

# SLFP & COALITION PM's Responsibility



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## Sirima's Dilemma

by  
James T. Rutnam

"Of all plagues, good Heaven, thy wrath can send, save me, oh save me, from the candid friend," moaned George Canning at the turn of the last century. Prime Minister Sirima Bandaranaike's plight today appears to be no different.

What an assortment of candid friends she has now, all most concerned about her political security, all determined, nay insisting, upon her taking their counsel and averting a dire calamity to her political future. What an imposing array of candid counselling friends led by our monopoly Press, which had four years ago torn her to smithereens, insulted her, called her the vilest names and done everything in its demoniacal frenzy to destroy her.

John Bright once said that he was never so certain that he was right as when the Times (meaning the London Times) said that he was wrong. So indeed could Sirima Bandaranaike say today. She has taken the right course, as is evident from her recent utterances, and she could now feel absolutely certain, following the day-to-day pleas and preachings (and veiled threats) of the monopoly Press, that she is definitely on the right path.

As we write at this moment, on the eve of an apparently decisive turn in our history, when the fate of the nation is being discussed in the highest counsels and conclaves of the land, when every art and artifice of politics is being summoned for both noble and sordid ends, the writer is reminded of the occasion in July 1960 when he had the singular honour to acclaim in the columns of the "Tribune", that on the morrow Sirima Bandaranaike would be the sixth Prime Minister of Sri Lanka and the first woman Prime Minister of the world. Many scoffed then. Some of them are her vociferous camp-followers today. But she confounded the false prophets. She exposed the bogus astrologers. She defied, almost single-handed, battered and

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The monopoly Press, particularly of the TIMES Group, is every day betraying itself so completely that it would be impossible to restrain popular indignation against the abuse of Press freedom from reflecting itself in the actions of the Government today or any other Government in the immediate future. Having lost the first round of the battle, the monopoly Press and Big Business are making it appear that the upsurge for SLFP-ULF unity would disappear into thin air only because of initial difficulties in regard to Cabinet making.

It is well to recall that from March 15, when the first hints that SLFP-ULF Coalition talks were in the offing began to appear in the papers, right up to May 9, when the SLFP, LSSP, MEP and CP decided in a democratic manner that in principle that a SLFP-ULF Coalition was essential, the monopoly Press carried on the most vicious and vitriolic partisan campaign against SLFP-ULF unity wanting at the same time to chisel a SLFP-UNP combine. The monopoly Press failed in this effort; and though the pro-unity, pro Coalition upsurge in the country has reached a new and higher level, the daily papers are still hoping to turn the clock back and make rivers flow backwards by creating road blocks in Cabinet making.

These new efforts too will not succeed, in spite of the scare headlines every morning, because the common people behind the SLFP and the ULF want unity and a Coalition and even if certain persons in the SLFP and the ULF are making it difficult (as they have always done), the pressure from below will ultimately triumph. Those SLFP and ULF personalities who are getting lost in details of Cabinet-making either to sabotage the Coalition or to tickle their own vanity must realise that the ordinary people of this country will not tolerate failure to concretise the demand for progressive unity. Those who want to stem the tide of unity will find themselves swept away by it if they resist too long. The fate of Munasinghe, Marikkar, Stanley de Zoysa, P. B. A. Weerakoon, Wimala Wijewardena and others will overtake those who follow the dictates of Big Business and the monopoly Press.

has been noticed is that in many Local Elections the SLFP and the ULF have won sweeping successes. At Embilipitiya out of 15 seats, the SLFP won 14 and the UNP 1. In the Kolonne Diyapattagam Pattu V. C., the SLFP won 12 out of 15 and the UNP the balance 3 seats. At the Ganga-boda East Pattu V. C. elections, the ULF won 7 out of 9 while the UNP which contested all the seats won only one. For the Kumbalwela V. C. in Bandarawela, the SLFP won 10 seats (including 2 by J. G. Gunasekera MP) and the UNP one seat. At the Minuwangoda Palatha V. C. elections, the SLFP won 6 seats and the UNP 3.

These results show that the fact that there appears to have been a de facto no-contest agreement between the SLFP and the ULF in most of these elections has not split the progressive vote. But a more important inference is that the moves by the Prime Minister to have a Coalition with the ULF have resulted in returning a growing confidence in the SLFP, which had been waning recently owing to the inefficiency and reactionary attitude of some Ministers.

