P. de Silva asked the Government to provide him equal radio time for a reply to the PM's charges against him in her broadcast to the nation. Ceylon signed a pact with GDR for the export of Tea, Rubber, Coconut and industrial products in exchange for machinery, textiles, cement, sugar, etc. The trolley bus strike in Colombo entered its 18th day today. 1,000 geologists from 90 countries met in Delhi for the International Geological Congress today. The Coalition Government of Israel headed by Mr. Levi Eshkol resigned tonight.

**TUESDAY, December 15** — India's Commonwealth Secretary Mr. C. S. Jha and Mr. N. Q. Dias, Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Defence and External Affairs started talks today at official level regarding the implementation of the Sirimavo-Shastri pact. NATO leaders met in Paris for their 35th session. Dr. Cheddi Jagan, Premier of British Guiana was dismissed yesterday by the British Governor and Mr. Burnham was sworn in as PM. President Sukarno is suffering from a swollen left foot.

**WEDNESDAY, December 16** — The opening of the Ceylon Industrial Exhibition was postponed to February 1, 1965. The conference on the implementation of the Sirimavo-Shastri Pact continued today in Colombo. The Peking-line Communists have split into two factions with Shanmugadasan group pursuing the hard go-it-alone line whilst the Premalal Kumarasiri clique seeking is to extend support to the SLFP led by Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike. Harold Wilson said Britain will back Peking to become member of the UN when the question is next raised.

## LINK

AGAIN AVAILABLE

LATEST ISSUE

SPECIAL COVER STORY

PARTY POLITICS IN CEYLON

from all leading newspapers

# Mettananda, Mahanayakes & Monks

In previous articles I have shown the double-faced hypocrisy of Lake House journalism. Indeed, even Mr. L. H. Mettananda, a one-time "rabble-rouser and fanatic", is as we now see, good enough for Lake House, — not to speak of others who also avidly quote him!

That Buddhists, however, are at the cross-roads today, no one will deny, — and, many ask why Henpitagegera Gnanaseeha Thera supplies the answer when he says that it was he who first mooted the idea of a Coalition. He also says that this plan "misfired" — Mr. Philip Gunawardena "refused to see things clearly". (Daily Mirror, 28-11). Indeed, we know that the B.J.B. too went in delegation and "advised" the Prime Minister to "coalesce" with "any progressives"! And, now, Rev. Welletota Pannadassi also admits that "there was a time when they were also with the Sama Samajists." (Sunday Observer, 29-11).

If, on their own admission, they were all for "coalescing," why is the Prime Minister now blamed for having "coalesced" without a mandate from the people?

No intelligent person will deny that the daily Press is responsible for much of the trouble in the country today. This is confirmed by Henpitagegera Ganaseeha Thera who said: "The Press was the root cause of all the trouble in the country. The Press could, if they wished, do untold harm or untold good. He blamed the Press for the present chaotic conditions." (Daily Mirror, 28-11). Even today the daily Press seems to mislead the Buddhists. For example, the Sun of 2-12 gave

front-page prominence to the transfer of a Buddhist Government Agent from Kurunegala and the appointment of a Roman Catholic G.A. The Daily News of 8-12, however, gave in an insignificant corner, the news that Mr. Palita Weeraman, Director of Cultural Affairs, a Buddhist, is going to Kurunegala as G.A. What are we, Buddhists, to believe?

Had the Government, therefore, taken effective steps in 1960 to prevent the Press abusing its freedom, a step they tried to take in 1964 — 4 years too late — Buddhists would not be in the plight they are in today, — confused and scattered — like sheep not knowing who would be their honest Shepherd! For that

exactly is the plight of Buddhists in this country today, — with a hostile, anti-national, anti-social, and anti-Buddhist Press.

## Flashback

But, how does one explain the surprising phenomenon of Monks rushing to the rescue of Lake House in the light of the following? On 12-3-56 the fortnightly BUDDHA JAY-ANTI in a front-page article headed "OUR PUBLIC ENEMY NO. 1 — MAHA SANGHA COMMENDS TOTAL BOYCOTT OF LAKE HOUSE NEWSPAPERS" — had, among other things, this to say:

".....It is a matter for gratification to see that the Maha Sangha should have now come out with a view to organizing public opinion against the Lake House Press, which they appropriately call, PUBLIC ENEMY NO. 1. The Maha Sangha has already published a well documented and convincing booklet showing the anti-democratic, anti-social and anti-Buddhist poli-

no Press in the world which is so subservient to the Ruling party as the Lake House Press and unless we are vigilant the Lake House Press may soon lead us along the garden path to a full-fledged Fascist Dictatorship....."

Buddhists certainly have very short memories!

All this and more written in 1956, was in a paper of the Mettananda Group too! But, in 1964, these same Bhikkhus who proudly claim they are members of the same Maha Sangha now proclaim they are ready to die, BODHISATTA-STYLE, to save Lake House, which in 1956, they described as MARA, the Evil One — The PUBLIC ENEMY NO. 1.

How anti-National and vulgar the daily Press is, is evident from a cartoon in the Daily Mirror of 10-12 depicting the Prime Minister (a female, a Lady) riding on Dr. Colvin R. de Silva's back! Even assuming for a moment that the P.M. is the worst Woman on earth, does this Paper not realise that she is still the

cons, etc., on whose goodwill the entire flock depends for Salvation.

Buddhists must depend on their own Efforts for Salvation. We do not seem to have had Mahanayakes in the Buddha's time too. Their origin, however, — not very complimentary — is explained in an article by Mr. C. D. S. Siriwardene. It is an article that influenced my thinking, as it appeared in the Buddha-Jayanti (a METTANANDA-Group paper), of 1-9-56.

Referring to the presentation of Sannas or letters or appointment granted to the

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by  
Egerton C. Baptist

cies carried out by the Lake House Papers.....The Maha Sangha started their campaign against the Lake House Press on Wednesday, the 3rd March at a mammoth meeting held at the Town Hall, Colombo. When a proposal to boycott the Lake House papers was put to the meeting, nearly ten thousand persons gathered there, agreed with with 'One Voice.' The persistent cry of 'Sadhu, Sadhu, Sadhu' from the people showed how enthusiastic they were about the proposal.....

".....Lake House papers are neither secular nor democratic. They are extremely partial towards Christianity and at the same time hostile towards Buddhism. They deliberately suppress or distort the Buddhist view point. They ridicule genuine Buddhist leaders and uphold Buddhists whose only use of Buddhism is to exploit it for personal and political gain. ".....Ultimately victory will be won when the Buddhists comprehended that Lake House is none other than a manifestation of MARA, the Evil one....." Strong language, and stronger words, indeed!

Ironically enough, the Editorial of this paper ended thus: ".....We believe that outside the Fascist and Communist Dictatorships, there is

Prime Minister of the country? Should such license be allowed to continue?

And, is it for a Press like this that Rev. Welletota Pannadassi Thera, now awaits permission from the Sangha to sacrifice his life? "He would leave (the meeting)", he said "if he were not given a mandate to sacrifice his life.....Several bhikkhus asked him to sit down....." (Times, 29-11). No Bodhisatta seeks another's permission to sacrifice his life! Convinced of a righteous Cause, he lays down his life unflinchingly. When, indeed, will all this SHAM stop? As the Ven. Kassapa advised, Laymen must learn Dhamma. They would then not be fooled like this.

The recent appeals to gods reminds me that Buddhism teaches that whatever else gods and demons might do, unlike men, they are ever truthful! Hence, what gods would not do by deceitful means, men are sometimes prone to do.

## Mahanayakes

My earlier remarks regarding Mahanayakes should not be misunderstood. I was merely explaining the Buddhist doctrinal point of view. Unlike other religions, Buddhism does not have Popes, bishops, dea-

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INDIAN VIEWPOINT

# SHASTRI - SIRIMA AGREEMENT

The Indo-Ceylonese Agreement concluded after hectic discussions between both the Governments at several levels retained a touch-and-go flavour to the very end and kept the press holding its breath till the midnight of October 30. In fact even after it was announced that agreement had been reached, the press had to wait a night before it could say it had been signed.