Another point that must be made centres round the manner in which these results have been reported by the monopoly Press. The Times Group

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### DANGER SPOT

## • CUBA

The United States, under President Johnson and his newly-appointed virulent Assistant Secretary for Latin American Affairs, Thomas Mann, seem determined to smash all independent and free republics in the Latin American region—in the same way the State Department wants to do the same the world over. Brazil was recently re-conquered for the American Dollar through a CIA—organised rightwing coup. The heat has now been turned on Cuba. First, U2 reconnaissance flights were stepped up, and Cuba was compelled to protest to the UN, but Washington does not seem to care. Next, trade curbs were increased; Dean Rusk has issued warnings to all countries trading with Cuba. Third, the new Brazilian regime has broken off diplomatic relations with Cuba on the pretext that the latter was intervening in the internal affairs of Brazil. Fourth, the number of direct attacks on Cuba by mercenaries and exiles, armed, sustained and sheltered by the US, has increased in the last few days. The question is being asked whether all these are preliminary to a large-scale attack on Cuba by a Task Force (under a Latin American flag but under US Command) in the near future. The Soviet Union has warned the US that continued violation of Cuban air space would lead to "disastrous consequences." World public opinion is daily hardening against the United States which now objects even to countries like Britain and France trading with Cuba. People in Ceylon are conscious that a US or US—inspired attack on Cuba is an attack on the freedom and sovereignty of emergent countries in every part of the world and there is therefore growing indignation in the island about US provocations in the Caribbean. For the people of gallant Cuba, the Ceylonese people have a specially soft corner, and any attack on her territorial integrity will spark off a nation-wide hostility to the current tactics of dollar imperialism.

There are people in the SLFP and ULF leadership who still refuse to see the writing on the wall. What is important is not the details of Cabinet making or the niceties in wording the common minimum programme, but in taking SLFP-ULF unity one step further without undue delay.

### Local Elections

In this connection it is well to note one significant fact in regard to public opinion. Although the UNP has won a few of the Local Elections in recent weeks, one trend that

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# MIRROR

of the

## WEEK'S AFFAIRS

An interpretative summary of some of the principal items of news in the daily papers in the English language published in Colombo, May 13th to May 19th.

### WEDNESDAY, May 13

The Daily News reported that the Central Joint Committee of the ULF was scheduled to meet tonight to discuss matters arising out of their decision to meet the Prime Minister. The Daily Mirror, as current organ of Big Business (and UNP) tactics to sow discord among pro-coalitionists splashed tendentiously on the front page that "Anti Coalitionists Demand POUND OF FLESH (coalition only on SLFP terms)". The report stated that "anti-coalitionists" want guarantees from the ULF specially in regard to "the Sinhala Only Act and the Indo-Ceylon Problem with particular reference to the non-granting of citizenship to Indian estate labour." The Observer, hinted that the NM wing in the LSSP, wanting to go it alone with the SLFP in a coalition, could still win a majority in a Party Congress. It also stressed on the front page that the ULF demand that all three parties in the ULF be represented in the Cabinet would be rejected by the Prime Minister. Whilst British trade with China increased, China's main Communist newspaper, "People's Daily," yesterday accused Britain of acting as a "cat's paw for U.S. Imperialism in its sinister designs upon China's sovereignty."

### THURSDAY, May 14

The Daily News reported that at last night's ULF leaders' meeting further points were added to the nine points earlier discussed between Dr. N.M. Perera and the PM to constitute the "minimum programme." At the enshrinement ceremony yesterday at Kirivehera, the Prime Minister had appealed to the Maha Sangha and to the people "to safeguard our religion, nation and the country." The Daily Mirror, announced on the front page that "SLFP Rebels Poised For AN SLFP-UNP Pact" and that this was coupled with secret moves for the UNP not to contest anti-coalition SLFP MPs. The editorial also raised the language, racial and religious issues raised by the Times of Ceylon for sometime now in a bid to disrupt the coalition through chauvinist slogans. The Observer stated that one of the new items added to the

"minimum programme" was a ULF demand to secure the **BREAK UP OF PRESS MONOPOLY**. The former Premier of Kashmir, Sheik Abdullah, stated in New Delhi yesterday that if the speedy drifting apart of India and Pakistan was not arrested, the "balance of power may be upset in Asia and engulf the whole sub-continent in devastating flames." In Laos, the Rightwing and Neutralist armies have merged under a eleven-man commanding staff including General Kouprasith Abhay, leader of the recent Rightwing coup.

### FRIDAY, May 15

The Daily News reported that money voted was far in excess of potential utilisation, and that the Departments of Health, Education and Public Works could not cope up with estimates and plans: that only Rs 4.2 million out of a total of Rs. 21 million allocated to the Health Ministry under the Annual Capital Expenditure Vote for 1963-64 has been spent so far. The Daily Mirror went easy on its front page by stating that there was an SLFP view that the PM must have the last word on the new Cabinet, but this was coupled with a mischievous report that there was a demand that K. M. P. Rajaratane and R.G. Senanayake should also be in the government. The Observer spread over its front page a headline that the ULF WILL WORK WITH SLFP. BUT NOT ON MIDDLE PATH. This was a headline prelude to a report of a speech by the secretly anti-coalition LSSPer Senator Doric de Sousa at the Law College Muslim Majlis. The Times of Ceylon reported that Government would take no steps in connection with the implementation of the Official Languages Act till the appeal in the Kodeswaran case was over. The daily papers gave prominence to a statement by former Catholic Action Minister, J.C.W. Munasinghe that S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike was an "anti-Marxist". By pressing a button, Prime Minister Khrushchov toge her with Presidents Nasser, Aref and Sallal detonated 160 kilogrammes of dynamite to change the traditional course of the River Nile through a diversion canal in order to begin work on the next phase on the mighty Aswan Dam. The United States, increasing its pressure on Cuba, increased the curbs on trade with Castro's regime.

The Daily News reported that the Prime Minister was expected to call a special meeting of the Ministers on Monday to discuss the next step in the coalition moves before starting talks with ULF leaders. Under the headline "Mahanayake Neutral on Coalition", the Daily News reported that the Mahanayake Thero of the Malwatte Chapter told the JVP leader, K.M.P. Rajaratne, that he would not identify himself with politics. The Daily Mirror announced on its front page, under headline **WAR CRY BY BASHA TWINS**, that "K. M. P. Rajaratne and F.R. Jayasuriya met yesterday and decided to launch an island-wide campaign to warn the people on the dangers of a SLFP - ULF coalition." The Daily Mirror continued its political campaign that 'many' SLFP rebels were threatening to quit the Party if the coalition took shape. The Observer editorialised on anti-coalitionist LSSPer Doric de Souza's outpourings at the Muslim Majlis to plug (by implication) its Maithripala line that only a SLFP - LSSP coalition was feasible. The Times reported that the Minister of Finance had appointed a Special Committee with wide powers to deal with all matters connected with the movement of cargo in the various ports of the island. The new regime in Brazil has broken diplomatic relations with Cuba. Britain was sending more troops to Aden to cope with the rebels in the area.

### SUNDAY, May 17

The Sunday Observer reported that the Prime Minister in a speech at Panadura yesterday had stated that certain people had expressed their fears that religion and language would suffer if she implemented certain proposals but that she would tell the country once and for all that there was no cause for such fears. According to the same paper, Air Ceylon's controversial plane deal had taken a new turn with the Prime Minister calling for an immediate report from the Committee of officials who approved the purchase of the AVRO. The Sunday Times reported that the leaders of the LSSP were anxious for a final decision on coalition as soon as possible. The paper also reported that at Panadura the Prime Minister had emphasised yesterday that her late husband would have taken action similar to what she was contemplating in regard to co-operation with the Left Parties. Four army men, charged with the murder of the Bhutan Prime Minister, Digma Dorji, were sentenced to death by the Royal Commission of Justice appointed by the Bhutan.

### MONDAY, May 18

The Daily News reported that ULF leaders had been informed by Government leaders that before the PM invites them

for talks she wished to consult her Ministers. The Daily News also reported that Minister Mahanama Samaraweera wanted immediate action on the report by the Special Committee which investigated Air Ceylon. The Daily Mirror reported that the FP had decided to ask the PM to intervene to halt the compulsory retirements for non-proficiency in Sinhala. The Observer splashed a statement from a speech by Dr. N. M. Perera at Nivitigala that the next two weeks will bring a coalition government. According to the Times officials of the Government Stores Department blame the Customs and Port (Cargo) Corporation for the delays in clearing cargo from the wharves in Colombo harbour. The USSR pressed U Thant, UN Secretary General to intercede with the United States to bring to an end American U 2 reconnaissance flights over Cuba.

### TUESDAY May 19,

The Daily News reported that a deputation from the ULF would meet the Prime Minister this evening and that in the morning she would confer with her Ministers. The Daily Mirror, (in a vain bid to recreate the atmosphere prior to the assassination of the late

S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike in 1959 preceded by the "boycot" of 10 Ministers), had a blood-curdling headline on its front page entitled "CABINET BOYCOTT?" only because four Ministers had been absent at yesterday evening's informal meeting of Ministers, even though it was widely known that that all Ministers would be present at a meeting this morning. The Observer continued to plug the Maithripala line that before the PM opened her talks with the ULF, today the trend was there was "no dispute" about the LSSP entering the Coalition, but matters were "unresolved" about the MEP and CP, forgetting that the ULF was going to the Prime Minister as one body. The Times of Ceylon reported on its front page (a) that the Coalition would have the "SLFP PLAN as BASIS?" without enlightening its readers what the new and special features of this "plan" were; (b) that N Shanmugathan at a recent Seminar of the Peking-liners at Badulla had declared that it was disheartening that Left leaders were falling victims to the alluring offers dangled before them by the Government. He had also insisted that a socialist state was not possible of achievement within the framework of parliamentary democracy. Pathet Lao forces had chased the neutralist forces out of the Plain of Jars. The Indonesian government yesterday nationalised the vast British tea and rubber estates in West Java.