With the despatches ready and the briefings concluded in the evening — the pressmen found enough on their hands to earn them banner headlines in their respective papers,— they did not know till midnight as to whether the agreement was signed at all. The extension of Ceylon Premier's stay twice made a four-day talks into a six-day round-the-clock negotiations. Happily the long drawn-out talks were not in vain and, indeed, was worth it all because this was only one of the many such negotiations since 1941 that ended fruitfully on a basis which so far seemed rather difficult, if not impossible, to achieve.

It must be admitted at the outset that the basis of the solution of the "Indo-Ceylonese problem" — as the problem of people of Indian origin in Ceylon is loosely described — seemed to have had some sort of acceptance in Ceylon although India was obsessed till recently with the national aspects of the problem and continually sought solution on political principles which governed or ought to govern franchise rights.

The official Indian attitude, however, seemed to be, for once, more alert and appeared to examine its multi-dimensional context. Thus, perhaps for the first time, a Chief Minister from Madras state was brought on to the scene as an active participant in the negotiations. The discussions of Premier Shastri with the Chief Minister of Madras, as well as of the Inspector General of Police from Madras (who incidentally has been handling the problem of illicit immigrants to Ceylon) with the Union officials on the eve of Mrs. Bandaranaike's visit and the stepping in of Sri Kamaraj at the last stage of the discussion was again an indication of the fact that the Government of India was not only trying to be well-informed on all the facets of this problem but was also keeping its hands on the pulse of the South Indian public and wanted to elicit its opinion and to seek its support and co-operation in any decision on the issue.

## Sincerity

In a similar manner the Ceylon delegation too reflected the same anxiety of finding a definite solution to this vexed problem which has troubled Indo-Ceylonese relationship for more than a quarter of a century. The inclusion of Mr. Hanganaratne who was not so far known to hold any conciliatory view on this issue, was an indication of the earnestness of Mrs. Bandaranaike to have the benefit of the Kandyan opinion. Despite his last minute refusal the offer to include the UNP (United National Party) Chief Mr. Dudley Senanayake further indicated an attempt on the

*The agreement recently signed between India and Ceylon on the vexed question of the 'stateless' in Ceylon has been a major step in bringing the two countries closer. The author, a specialist in current affairs, analyses the accord reached and brings out its diplomatic significance.*

of Ceylon minced no words in stating that they could not absorb all the 'Indian Tamils' (as they call them) in the island. Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike seemed to be most clear-headed and forthright when, as early as 1940, he talked of the theory of absorbable maximum and maintained that only on this basis could the problem be solved.

However, while to Mr. Senanayake this absorbable maxi-

the Agreement concluded in the form of exchange of letters which shows flexibility and mutual understanding of each other's point much more than a document couched in legal terms. Incidentally, it was such a document prepared by Ceylon which at the initial stage formed the basis of the talks.

## Public Opinion

The jubilation in the Ceylonese press and the reaction of the Indian press and public opinion gives one the impression that the problem of the Stateless is nearly solved.

Probably this moulding of public opinion in both the countries and its repercussions in other countries with Indian minority could be taken to be the biggest single achievement of this Agreement, for, if read carefully it is evident that the Agreement is only the beginning of the end rather than the end itself of all the difficulties and in the process of achieving the end, Ministers and officials of both the countries will have to spend many more sleepless nights in finally exploring a mutually acceptable solution of the problem.

An analysis of the terms of the Agreement makes this point sufficiently clear. To begin with, the Agreement, in the process of solving this issue on a numerical basis brings in its wake five categories of Indians in Ceylon (1) the passport holders; (2) the illicit immigrants; (3) three lakhs of people ("together with their natural increase") who are to be Ceylon citizens; (4) 5½ lakhs of people who are to be granted Indian citizenship (together with "their natural increase"); (5) the remaining 1½ lakhs who

By the courtesy of the **Mainstream**, an independent leftwing weekly published in New Delhi, we reproduce an article which appeared in it on November 7, 1964, on the recent Indo-Ceylon Agreement. In a cautious and carefully-worded article, the writer examines the background and provisions of this significant Agreement, as viewed by an observer in New Delhi.

still suffer *Trishanku* status and whose political future is to be the subject matter of a separate agreement between the two governments.

As regards the first category, there is no difference of opinion between the two governments for they are *ipso facto* Indian citizens and as such are liable to the treatment meted to any alien in any country.

## Illicit Immigrants

As regards the question of persons falling under the second category there is no difference of opinion amongst the people and government of both the countries that such illicit immigration should be checked at all costs. However, the criteria of determining as to who is an illicit immigrant and who is not, is not laid down in this Agreement at all.

This is understandable for, in the background of the acrimonious debates regarding the procedure of finding the illicit immigrants (who are estimated to number between 1½ lakhs to two lakhs) in the island and the onus of proving that they are illicit immigrants, would have sidetracked the main issue before the conference which met primarily to discuss the political future of the "stateless."

• continued on page 10

by

## A Special Correspondent

part of Mrs. Bandaranaike to have an all-party delegation for this purpose.

Mr. Senanayake refused to join the delegation, but what Mrs. Bandaranaike succeeded in achieving was more or less what Mr. Senanayake himself had sought in 1953. Mrs. Bandaranaike has blunted the edge of any likely opposition to the settlement from the UNP. Mr. Senanayake, it may be recalled, was willing to commit to Ceylon four lakhs and India was asked to take three lakhs as Ceylonese and Indian citizens respectively. The talks floundered on the rock of 50,000 heads, as Nehru was prepared to take 2½ lakhs but not three.

*Mrs. Bandaranaike has scored a point over the Senanayake formula — at least for some time to come — for, the political future of 1.40 lakhs of people, according to the present Agreement itself, still awaits a decision on the part of both the Governments.*

It is significant to note in this context that since the very beginning of this problem, amidst the legal and political quibblings, the Prime Minister

was to be about 50,000, to his son, the succeeding Premier, it seemed to be eight times more in 1952.

Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, even with the categorical enunciation of his theory, could not do anything substantial during his regime because he wanted the issue to be solved on human grounds and as such decided first to provide certain facilities of provident fund etc., for these people so that later on, with their money, they could be induced to go back to India. During his brief span of three years, domestic issues confronting him in manifold forms and threatening his very political existence in varied ways, almost made him shelve this question for sometime; and before he could take up this question with the Prime Minister of India, he was assassinated.

Ironically enough, S.W.R.D. was the only Premier who did not have any discussions on governmental level with India; it was left to his widow to solve the problem in the context of the principles enunciated so strongly by him. That she has succeeded in her efforts to a very great extent is clear from

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# HISTORIC SPEECH

At the Kandy Session of the SLFP which was held on December 12 and 13, the Prime Minister, in a realistic and significant speech, set out the position of the Party.

First, she examined the situation which had arisen from the defeat of the Government in the House of Representatives, and emphasised that the support that came from the ordinary people was far greater now than in 1960, "thus ensuring for us a victory unique in the annals of our political history."

In this connection she declared: "Whatever may be the plots and machinations of capitalist opportunists, whatever may be their attempts to obtain power by corrupt means, I have not the slightest doubt that the final victory in the struggle for the emancipation of our people rests with us. Although this is so we must never underestimate our common enemy. The capitalist camp has every other power at their disposal except state power. They would be confronting us with the power of wealth, the power of organisation, the power of the newspapers, and the power of the thug among other things."

## In KANDY

The Prime Minister's speech in Kandy on December 12 is an important political document. The full text of her speech was published in all the daily papers. Nevertheless, for purposes of record we are publishing in two instalments, significant extracts *in extenso*, of the Prime Minister's speech. The concluding part of this speech will appear next week.

## Plot

After pointing out that "conspirators and the envious" are prone to threaten the lives of popular leaders of the common people, she went on to deal with the actions of Mr. C. P. de Silva and his group, she said: "I should at this juncture speak a few words about those Members of Parliament who left our Party. A decisive moment in the political history of our country has now emerged due to the actions of those Members of Parliament

including Mr. C. P. de Silva who, spurning our Party and being enamoured of the reactionary principles of the United National Party, crossed over to the Opposition with the sole intention of bringing that Party back into power. It is my belief that this was a plot hatched and promoted by those very same forces that engineered from behind the scenes the abortive Coup d'Etat of January 1962. The anti-national forces have seized the opportunity provided by the treacherous activities of these Members of Parliament to marshal their forces in their attempt to gain power."