## Forward to Monkeys

British Professor Broadhurst is far from asserting that monkeys are mentally superior to men. He only tries to prove that from the point of view of the capitalist employer, it is much more profitable to hire monkeys than people sometimes. The professor furnished "substantiated" proofs — after all, he is the chief of the Animal Psychology Laboratory of London University. In his recently published book "Fundamentals of Science on Animal Behaviour" he says that animals allegedly have a host of advantages over men. They are not so expensive to keep, they do not tire so quickly of monotonous operations, and forced idleness — meaning unemployment — causes them less worry.

In his book Broadhurst paints a picture, tempting for capitalists, of trained monkeys gathering in crops. It takes only two or three overseers to prevent the monkeys from wasting time and from putting too much grain into their facial pouches. Chimpanzees can also be taught to do more complex tasks, requiring a certain amount of skill — to screw nuts or even to drive trains..... Professor Broadhurst's ideas proved to the liking of certain employers. His popularizers call to organize "mass training" of animals in various trades. And so, Western civilizers have set forth a new motto; "Forward to Monkeys!"

B. Yerasov

# Encyclopaedia of Buddhism

THE ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF BUDDHISM, a publication undertaken by the Department Cultural Affairs of the Government of Ceylon as a memorial to the 2500th anniversary of the Buddha's Parinibbana, is now well established and is functioning regularly. This year 1964 has seen the third fascicle in print which brings the total to over 500 closely printed, double-columned pages with 43 art plates.

## Nucleus

Under the leadership of Dr. G. P. Malalasekera as Editor-in-chief there is a band of 12 enthusiastic assistants at work in the University at Peradeniya (Ceylon) and an equal number in Toyo University at Tokyo

(Japan). They form the nucleus through which the editorial work operates in bringing about a uniform standard and consistency, preventing overlapping repetitions and redundancies. They also compile the majority of articles which are not of a very specialised nature. Specialised subjects are treated by experts in those matters from all over the world. Thus the first volume will have contributions of about 160 scholars, of whom 90 come from China and Japan 30 from Ceylon and 40 from

other countries such as India, Burma, France, England, U.S.A., U.S.S.R., Germany, Scandinavia, etc.

This work is advancing most satisfactorily, for apart from the three fascicles printed and published so far, the balance of the first volume is practically ready for release and is kept back only for technical reasons. And that accounts for the letter A, the largest letter in any dictionary or encyclopaedia, sometimes occupying one eighth or one sixth of the entire work.

The articles ready in manuscript have gone far beyond this letter. Specialised articles have come in for any letter in the alphabet, even for Z; while the regular sequence of articles has now passed the letters B

and C and is well advanced in the D. And thus the future prospects are bright even though the time-element is moving too slow according to some critics, who know the price of everything and the value of nothing. Time certainly has its price, and for that reason Fascicle 1 is sold at Rs. 9.50 and fascicle 2 at Rs. 11.60; but the value of this Encyclopaedia can never be estimated. It can only speak for itself.

Copies may be had from the following distributors:-  
K.V.G. de Silva & Sons,  
415, Galle Road, Colombo 4  
Y.M.B.A. Building,  
Colombo-1  
86, Trincomalee Street,  
Kandy.

The magnitude of the work can be surmised from the fact that all this comprises just half of the subjects coming under the letter A. Everything touching on Buddhism is here dealt with according to a method indicated by each subject. Thus a Jataka story is related, a mental state is analysed, a historical fact is established, a doubtful theory is discussed, an ancient text is paraphrased, an authority is quoted an object of art or architecture explained and appreciated; and throughout it all and above all each article is factual. It may be a myth, a magical formula, or a symbol, but they are as factual as kings and temples; and therefore, nothing is excluded.

## Preserved

There is the Buddha, our Buddha, the historical Gotama, with his teaching; each sutta under its own title, his code of discipline, the Vinaya, and his philosophy, the Abhidhamma. There are the Buddhas of the past, and also the Buddhas of the future, the bodhisattvas, who play such an important role in Mahayana Buddhism. Here we find Amita Buddha and the concept of the Adibuddha.

For, although we are rightly proud here in Ceylon that we have preserved the early teachings of the Elders (Theravada), we do not despise the developed teachings of later centuries in other countries. And thus the great ideals of the Mahayana, where everyone is a potential Buddha, do not contradict and clash with the sterner stuff of structural Buddhism, also called Hinayana.

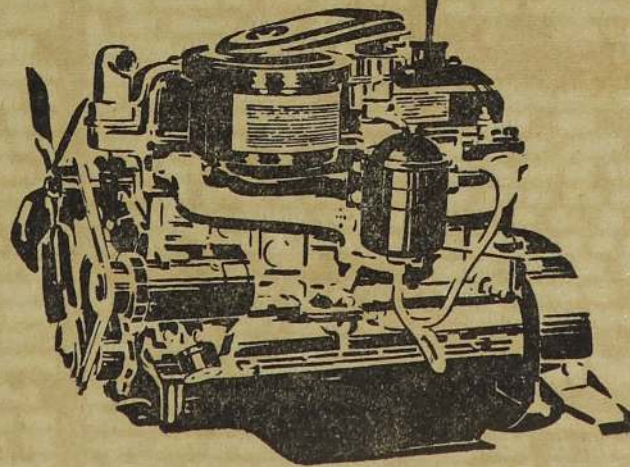
This Encyclopaedia of Buddhism contains all these flowers, many of which may appear as useless as beauty. But who wants beauty to be useful? And yet this Encyclopaedia is endeavouring to bring the beauty and the diversity and the contrasts in World Buddhism together in one systematic unit, i.e., to make it useful. With the flick of a finger one is transported to the ancient caves of Ajanta and the monuments of Amravati, or lost in the vastness of Akasa, to come down to earth again to find out the Buddhist attitude to adultery and abortion. Heavens and hells are laid open, just by opening the right page of the Encyclopaedia. Teachers and pupils can come here to learn from saints and devils in a way as can never be shown in any world-fair. That is it what makes this Encyclopaedia of Buddhism so complete and comprehensive, but also compact and compendious.

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# MANAGEMENT INDICTED

With the withdrawal of KLM from the partnership with Air Ceylon, the latter had the unpleasant task of resorting to retrenchment of staff at the end of October 1961. Many of those who were to have been retrenched, however, had their retrenchment notices withdrawn on the prospects of Air Ceylon entering into a agreement with BOAC. Eventually a total of 75 personnel in the subordinate and minor grades had been retrenched.

We find however, that subsequent to the retrenchment effected in 1961 there had been new posts created, upgrading of staffs effected and special increments granted to certain members of the staff, as shown below.

**New Posts:** Assistant General Manager; Assistant Chief Pilot; Purchase Officer; Senior Storeman; Electrician; Financial Controller; Stores Officer; Operations Assistant; Two Chargehands; Driver.

**POSTS FILLED ON PROMOTIONS:** Accountant; Manager Engineering; Manager (T & S); Assistant Chief Engineer; Chief Inspector; Inspector; 6 Accounts Officers; 2 Senior Accounts Clerks; Sales Representatives; Passage Officer; Scenographer; Chargehand; Senior Clerk; 3 Junior Mechanics; 2 Traffic Officers; Senior Traffic Officer;

**SPECIAL INCREMENT:** Cashier; Chief Accounts Officer; Cargo Supervisor; Two Junior Mechanics; 3 Chargehands; Stores Clerk;

This had in fact been one of the main grievances of the existing as well as the retrenched staff and justifiably so. Much of the discontent could well have been avoided if such measures not taken. The practice of paying double increments should be discontinued.

We had been made to understand that some of the up gradings were necessary on a reorganisation of the organisational structure while some were actually promotions effected to fill vacancies in the higher grades caused by the resignation of a few executive officers. In regard to the special increments, granted it was averred that due to slackness among the staff it was thought that such a step would serve as an incentive for more conscientious work.

*In the context of the retrenchment effected in 1961 and the financial position of Air Ceylon we cannot agree that most of these changes and revisions were essential. We consider that it was an unwise step on the part of the Management of the Board of Directors at that time.*

Some of the vacant executive posts that have been filled by promotions from the immediate lower grades are those of Assistant General Manager, Manager-Engineering, Assistant Chief Engineer, Manager (Traffic & Sales), Financial Controller, Accountant and Stores officer. The post of Manager Engineering was filled on the appointment of Mr. W. A. E. Molamure as General Manager, by the promotion of Mr. M. C. Fonseka, the then Assistant Chief Engineer, and a Senior Engineer, Mr. B. G. W. de Silva appointed as Assistant Chief Engineer in Mr Fonseka's place. On the resignation of Mr. K. D. Cruz as Manager Traffic & Sales, Mr. J. R. Santiapillai was appointed to this post.