As Mr. C. P. de Silva had been a close associate and also her second in command, she went into some detail about the whole episode of the defection of 13 M.P.'s on December 3. She stated: "The Government of the common masses of this country collapsed on December 3rd, 1964 because these M.P.'s crossed over to the Opposition after being shamefully subverted by these elements. This defeat is not a personal defeat for me. It is a break in the forward march by the common people. It is a betrayal to the reactionary opportunists in the UNP of the mass struggle begun by the late Mr. Bandaranaike. It is a political stab in the back for me who, disregarding discomfort and fatigue, went from town to town and village to village in 1960 organizing support for these MPs and assisting them in every other way.

"It is a cause for sorrow to see Mr. C. P. de Silva who held responsible posts such as Leader of the House and Minister for Land, Irrigation and Power under my Government, acting now having completely forgotten the past. It is his misfortune too. You would remember the great effort that the SLFP made in the General Elections of March 1960 to make him Prime Minister of this country.

"At that time, before six months had elapsed after the assassination of the late Prime Minister, at a time when I was in deep mourning, I, even disregarding the future of my children, accepted the Patronship of the Party and worked tirelessly for Mr. C. P. de Silva and the Party. As a result of those efforts the people rewarded us with 48 seats.



Although Mr. C. P. de Silva and his friends, relations and allies around him have forgotten this I am aware that you remember these facts. I leave it to you to judge for yourself the ungrateful manner in which Mr. C. P. de Silva and his friends acted against me who had tried so hard to get him to the highest position in this country. You would remember, that later before the elections of July, 1960, I accepted the Presidentship of the SLFP at the request of responsible members of the Party including Mr. C. P. de Silva and with the assistance of other progressive parties gained a great victory at that Election.

## In 1960

She went into the immediate history of the SLFP, no doubt to get the record straight. She said: "You are, I know, aware that on that occasion I accepted the Presidentship of the Party at your very earnest request not because I had a love for either politics or power, but in order to prevent the UNP who by regaining power would have plunged the people of this country into a future of darkness and despair. On that occasion when I successfully rallied the Party and triumphed, I became Prime Minister at your request. After I became Prime Minister and had to face various difficult situations I did not intend, like other leaders to display various infirmities and run away, thereby leaving in the lurch those millions who had placed their trust in my Party and myself. *But from the earliest times I have received information from sources that are very reliable that certain people including Mr. C. P. de Silva lived on in the hope that I would hand over the Prime Minister's post to him after sometime and*

*go back home.* However, they had completely misunderstood me if they thought that I was a person, who, abusing the trust and confidence placed in me by the people, would run away leaving them stranded, or, that I would entrust to another without the sanction of the people a position given to me by the people, or that I would like a puppet dance to the tune of other people."

The Prime Minister speculated on the probable reasons for Mr. C. P. de Silva's recent conduct, and stated: "I have no doubt that you would have understood during these four years whether I did not possess the moral strength and self-confidence to act according to my conscience. *Sometimes I question whether Mr. C. P. de Silva and his supporters are acting in this manner because of the anger within them as a result of my not handing over the Prime Minister's post to him.* If that is not so, we should analyse whether the political reasons adduced by him are reasonable ones. We will now analyse the reasons given by him."

After this she examined the reasons given by Mr. C. P. de Silva for *crossing over*: "In the statement issued by him after leaving the Government on 3rd December, 1964 there are the following lines: 'It is my principal duty to state — and I do so in all responsibility — that from what I have known, what I have heard and what I have seen in the inner councils of the Coalition, our nation is now being inexorably pushed towards unadulterated totalitarianism.'

To be continued next week

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**COMMENT...**

✱ Prime Minister  
✱ Press ✱ Radio

# Civil War

\* **CHALLENGE** — In her Presidential Address at the Annual Sessions of the SLFP held in Kandy last week-end, the Prime Minister not only outlined the present political situation arising from the defeat of the Government but also referred to a number of significant matters of immediate importance. She discussed the question of the defection of Mr. C. P. de Silva and his group and the onslaught which vested interests, both foreign and local, had launched against the Government. She took the opportunity to examine the position of the Coalition Government and emphasised that the 14-point Agreement on which it was based was only a logical development from the *middle way* Bandaranaike policies. We have elsewhere in this issue published the more significant extracts from her lengthy speech with our comments, but we wish to draw special attention to the challenge she held out to the daily press which was owned on a monopolistic basis by a few families. She stated that whilst the Party intended, if returned at the next General Elections to implement the recommendations of the Press Commission, the daily papers which had combined with vested interests to defeat her Government, had one more opportunity to show whether it was capable of being "impartial" and "objective" as the papers claimed to be. Quite correctly, she pointed out that one test of such "impartiality" would be if the papers published the speeches truthfully of the SLFP, LSSP and other pro-Government spokesmen. *Would the daily newspapers, which are at the moment a little "giddy with success" accept the challenge and show that they are capable of shedding the spots (in an atomic age even leopards are capable of shedding their spots) which had all these years made them purblind to realities and the genuine aspirations of the common people of this country?*

\* **LOP-SIDED** — There is no doubt that the Fourth Estate in Ceylon is today in a dangerously lop-sided condition and is responsible for much of disharmony and dis-equilibrium which torments this island. On the side of vested interests, tied with the monopolists and foreign capital, stand four big newspaper groups, three of which publish daily newspapers in more than one language. As against this array of strength on the side of capitalism and moribund colonialism, stand the forces of patriotic nationalism which pin their faith on a socialist society without any press of even minor magnitude to espouse its cause. Though state power passed to the hand of these forces of nationalism in 1956, it is unfortunate that practical and concrete measures were not taken to develop a press capable of reflecting the strength and the objectives of the progressive movement. When the monopoly press resorted to undiluted partisanship and the most deplorable techniques of journalism to subvert the first Bandaranaike government, suggestions that the monopoly press should be broken only prompted the Government to declare that some methods of control to curb the malpractices of the press barons would be introduced. *Even the break-up of the first MEP-SLFP coalition and the consequent assassination did not bring home to the progressive movement the urgent need to develop an independent nationalist and democratic press by utilising the resources of state power for the purpose.*

\* **MORE PAPERS** — The partisan excesses of the monopoly press in the period of the assassination and during the two General Elections of 1960 were so great that the Sirima Bandaranaike Government proposed to "take over" the monopoly papers in order to democratise the press in Ceylon. There are a hundred odd ways in which this objective could have been achieved, but the ignominious failure of the Government to implement this proposal in spite of over 15 Press Bills (including abortive draft bills) was a sure indication that the Government and the progressive movement had not yet found a way to overcome the main obstacle in the practical exercise of state power namely to have a powerful press of its own. Today, with a General Election round the corner, the Government and the progressive movement has only a few weekly papers to render support — weekly papers which have over the years received inadequate and step-motherly treatment from the Government. Even today, many in top governmental circles have not realised the need to strengthen and develop the progressive papers which already exist and enable others to start and grow as part of the plan to establish a national and democratic press in this country. Even the recommendations of the Press Commission can be implemented effectively only if a large number of weekly and daily papers, stemming from the progressive movement, exist to fill the vacuum which a break-up of the monopoly ownership would naturally result in. *The emergence of the daily paper ATH-THA and the weekly JANASATHIYA are welcome and hopeful signs that at least some sections of the progressive movement have begun to wake up to the true perspectives of the current situation.*

\* **BROADCASTS** — Growth of any press is a slow process and until greater equilibrium is achieved, or at least until the existing monopoly daily papers (for the most selfish of reasons) adopt (at least) a garb of "impartiality," and truthfully report the speeches of pro-Government speakers, the Prime Minister has openly declared that she will use Radio Ceylon to fight the

After the massive Galle Face Rally of December 9 and the Prime Minister's speech of December 12, most of the monopoly daily papers have assumed a slightly more restrained tone, but there is no mistaking the fact that they are continuing the ruthless campaign against the coalition of the SLFP and the LSSP and the growing unity of the progressive forces.