The appointments of Manager Engineering and Manager Traffic and Sales, we agree, were necessary for the organisational set up and so was the appointment of Mr. G. K. K. Jayawardena as Accountant on the holder of this post being appointed to the newly created post of Financial Controller.

## Asst. Chief Engineer

On the appointment of Mr. M. C. Fonseka as Manager Engineering it had been decided to appoint Mr. B. G. W. de Silva, Senior Engineer as Assistant Chief Engineer on 1.6.62 on the specific condition that there should not be any change in salary. The relevant Board Minute of 15.5.62 is reproduced below. "Assistant Chief Engineer — Grade B 1 1000-50-1300 —

Senior Engineer B. G. W. de Silva, who is already in Grade B 1 to be appointed without change."

*Mr. de Silva was then a senior engineer in Grade B 2 not in Grade B 1. He was in receipt of a salary of Rs. 850/- per month on Grade B 2 scale of Rs. 600/- — 50/- — 1000/-. The Board has not been apparently informed that Mr. de Silva was in grade B 2 and he was in receipt of a salary of Rs 850/- Consequently he had been placed on the initial of the higher salary scale of Rs. 1000-50-1300/- with effect from 1.1.63 and been further granted increment of Rs. 50/- on 1.4.63.*

The purpose of having an Assistant Chief Engineer is to enable him to act for the Chief Engineer who in this organisation has been designated Manager Engineering. If Mr. de Silva is to act for the Manager Engineering he should obviously in every way be qualified to do so and be able to direct the Engineers and Mechanics under him. In aeronautical engineering there can be no chances or risks taken and it is therefore all the more imperative that all conditions necessary should be scrupulously adhered to. Paragraph 23 of the Ceylon Air Navigation Regulations 1953 read in conjunction with the third schedule (Forms A and BO is very clear that a "Certificate of Airworthiness" after a major overhaul to an aircraft can only be issued by an Engineer who possesses the B licence. It is generally the case that a holder of B licence also has the A licence so that the basic qualifications for such an Engineer are the possession of A and B licences. For a daily certificate a safety for flight the basic qualifications required are the A and C licences.

Mr. B. G. W. de Silva the Assistant Chief Engineer has only the X1 and X2 licences (ignition and electrical installations respectively) and is there not entitled (according to air navigation regulations) to certify either a major overhaul or a daily flight.

This work has to be done either by the Manager Engineering or some other qualified Engineer. He is also not in a position to direct the Engineers and Mechanics under him on aspects of

This is the second instalment from the Report of the Special Committee on Air Ceylon. Severe strictures have been passed on the Management for resorting to unjustified promotions and salary increments after the retrenchment effected earlier. The manner in which the Assistant Chief Engineer was appointed, primarily on wrong information furnished previously by the General Manager, has been justifiably condemned. Those responsible for this kind of jobbery cannot continue to exercise their functions of responsibility. It has also been rightly pointed out that the post of Assistant General Manager was redundant and that it had been 'created' only to find a berth for the holder.

aeronautical engineering other than electrical work. In this connection it has to be stated that following engineers working under the Assistant Chief Engineer are more qualified than himself.

1. W. A. P. Sugathadasa A. C. & X; 2. G. G. Perera A. C. & X; 3. M. Christopher, A. C. & X; 4. K. V. Basnayake, A. C. & X; 5. U. C. Perera, A. C. & X.

Mr. C. D. Christy, Chief Inspector and Mr. N. E. J. Peiris, Inspector both of the Inspection Branch of Air Ceylon possess the A, B, C and X licences. Some of the mechanics too are in possession of A & C licences.

## Glaring

The above is a glaring instance of injustice and mismanagement in that this promotion has been made overlooking others who are qualified and payment being effected on the unauthorised scale. The appointment itself is illegal in terms of Air Navigation Regulations vide para 22.

We cannot comment how this case for appointment had been presented to the Board at that time as no memorandum appears to have been prepared setting out the implications. This we consider a serious lapse.

What action is proposed to be taken against those responsible for the making of this appointment had indicated that the post of Assistant Chief Engineer is redundant. The certification necessary could be attended to, as in being done at present, with a senior engineer attending to the work of Manager Engineering whenever he is away. The post of Assistant Chief Engineer may be suppressed.

Reference in this connection, has to be invited to Section 207 (4) of the Ceylon Air Navigation Regulations 1955 quoted below. "No appointment to any high executive post in the Air transport undertaking, requiring technical or flying experience, shall be made by the operator without the previous approval of the Director." The Director in this case means the Director of Civil Aviation. The

above provision has not been adhered to by Air Ceylon in the past and we recommend that strict instructions be issued for compliance of this and other provisions in the Air Navigation Regulations. We are certain that particularly in the case of the Assistant Chief Engineer the appointment would not have had the approval of the Aeronautical Inspectorate whom the Director of Civil Aviation would have naturally consulted if this matter was referred to him.