At the height of the campaign against the Government before December 3, all the daily papers and the spokesman of vested interests had started an open incitement to civil war in which they wanted Buddhist monks to act as the spearhead of the attack. But today, most of the papers have dropped the demand for a civil war and have begun to concentrate on winning the General Election for the brand of vested interests which each newspaper group thinks most advantageous to its special interests.

Not so, the **Daily Mirror**. It has its pet politicians (W. Dahanayake, G. G. Ponambalam, etc.) like other newspapers, but it still carries on its incitement to civil war in the new situation.

The editorial (called OPI-NION) in the **Daily Mirror** of December 9 is a case in point. It read :

*"The Sirimavo Government seems determined to turn this country into another Congo. The deliberate and calculated silence of the Prime Minister on the date of dissolution has generated an atmosphere cracking with danger. If our motherland is plunged into a blood-bath, that blood will surely be on the conscience of the Prime Minister and her Ministers. For it is by their acts of commission and omission by their conscious disregard of the dangers inherent in their actions that they are provoking baser elements to create chaos.*

*"Silence is consent. And the Government's silence while sporadic flames of danger are leaping ominously around, serves only to confirm the*

ruthless "enemy" of vested interests which unscrupulously uses every weapon at its command to crush the Government. The ethics of using Radio Ceylon cannot be viewed except in the context and background of the existing absence of equilibrium and balance in the daily press, and if the press barons who have grown with direct and indirect state assistance (no doubt of a previous regime and even of the present) cannot conduct their papers in an "impartial manner" in the best traditions of the Fourth Estate, the Prime Minister has no alternative but to use Radio Ceylon to put across the Government's point of view. *Those complaining of this use of monopoly in radio broadcasting should, in the first instance, address their appeals to the press barons (and the vested interests which control them) to use the de facto monopoly which they have been permitted to enjoy all these years in a fair, impartial and objective manner.*

*suspicion that Nero-wise, the Sirimavo Government is prepared to fiddle while the Motherland burns. Indeed, one recognizes a streak of sadism, a touch of cruelty in the adamant insensitiveness of the Sirimavo Government to an explosive situation sizzling with danger. We find it difficult to believe that our Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike who only three years ago addressing the Non-aligned Conference at Belgrade pleaded "as a mother to the mothers of the world" to prevent destruction, is the same Mrs. Bandaranaike who today toys with the dissolution dynamite that could blow up her own country and her own people?*

*"Or are we to believe that maternal angels abroad are destructive devils at home? And just as the Prime Minister appealed at Belgrade to the mothers of the world, may we appeal to her as a mother not to let her personal ambitions destroy her mother land or her people.*

In this editorial, the **Daily News** adopted the well-known US cold war device of accusing the other side of the very crime which was being planned. The editorial declared that the Prime Minister was seeking to turn Ceylon into a Congo and that she was inciting the 'baser elements' to chaos. Are there any more 'baser elements' than those forces which **Daily Mirror** and the other daily papers have been inciting to civil war during the last six months? The rhetoric appeals in the editorials are only part of the methodology in cold war propaganda to pave the way for direct incitement.

This came soon enough in an editorial on December 11. It read as follows :

*"The first round of the battle has been won but the war, the total war against the rapists of freedom has just begun. A vigilant Sangha, a wide awake press, an alert section of the people, and on-their-toes opposition and providential circumstance combined effectively and vigorously to topple the*

*first assault on the people's rights. This same front-line of freedom fighters must now cement the unity they have achieved with an undissipated singleness of purpose to annihilate once and for ever, the arrogant and the autocratic, the despots and despoilers of our country. If you wish for peace, runs the old dictum, then prepare for war.*

*"By the same token those regiments of righteousness that rallied round the people's rights, must keep their task force, primed and alert for the relentless battles ahead. The Opposition forces have established a bridge-head in the minds of a large section of the people, through their united and ceaseless efforts. They are an amalgam of diverse political attitudes liberals, communalists, federalists and socialists of various hues. The clarion call that harnessed them together was 'Democracy at any cost.' They must stay together, assailed though they will surely be, by the thorny problems of nominations for constituencies. Sacrifice and comprise are imperative; individual hopes and aspirations as also party ambitions must all be submerged for the general good. Democracy must be preserved at any cost at all costs."*

The meaning is clear.

It is an open invitation to "war" against the government and the progressives (under cover of fighting for peace in the best Dulles style), and secondly it is a painful appeal to the forces of Opposition which brought about the defeat of the Government to stick together in order to win the war" against the coalition government. For the **Daily Mirror**, the defeat of the Government, the dissolution of the General Election is only "the first round of the battle," but the "war, the total war against the rapists of freedom has only just begun."

For this purpose, the **Daily Mirror** wants the UNP, FP-JVP, LPP, MEP, SLFP(s), LSSP(r) to stick together because the impact of the General Elections is likely to bring to the forefront the cleavages which exist among the Opposition forces on all fundamental matters.

The **Daily Mirror** and the **Times** now seems to constitute the ideological organs of Big Capital and Vested Interests as directed by the cold war specialists from Washington. **Lake House** and the **Dawasa** group only seem to be the agitational wings. What is significant is that the **Catholic Action** core in the **Times** group — undoubtedly closest to the

# Daily News

SIR,

The Lake House Press has been screeching for sometime now that its prime consideration has ever been the interests of the people, and not as its critics claimed the financial interests of its proprietors—the Wijewardenes and their in-laws, the Gomeses and Wickremesinghes. But the lie to this claim is given in a Lake House

newspaper itself — that of the Ceylon Daily News of Saturday, December 5th. That issue also proves that just as the crow will eat whatever carrion it can get, however putrid it be, so the worshippers of Mammon will accept any money, however tainted be the source.

On Page 1 of the Daily News of that day, under the caption "SORRY" one finds a news item that "Restrictions placed on the import of newsprint have made it impossible for extra copies of the Ceylon Daily News to be printed today." The Proprietors of Lake House knew that naturally more than the usual number of people would have tried to buy the Daily News on that day, both in order to read the Prime Minister's Message to the Nation broadcast the previous day, as well as to see how Mr. C. P. de Silva and his satellites tried to explain their sudden change of front. The Mudalalis of Lake House therefore tried to make the people irritated with the Government by pretending that if they could, they would have provided the people with more copies of the newspaper, but that, owing to government's restrictive measures, they were unable to do so.

But, as I said earlier, the same Daily News gives the lie to this. For the whole of Page 11 of Saturday's issue is an advertisement by the Putten's Asbestos Corporation of South Africa. Anyone with the meanest intelligence will know that the people of Ceylon are one with the peoples of Asia and Africa and with progressive opinion elsewhere in their abhorrence of white-dominated S. Africa and all its works.

But the so-called "national" Lake House press prefers to accept the tainted money of white-racialist S. Africa and to provide it a whole page of advertising space to providing the people of this country with extra copies of the newspaper. Assuming that 50,000 copies of the Daily News were published last Saturday, if this one page had been used for informing the people of the events of the previous day, 50,000 pages, would have become available for this purpose. Since the Daily News of that day would then have had 17 pages (18 less the page given for the advertisement) no less than 2,941 (i.e., 50,000) copies extra could have been printed.

But the money bags at Lake House preferred the tainted money of a S. African com-

pany to the honest cash of the citizens of this country. They thought serving the interests of a foreign company more worthwhile to serving the interests of the Nation. In addition they tried to cover up their anti-national action by trying to foist the blame for it on Mrs. Bandaranaike's Government.

F. S. P.

Colombo,  
December 10, 1964.

## U. S. INTRUSION

NEW DELHI, December 10.