The present holder of the post of ASSISTANT GENERAL MANAGER is one who has been trained abroad on flying at great expense to the airline and we feel that his knowledge and experience are not being fully utilised in his present post for the development and benefit of the airline. Moreover there appears to be very little work for an Assistant General Manager.

During the time of the partnership with KLM which owned 49 per cent of shares of Air Ceylon there was a post of Deputy General Manager which was filled by a nominee of KLM Royal Dutch Airlines mainly to look after their interests. With their withdrawal the need for a Deputy ceased. But a post of Assistant General Manager had been created because the Management could not find a suitable appointment for this Captain when he returned to Ceylon after extensive training and flying experience with KLM in Europe. It is a fair both by this officer and by the Airline to entrust him mainly with administrative matters. We are therefore of the view that he should be given a suitable appointment where his training and experience could be fully utilised.

The post of Assistant General Manager could then be suppressed.

There would also then be no need for an Administrative Assistant to the Assistant General Manager and the services of this officer may possibly be utilised in some other division, on reorganisation, if necessary.

To be continued

MOSCOW, May 15

The Chinese leaders are being absurd in their efforts to split the world Communist movement and weaken the national-liberation struggle of the young nations. Evidently, believing that revising Marxism-Leninism is not enough, they have turned to geography, claiming that the USSR cannot be considered an Asian country. This "discovery" was proclaimed at the recent Jakarta meeting, devoted to preparations of the second Afro-Asian Conference, with the object of preventing the participation of Soviet Union in it.

It would be wrong to think of this as a fresh intrigue on the part of the Chinese delegation in Jakarta. The Peking leaders have more than once presented themselves in a most unsightly way at international forums. Nevertheless, it should be admitted that not everyone believed that the leaders of the People's Republic of China were capable of distorting facts so grossly and impudently. The provocative step of the Peking delegate at the Jakarta meeting evoked the indignation

of the Soviet people, not because the Chinese deprived the USSR of the right to be called an Asian country—this, so to say, doesn't depend on them—but because the leaders of the People's Republic of China, breaking off with Marxism-Leninism, are ever more vigorously advancing the race theory to the fore. This has not only evoked indignation, but anxiety as well.

### Grave But Just

I realise that accusing anyone of a racial policy is grave. But still it is just. I speak of this with regret, because we especially deeply sympathise with the great Chinese people, who can be led to disaster by their leaders. Rejecting the sacred principle of internationalism, the splitters in the Communist Party of China consider that race is the only criterion of the community of political interests and the possibility of joint militant action. They are, under the pretext of racial community, dragging through an absurd and harmful thought that people of different colours of the skin — white,

black, yellow—cannot understand one another, even if they have one and the same enemies. From their viewpoint, the Asians and Africans must regard the peoples of the European socialist countries with suspicion, because they are 'white.' They follow this up immediately with the idea that there is something "exceptional" about the Chinese nation...

What is this if not pure racialism?

But it is commonly known that subjectivist theories do not appear from thin air, without any reason. A specific purpose lies behind each of them. What purpose are the Chinese leaders pursuing?

The racial criterion preached by the PRC government, the statement of the Soviet government of May 5th says, is nothing but a false cover for their hegmonistic aims with regard to the Afro-Asian countries. Blinded by their narrow nationalist interests, the Chinese leaders are bidding for the role of guides or infallible mentors of all Afro-Asian countries, and not only them. The tac-

tics they are employing can be described as follows: "we shall disunite in order to undermine, and undermine in order to impose our will." This method is familiar since the days of the Roman Caesars and Chinese Emperors.

That is why Peking is so fiercely objecting to the Soviet Union being invited to the Afro-Asian conference. The Chinese leaders are well aware that the Soviet Union will not tolerate this line and will fight against it. The destinies of the people of the USSR are too closely bound up with the destinies of the peoples of Asia, and too much effort has been invested and bloodshed in the joint struggle against foreign enslavers for us to ignore the splitting machinations of the PRC leaders.

This is stressed in the Soviet Government's statement, which as published in Moscow the other day in connection with the behaviour of the Chinese delegation in Indonesia. By this document the USSR Government draws attention to the irresponsible statement of the official PRC representative

in Jakarta, and simultaneously points out that the Soviet Union "will not weaken its efforts in the struggle for peace, for the complete liberation of the peoples from colonial oppression and all forms of foreign dependence and will come out with still greater insistence for the consolidation of friendship, cooperation, and mutual support between the socialist countries and the young states, which are breaking the chains of foreign domination, for their unity and cohesion."