Diplomatic circles here are convinced that the Government of India has made a grave mistake allowing the establishment of a so-called US-Indian Centre for the "supervision" (allegedly for sociological and historical study) of the elections in the State of Kerala. It is believed the activities of this Centre, which is virtually a branch of the US Embassy in India, may put the Government in an awkward situation. As a matter of fact the American officials of this body proved to be intervening in the election campaign too much. According to data received by several Asian embassies here the US members of this Centre financed officially by the Rockefeller Fund spend so much money on the election campaign that practically no political party in Kerala could collect in India. All this makes an extremely unfavourable impression in India where many begin to say that the USA intervenes in the internal affairs of the country. It is noted that this Centre prints on its own many materials used in the election campaign by those groups which enjoy the support of the US Embassy. Also, several cases of bribery of some influential persons of the State have been recorded. Much importance was attached in these diplomatic circles to a report that the Indian representative in this joint centre, Mr. S. Nair, was going to give up his work in this Centre as a protest against meddling of the United States in the election campaign in Kerala, but it is said that a representative of the US Embassy managed to persuade him not to do this.

Tribune Correspondent



Jeevarani and Ravindra Rupasena in Ceylon Entertainment Ltd. Production "SUJAGE RAHASA" (Suja's Secret) produced by Jabir A. Cader and directed by P. Neelakantan.

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FOR QUALITY AND VALUE

# RENT PAYERS & COALITION

# ★ C. P. de SILVA ★ ★ Buddhists

*This is the text of a letter sent to Mr. M. P. de Z. Siriwardene, Minister of Housing and Labour, by the President of the Rent Payers Association of Ceylon, Mr. W. W. Jayasinghe.*



*Rent Payers Association President W. W. Jayasinghe with Dr N. M. Perera, Minister of Finance.*

DEAR SIR,

It was with great expectations that you set up the above Council. However, it was a pity that you thought it fit to appoint several reactionary Government Officials into this organisation and as we predicted the Council had achieved nothing at all up to now.

Several proposals brought up by me were thwarted and obstructed. When the Official members found that they could not succeed in getting the Council to approve everything that they decided to put before them, they conveniently stopped summoning meetings of the Council. The Chairman even went to the extent of submitting his own proposals for the setting up of the proposed NATIONAL HOUSING CORPORATION, although you desired in your opening address that our Council should give the matter careful consideration and submit a report to you. Over this very matter, certain members of the Council accused me of giving information to an "Outsider" meaning the Prime Minister. I should like to know whether the meetings of the Central Housing Council were sus-

ended with your approval or even with your knowledge.

With regard to the laying of the Foundation Stone for the Golf Link Housing Scheme,

the ceremony was organized in a manner to bring discredit on the Prime Minister and if she did come as intended, the daily papers would have carried photographs to show that the Prime Minister was being boycotted now as only a handful of people were present at such an important function. We say that these are deliberate acts of sabotage against the Government by unfriendly top-ranking Government Officials.

We suggest that you look into these matters and order that future ceremonies connected with Housing Schemes should be organised in conjunction with our Association so that we may see that the prestige of the Government is maintained.

We sincerely hope that you will bring your mind to bear in regard to these matters.

Awaiting the favour of an early reply.

W. W. JAYASINGHE,  
President.

Rent Payers Association of Ceylon

THE HON. PRIME MINISTER,  
TEMPLE TREES,  
COLOMBO.

WE CONTINUE TO SUPPORT THE COALITION GOVERNMENT AND YOU AS THE PRIME MINISTER IN PARTICULAR STOP TENANTS ARE AWARE OF THE PART PLAYED BY THE REACTIONARY LANDLORDS TO DISRUPT YOUR GOVERNMENT BEFORE THE IMPLEMENTATION OF YOUR PROGRESSIVE LEGISLATION STOP WE CONGRATULATE YOU ON YOUR ADDRESS TO THE NATION AND YOUR EXPOSURE OF REACTIONARIES WHO ASSASSINATED THE LATE LEADER AND THOSE WHO ATTEMPTED TO DISRUPT YOUR GOVERNMENT IN 1962 STOP WE THE TENANTS SHALL ACTIVELY PROTECT YOUR GOVERNMENT FROM REACTIONARIES.

LAL SALGADO, M.M.C.

Secretary,

RENT PAYERS' ASSOCIATION OF CEY.

4/93, Talakotuwa,  
Colombo 5. 7-12-64.

Sir,

The great betrayal of C. P. de Silva will go down in the political history of the country as a most sordid episode, not second to the historic betrayal of Judas Iscariot. C. P. de Silva, thrown out by the Senanayakes, quite rightly, as recent events have proved, took refuge under the banner of the late S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, not because he subscribed to the late Premier's political philosophy but because he saw an opportunity of taking revenge.

The late Prime Minister gave him the important Ministry of Agriculture and Lands and made him the Leader of the House. When the occasion arose, C. P. de Silva spearheaded the opposition within his Cabinet to the progressive policies of S. W. R. D. B., created conditions for the exit of Philip Gunawardena and William de Silva and weakened the late Premier's position, resulting in his assassination.

It is amusing to hear him pay lip service to the late Premier's principles. Dr. W. Dahanayake calls him "a hero from the pages of the Mahavamsa." One need not look very far into the pages of our chequered history to find suitable parallels for his conduct. Mrs. Bandaranaike continued to trust him, and he enjoyed the same plums and was considered trustworthy enough to be made the Acting Head of the Government. C. P. de Silva and his camp followers fortified their position under the S.L.F.P. and betrayed it when it suited them. The price of this grand betrayal will not be known fully now, but some day the cat will be out of the bag! They will meet their nemesis at the polls.

However sordid the whole business is, the polarisation of political forces taking place within the coalition government is all to the good and, will remove the spokes within the wheel of the progressives, leaving no room for hirelings.

The Lake House Press may have been the nation's watchdog in the dim past but in recent times it has stood for everything that is anti-national and traitorous. It has contributed more than any other force in this country to introduce Tammany Hall tactics into local politics and effectively pervert the proper functioning of Parliamentary Democracy. As for its journalistic ethics, one can only say that it is the most disreputable under the sun. This stooge press of imperialist and anti-national interests is today actively helping to discredit Buddhism and the Sangha, by making use of impious and indigent Buddhist priests to

protect its vested interests.

Both the Buddhist clergy and the laity should open their eyes to what is being transacted today. Varying sums of money have been given to certain monks to organise Opposition to the government. It is reported that a chit from a reputed Ayurvedic Physician Monk when presented to a well-known local organisation by any monk who attended the meeting of the 28th November, earned for him Rs. 25! Alongside these activities, thugs are being hired to wreck meetings and to assault Buddhist monks with a view to discrediting the Marxists and the Coalition Government.

In the light of these developments, one cannot understand the attitude of Philip Gunawardena and the L.S.S.P. (R). The former seems to have set aside his political philosophy in a mad craze for power and is inexorably heading towards political extinction while the latter lives in a dream world of doctrinaire political theory divorced from all contacts with the local political milieu.

In the context of the present situation, all progressive forces should unite against the last ditch stand of the capitalist and imperialistic forces, and help the coalition of Sitimavo Bandaranaike to emerge victorious at the coming polls.

Galle 12.12.64,

SIR,

Mr. Egerton C. Baptist should be thanked and congratulated for his series of topical articles on "political bhikkhus, priests, press and Buddhism etc." which appeared in the past issues of your esteemed journal.

The genuine Buddhist public of this country will no doubt be most grateful to Mr. Baptist for his forthright comments and realistic analysis of the present smear campaign carried by the political bhikkhus against the Coalition Government.

Mr. Baptist had also made good use of his mature knowledge of the Dhamma to place before the Buddhist public some valuable material to prevent them being misled by these irresponsible opportunistic political priests.

Since these articles are too valuable to be missed by the Sinhala Buddhist public who are not educated in English, may I make an appeal to you, Mr. Editor, to get these articles translated into Sinhala and have them either published in the "Jana Sathiya" or released to the public in brochure form.

H. WEERASEKERA  
Peradeniya,  
December 10, 1964.



# Is This Buddhism?

continued from page 3

new Mahanayake Thera of Asgiriya, Kandy, by H.E. the G.G. this is what Mr. Siriwardena says :

"The origin of this Custom is not known by many Buddhists nor is the significance of it in the present day very clear....." Tracing the origin of the custom to British times (1815) and having explained how the British Govt. undertook protection of the Buddhist religion as also the appointment and support of the Chief Mahanayakes of Asgiriya and Malwatte, Mr. S. goes on to quote the letter of appointment of Kotagama Goonaratana Terrunanse, given in 1835, which has this ugly paragraph :

.....You are hereby directed and enjoined diligently to obey and execute all such orders as you may receive from us or the G.A., and fully to discover and make known to us or the constituted authorities of Govt. all things which may come to your knowledge affecting the public interest

and all treasons and traitorous conspiracies which you may hear of against His Majesty's Government...."

Commenting on this Mr. S. says, "...The Mahanayakes were expected to be Spies and Informants for the Govt. against the possibility of a national rising."

Explaining further, Mr. S. says, "In 1846 owing to missionary objection to the Christian Govt. making appointments to offices on a heathen hierarchy," the functions exercised by the Governor were vested by Ordinance in a body of Chief laymen and Bhikkhus. This Ordinance was rejected by the Queen on the advice of Gladstone who felt, "it would create a dangerous hierarchy, — a State within a State detrimental to Colonial interests."

Later bhikkhus were allowed to elect their own heads to whom a "Certificate of Recognition" was granted, "to preserve the POLITICAL connection, so that the Mahanayakes so constituted would still be obliged to carry on their POLITICAL functions on behalf of the Colonial Government."

"This colonial letter," says Mr. S, "still exists over the Malwatta and Asgiriya hierarchy even after Independence"

## Personal

How 'un-Buddhistic' Mahanayakes can be, is evident from my own experience. When Mr. Ronnie de Mel was D.G. of Broadcasting, on the suggestion of Mr. Mettananda of the B.J.B., because of the poor quality Buddhist broadcasts on the English National Service of Radio Ceylon, I was asked to organize these programmes.

I took over as 'a labour of love,' declining an Allowance offered me, and spending my energy and time and my own money on cabs to interview various people for my programmes. I was given a Permit to enter Radio Ceylon, and a Clerk to attend to the Clerical work. Mr. M. L. D. Caspersz, my former boss, though a Roman Catholic, generously allowed me free time to organize this programme while also attending to his work. The Buddhist Advisory Committee of Radio Ceylon brought pressure on me in various ways to assign talks to their 'favourites.' I refused because in my opinion, though some were even bhikkhus, they were incapable of delivering a good Sermon or talk. When persuasion and cajoling failed, intimidation was resorted to — one incident being on the phone in the room of Mr. Vitanage of the B.J.B.

I had a courageous boss, however, in Mr. Ronnie de Mel who gave me a free hand, and I produced an excellent programme, —both for the local listeners, as also for Overseas listeners on a Programme that comes over the Short-waves on Sunday afternoons (of which local listeners are not quite aware). On my programmes I had such knowledgeable speakers as Drs. K. N. Jayatilleke, W. S. Karunaratne, Vice-Principals of leading Boys and Girls Colleges in Colombo, Doctors, Permanent Secretaries (one a Puisne Judge now), leading Bhikkhus (some of whom were my Advisers though the Buddh. Adv. Com. was not aware of this!), others, and even the present Director of Education.

Alas, my 4-month programme ran only for 4 weeks! As cajoling and intimidation failed, the Budd. Adv. Com. on which were reps, of the All Ceylon Budd. Congress, and the Rev. Madihe Pannaseeha, Maha Nayake Thera of the much-boasted VAJIRARAMAYA, moved a resolution which said, "We are hurt that the organizing of this Programme has been entrusted to Egerton Baptist: we would wish it be handed over to a 'born' Buddhist." I gave up instantly by EXPRESS letter, reminding this Committee that "even the Buddha, Sariputta, Maha Kassapa and others were not 'born' Buddhists."!! Mr. Mettananda himself said: "Give it up; you are not a Nivataya....." The Press Com. was apprised of these facts — the name of the Mahanayake was given in camera. I am revealing it now, — only because so much fuss is being made about Mahanayakes, as if they were some type of

Celestial beings! Ever since, I have refused to broadcast over Radio Ceylon.

Mahanayakes are also worldlings (puthujjana) like most of us, liable to succumb at any moment to latent human frailties (Kilesa). Virtue (Sila) is the criterion, and NOT their high "office." Hence, the Buddha said, 4 things are worthy of respect, even if they be young :

".....the Serpent and the Fire,  
The prince of high estate,  
the saintly Friar."

for, a young Serpent's bite can kill; a Spark can cause a conflagration; the young Prince may Rule one day and take revenge; the saintly Friar may be a Saint.

## Warning

My warning through these columns that monks "cannot say and do things irresponsibly and always seek the shelter and immunity the sacred yellow robe affords," is now confirmed by the complaint to the I.G.P. by various Bhikkhu Societies (C.D.N. 9-12), that monks find it "difficult to attend a funeral, a Pirith ceremony, or a Bana preaching ceremony," and are being "insulted, humiliated and threatened when travelling in buses and trains, and are refused even seats in buses."! This is only the beginning, as I see it — as monks are indiscriminately interfering in the struggle of the toiling masses and are so earning their contempt.

Should they not learn, even now, to observe their Bhikkhu-Sila, and in this way preserve the Buddha Sasana, leaving it to laymen to decide for themselves who should and who should not govern them — which, after all, are purely lay matters, and do not concern monks! Monks should not seek the best of both worlds, namely, to wield secular power — as some of them are now doing, making and unmaking governments — on the one side, and receiving also on the other, free of Charge (1) the best of food (Pindapata), (2) Clothing (Civara), (3) houses to dwell in (Senasana), and (4) all medical attention (Gilanapaccaya).

In a way Monks are not entirely to blame for this state of affairs. Often they are tools in the hands of designing laymen. Would it not be nobler, therefore, for politicians and individuals who are unable to

fight their political battles under their own steam, to give up their ambitions and struggle for power, rather than bring discredit upon the entire Sangha by using Monks to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for them?

We have already had samples of the language even monks can use when worked-up on public platforms that ill-befits their high calling. Worse is yet to come. For, if instigated, encouraged and supported by political parties, monks also decide to contest Parliamentary seats, — may heaven help Lanka! Indeed, if that too happens, without a doubt we would soon be witnessing scenes reminiscent of a Jataka tale which describes an Elephant (who was the Bodhisatta), lifting in his trunk a false monk (Devadatta), but halting in his fell purpose to dash him to his death, — only because he suddenly perceived the yellow robes that wretched man was wearing, — for which he still had some respect and regard.

The writing on the Wall is, therefore, clear, — for those who have eyes to see. If things drift like this, it will not be long before Buddhism, as it is practised now — with monks living only to grow physically fat, riding in limousines and engaging their own chauffeurs, possessing vast bank accounts and signing cheques, and exploiting the cunning and gullibility of an ignorant laity — becomes the "Opium of the masses" in South-East Asia, just as Christianity which also exploited the ignorance of its adherents, became the "Opium of the masses" in Europe.

A recent letter to me from an American with a Doctorate, who had lived in Ceylon and witnessed much of this says, "Buddhism is dead in Lanka." We may not agree with him wholly, — but can we blame him?

My plea, therefore, is that all who claim to be fighting to save the Buddha Sasana — Political Parties and individual Politicians — should call a TRUCE, and agree not to seek the assistance and support of Monks in their struggle for Power. When the battle at the hustings is over, the Victors may go in person and seek the Blessings of the Sangha. In this way, May the Buddha Sasana long endure!

But will my plea be heeded? Or, will we go headlong to our Doom? We shall wait and see!



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## Sirima-Shastri Agreement

continued from page 4

The persons to fall under the last three categories, that is, the stateless whose number is estimated to be nearly 9 3/4 lakhs, raise some interesting issues. To begin with, the conference has decided the number of people without uttering a word about the criteria of determining this game of numbers. In fact it maintains that the officials of both the governments will meet as soon as possible to establish a joint machinery and to formulate the appropriate procedure for the implementation of this Agreement. Till the 'appropriate procedure' is worked out, the Agreement simply remains a paper formula.

The working out of this arrangement bristles with difficulties. On the Indian side, it is mentioned that India will accept 5,25,000 people as her citizens but on what basis. The only constitutional basis for conferring citizenship on Indians abroad as mentioned in Article Eight of the Indian Constitution, is the voluntary request on the part of Indians abroad to register themselves for the same. And the history of the last decade makes it evident that this open entry has been able to induce hardly 35,000 people till 1960 to opt for Indian citizenship in Ceylon.

What will induce these people to come to India now and how will they react to this proposition which to them, if not to everybody, smacks of horse trading?

Thus, notwithstanding Ceylon's earlier statements about these people being her domestic responsibility, the initiative for working out a political solution for these people still lies with India. In fact, the conciliatory attitude of India and the friendly gestures of the Shastri regime in agreeing to take these people back makes Ceylon's task of getting rid of these people rather difficult, and she has still to give them several facilities for more than a decade as enjoined by the Agreement itself. Thus, by this move India has been able to save the Indians in Ceylon from the fate of their compatriots in Burma, if nothing else.

### Difficulties

However, the question still remains namely, if these 5 1/4 lakhs of people are not prepared to come back to India, then what do both the governments do? Not only this, the Agreement is silent about the criteria of deciding the categorisation of these people between those who are picked up to be granted Indian citizenship those to be granted Ceylon citizenship and the residue.

Any criteria, either on the basis of residence, or of lineage is bound to create a political furore, and the only such arbitrary numerical formula appears to be the one adopted in auction sale, that is, that of lots.

Another interesting point in this context is that of preparing

two registers. Here again it is a known fact that though the principle of preparing two registers of 'Ceylon nationals' and 'non-Ceylon nationals' was accepted as early as 1954 in Nehru-Kotelawala Agreement, it could not be implemented because the Ceylon Government, amongst other reasons found it too much to do this work for non-nationals. As such, this will probably necessitate a joint organisation of both the governments which share the financial burden. This again will be a question to be thrashed out by the 'joint machinery.'

Another clause worded in a tricky manner and needing clarification is Clause Eight of the Agreement. While agreeing to permit these persons to

repatriate, at the time of their final departure for India, all their assets including their Provident Fund and gratuity amounts, the Ceylon Government maintains that "the maximum amount of assets which any family shall be permitted to repatriate shall not be reduced to less than Rs. 4,000." This clause is striking for its vagueness.

No doubt it makes it clear that an amount up to Rs. 4,000 is what the Government of Ceylon is prepared to pay for a family as a price of leaving the island, but then, it does not seem to be an advance over the inducement scheme under which Ceylon Government had already agreed to give this sum to those repatriating to India. According to this clause, how-

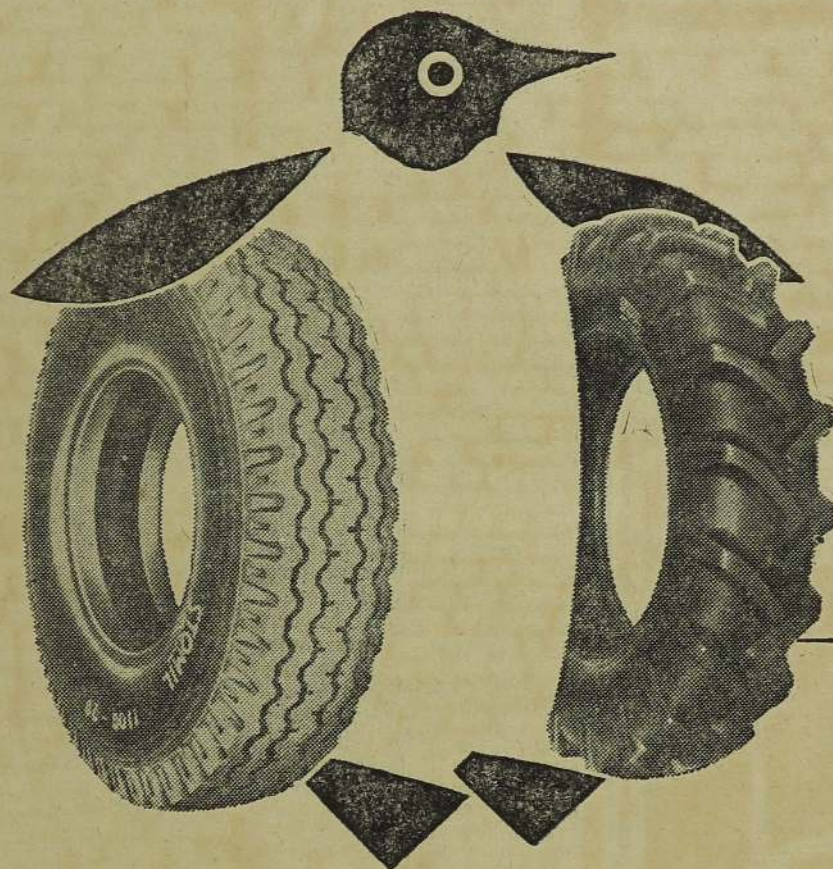
ever, on the transfer of assets exceeding Rs. 4,000, the Ceylon Government appears to reserve the right to fix the maximum, or anything beyond Rs. 4,000 for repatriation.

It appears thus that the conclusion of this Agreement is the result of hard bargaining and is brought out in a fair sense of give-and-take. In fact it can be said to the credit of both the Governments that at least initially they have tried to accommodate each other's view to a much greater extent than what any of their predecessors have done, and in the process have drifted apart from the traditional or conventional way of looking at this issue.

To that extent they have taken a definite attitude towards the issue which did not

seem to be the approach pursued under Nehru and did not seem to have been risked by the earlier Ceylonese regimes either. With the LSSP fully saddled in the coalition, Mrs. Bandaranaike has no doubt found her hands strengthened on this issue.

On the Indian side too, the Shastri Government has displayed a capacity to make up its mind over such a long drawn out question. This is not only a healthy trend but shows a touch of realism in Indian foreign policy. This newly developed image of a determined and yet unassuming, sympathetic and accommodating elder, not big, brother is probably the most significant contribution of the Shastri regime so far in moulding India's foreign policy.



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# X'mas Attractions

**\*\*SUJAGE RAHASE\*\*** (Suja's Secret), Ceylon Entertainment Ltd., Sinhala Production No. 4 opens on the 24th December at the **CENTRAL, EROS, JEZEEMA, LAVINIA** and other key stations throughout Ceylon.

The movie centres around a sacrifice made by a mother, who gives up a child, so that a motherless woman may maintain peace and happiness in the family.

The film has in its cast Jeevarani, Ravindra Rupasena, Ananda Jayaratne, Leena de Silva, L. M. Perera, Mabel Blythe, Sandhya Kumari, Vijitha Mallika, Lenny Fernando, Winston Silva, Thilak Pushpakumar and introducing Roy de Silva, Roy Handapangoda and George de Silva. It has music by T. R. Papa and Roc Samy and lyrics by Karunaratne Abeysekera. Songs are rendered by playback singers, Mohideen Baig, Lata, Dharmadasa Walpola and G. S. B. Rani. Screenplay, dialogues and associate direction is by Cyril P. Abeyratne. Cinematography is by N. Dorai and Lini de Costa. The picture is produced by Jabir A. Cader with A. Amir Sheriff as associate producer and direction is by P. Neelakantan. The movie was made at Vijaya Studios, Hendala, and the songs recorded at Sarasavi Sound Studios, Kollupitiya.

opening this week at the **EMPIRE THEATRE** — The movie is about an Indian youth's love for a wild stallion and of his struggles to save the horse from extinction.

Faced with tribal condemnation when he frees the stallion to avoid its mistreatment by a rival brave, the young warrior eventually redeems himself at the Battle of the Little Big Horn, where General George Armstrong Custer meets his end. Wild horse stampedes, Indian uprisings, cavalry charges, bitter tribal rivalries and hand to hand combats between red men and white, are the thrilling sequences in the film, which has 19 year old Sal Mineo, in the role of the young Sioux brave, White Bull. Co-starring are Jerome Courtland, Philip Carey, Rafael Campos, Joy Page, Britt Lomond, H. M. Wynant and others. The movie is based on the book "Comanche" by David Appel. It is directed by Lewis R. Foster and produced by James Pratt.

Leaf Production is directed by Gene Nelson and produced by Sam Katzman.

**\*\*GIDGET GOES TO ROME\*\*** — Jerry Bresler's production of a Columbia Pictures release starring James Darren and introducing Cindy Carol in the title role, opens this week at the **REGAL THEATRE**. The Eastmancolor romantic comedy also stars Jessie Royce Landis, Cesare Danova and Danielle de Metz and co-stars Joby Baker, Don Porter and Jeff Donnell.

Gidget goes to Rome on a holiday with two girl friends, her fiancée, and his friend Clay. Gidget meets her father's wartime friend, Paolo Cellini, who has been asked by her father to keep an eye on her, but she falls in love with him. Cellini shows Gidget everything in Rome, while Jeff her boy friend tries to keep up with her. She gets herself into one

the song with Kim, her fiancée, Hugo's presence leads to a happy series of major romantic complications.

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Music: Chitragupta

## MYLAN

Kannappa  
Janaki in

## DEVAKI

### \*\*THE LADIES MAN\*\*

— Jerry Lewis again combines his talents as producer, director writer and actor for his latest Paramount release, now showing at the **LIBERTY CINEMA**.

Co-starred in the Technicolor productions are Helen Traubel, Kathleen Freeman, Hope Holiday and Lyn Ross with Pat Stanley making her motion picture debut. Guest stars Buddy Lester, George Raft, and Harry James and his Band are importantly featured, along with 31 beautiful girls.

The girls portray career seeking residents of a Hollywood boarding house which is the principal setting of the comedy. The story concerns the misadventures of one Herbert H. Herbert, who, having been jilted by his fiancée, has sworn to keep off women for life. He takes a job as a huseboy for motherly looking Miss Welenmelon, unaware that he will be the only male in her boarding houseful of beauties. Miss Welenmelon prevails upon him to stay and in spite of his vow, he becomes involved in 'the girls' affairs. By the time he finishes his duties at the boarding house, he has developed a whole new attitude toward the female sex. Included in the entertainment are songs, dances, and speciality routines by Jerry, the girls and the other stars.

**\*\*TONKA\*\*** — Thrills and spills climaxed by the action packed battle highlight Waly Disney's Technicolor production, a Buena Vista release.

## by Our Film Reporter

**\*\*KISSIN COUSINS\*\*** — Elvis Presley in a dual role, a bevy of girls, 9 new songs and dancing, are the highlights of Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer's comedy in Panavision and Metrocolor, opening this week at the **MAJESTIC THEATRE**.

In this story of a Tennessee hillbilly family who fight off an attempt by the government to obtain their mountain for an ICBM missile base, Elvis Presley in his dual portrayal is seen as Josh Morgan, the young officer chosen to face the independent Tatum family, and in the other role as the hillbilly who sings and dances.

The Tatum does not desire any government men around their mountain or interfering with their whisky making activities, and before the Air Force is able to achieve its objective, the missile base task force finds itself in a comedy of errors. They not only have to evade the bullets of the Tatums, but also become the target by a bevy of mountain girls, who are determined to get a mate by fair or foul means.

In the film Elvis introduces 8 new songs and Glenda Farrell renders one, a parody. The others in the cast are Arthur O'Connell, Jack Albertson, Pam Austin, Cynthia and Yvonne Craig. This Four

predicament after another, and Cellini saves her out of every mischievous misadventure. Jeff finally tells Gidget that Cellini is not only a married man, but her father's good friend who was assigned to escort her around Rome, and nothing else: Jeff, Gidget and her companion leave for America, happier after their Roman holiday.

**\*\*BYE BYE BIRDIE\*\*** — Kohlmar-Sidney Production, Columbia Pictures release, in Panavision and Eastmancolor, opens this week at the **SAVOY CINEMA**, starring Janet Leigh, Dick Van Dyke, Ann Margaret, Maureen Stapleton, Bobby Rydell, Jesse Pearson and Ed Sullivan.

Singing idol Conrad Birdie is soon to be mobilised. The news alarms the girls of the nation, and also the songwriter Albert Peterson, as he had written the title tune for Birdie's next picture, and hoped the royalties would help him to marry his secretary, Rosie. Rosie persuades Albert to write another tune for Birdie titled 'One Last Kiss' and requests Ed Sullivan to introduce it on the television programme. Kim-McAfee is chosen as the girl to whom Birdie will sing the song. When Birdie arrives in the small Ohio town to rehearse

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## Spotlight on the Press

continued from page 6

"theoreticians" and strategists from the CIA and SEATO — have succeeded in leading the "buddhist" owners of Lake House and the Dawasa.

If the editorial line of the Daily Mirror and the Times are carefully scrutinised, one gets the changing nuances in the political strategy of the CIA so far as Ceylon is concerned. Lake House and the Dawasa seem content to toe the line "most willingly."



\* REVEAL that in spite of the unfavourable propaganda abroad about the political and economic situation in this country, the tourist rush this year has been unprecedented. Every year during the last two or three years, the number of foreign tourists on package tours organised by travel agents have steadily increased. Specially chartered planes have brought hundreds of tourists

# \* Tourism \* Black Currency \* Flying Squad

and every hotel has been completely booked for the tourist season this year. Certain leading resthouses have also been fully booked during this period. At the moment it is next to impossible to get hotel accommodation for a casual visitor. With this kind of rush, Ceylon would need at least two Hilton hotels to meet the growing tourist traffic and in addition a string of first class resthouses (the present ones can easily be streamlined). All this is clear indication that with its natural scenic beauty which Ceylon can offer, tourism can be a money-spinner if only the Government would invest more in enlarging the tourist facilities. Unfortunately, the budgetary provision for tourist promotion and development is so infinitesimal that in terms of investment — return Ceylon is reaping millionfold. A little more expenditure — and the qualitative change in the volume of traffic would be phenomenal. More hotels and better resthouses is all that is necessary for sky-rocketting the income from tourism.

\* REVEAL that there has been a sensational drop in the

black market currency rates in Colombo during the last one week. The pound sterling which was fetching over Rs. 50 a £ has now come down with a bang to a little over Rs. 20 each. But the drop was even more sensational in the Indian rupee under-the-counter transactions. Until last week when the drop was recorded, to get Rs. 100 in Indian currency in Madras one had to pay Rs. 240 Ceylon rupees in Colombo. Today, the same Rs. 100 can be got in India if one paid a little under Rs. 150 in Ceylon. A drop of some ninety points in the blackmarket value of the Indian rupee is something to write home about.

\* REVEAL that there is a great deal of speculation as to why there has been drop in the black market (bm) rates. The first reason attributed is that with the defeat of the coalition government the flight of money through the black-market has automatically stopped and that there was greater confidence among the moneybags that with the coming General Elections every thing was going to be hunky-dory for vested interests. Even

if this was a partial reason it cannot be a full or adequate explanation for the remarkable drop in rates. Another reason suggested by a daily paper of the Times group was that an "engineering firm" was disposing of its sterling hoard in order to finance a particular political party: that so much sterling had suddenly appeared on the blackmarket horizon that the pound sterling had sagged. A third reason is that the unprecedented rush of tourists into Ceylon had brought an untold quantity of sterling into the market. Whilst these three main reasons are being hotly debated upon a fourth reason was being hinted that the scarcity of sterling a few weeks ago and the comparative plenty today has been artificially stage-managed by operators who would be able to make easy money by such violent fluctuations. Whilst these explanations seem plausible so far as sterling is concerned, no one has yet been able to provide an explanation as to why the Indian rupee BM value has dropped. Is it because the recent Indo-Ceylon Agreement provides for reasonable amount to be taken by each repatriate? Or, is there some other game? There are, of course, the political pundits who say that the dollars, sterling and Indian rupees off-loaded for defeat of the government and the coming elections has flooded the black market.

\* REVEAL that there are some vicious elements who seek to lay wrong information with the authorities so that the Flying Squad of the Treasury is used to pay off old grudges and humiliate personal enemies. Unless great care is used in the way the Flying Squad is utilised Government can well make more enemies (unnecessarily) than win friends by operating this Flying Squad. This unit has no doubt done a great deal of unearthing — but the danger of it becoming a weapon for the unscrupulous to pay off old grudges is ever present. Vigilance is essential in the use of the Flying Squad.

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