Therefore, the statement underlines, the Soviet Government will support the convening of the second Afro Asian conference if the aim of this conference is the unity of all forces struggling against imperialism, against colonial slavery and if another aim is not pursued, that of dividing these forces.

It has been observed that the Peking leaders have intensified their efforts to isolate the national-liberation movement and to split at a moment when it has achieved outstanding successes in the struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism. These successes are largely due to the struggle of the non-aligned countries such as Ceylon. These successes are also due to the Soviet Union's policy of safeguarding peace and lending material and political aid to the young states.

The importance on Soviet aid is widely recognised in Asia and Africa. Only the Chinese leaders are trying to discredit it. Whereas, remember what Ben Bella, the leader of the Algerian people, declared at the recent Soviet-Algerian Friendships rally in Moscow. "In conclusion I wish to tell you that there is one more reason why our peoples are so close together. The Soviet Union was firmly on our side in time of our liberation struggle, and it remained on our side when we received independence. It is helping us now with all means.

"It has done more for us than any other nation!"

The imperialist camp is being torn asunder by deep-rooted, sharp contradictions. But before the pressure of the national-liberation struggle of the nations and the might of the socialist states, the imperialists are being forced more and more to act jointly, and even here they do not split themselves up by the racial sign. The unity of all anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist forces is vital. As for the Chinese leaders, who are advancing the racial sign to the fore, they are endeavouring to undermine this unity. Incidentally, they are opposing the second Bandung-type conference with a planned Conference of Non-Aligned countries. In other words, they want these conferences to clash.

It is obvious that these efforts, as well as the attempt to "exclude" the USSR from the Afro-Asian Solidarity movement, are only playing into the hands of the enemies of the developing states.

Boris Novikov

## The United Nations and Colonies.

*This Union of the peoples  
Of every place and clime,  
This great United Nations,  
The symbol of our time.*

*When first the U. N. Charter  
Was signed by statesmen wise,  
Did they at that time foresee  
The nations that would rise?*

*For every year the birth-pangs  
Of new nations is felt,  
And every year the death-blow  
To trusteeship is dealt.*

*What though the mighty nations  
With Colonies to spare,  
Have stood against their freedom?  
The U. N. will be fair.*

*For how can human beings,  
Whate'er may be their race,  
Remain in lasting bondage,  
To men of alien face!*

*For sixteen years the banner  
Of freedom has been raised  
And for this great awakening  
The U. N. must be praised.*

*The Sacred Trust principle,  
First carved by Edmund Burke,  
Has been applied with firmness  
To those who duties shirk.*

*The interests of people  
To alien rule subject  
Has been the guiding beacon  
In every new project.*

*To political freedom,  
The right of every race,  
The U. N. has now added  
The economic phase.*

*For how can men have freedom  
With abstract, simple thought,  
Of democratic concept,  
If they have not yet fought,*

*The neo-Colonial battle  
Against reactions might,  
From both within and without,  
A most unholy sight*

*The natural resources  
Of every new born land  
Must not be still exploited  
By filthy alien hand.*

*The cultural advances  
The U. N. has now wrought  
Among the backward peoples  
Is one more noble thought.*

*The black and simple people  
On African terrain,  
Who had no education  
Now have true learning's strain.*

*In matters that are social,  
All peoples' equal right  
And unjust racial treatment  
There is an uphill fight.*

*In technical assistance.  
Freedom from fear and want,  
For Health and Labour's efforts,  
The U. N. can now vaunt.*

*For problems of Colonies,  
The Special Committee  
Of twentyfour great stalwarts  
Doth toil unweariedly.*

*And so we all look forward  
To that great glorious day,  
When all Colonial people  
Will have their rightful say,*

*When every single Country,  
Whatever its shape or size,  
From abject, foreign bondage  
As full nation will rise.*

*And when that day doth occur  
At not too distant date,  
The U. N. as a body  
Be blessed for their just fate.*

E. R. S. R. Coomaraswamy

IN MOSCOW

# NEW BASIS

## of friendship among Communist countries

THE debate on China is now in full swing. Hundreds of thousands of words have been written. The one significant point made is that at the bottom of the quarrel is China's big power chauvinism which prompts it to seek world leadership.

The Chinese have chosen Mr. Khrushchov as their main target because he is the one man responsible for demolition of the system of inter-party relationship which permitted one person to play the role of the Pope. Various epithets have been employed in the debate such as petty-bourgeois adventurism, arrogant nationalism, neo-Trotskyism and so on. They are all descriptions of symptoms, not of the malady.

It is not without significance that during his visit to Hungary and discussions with Polish leaders in Moscow Premier Khrushchov harped on the theme of relations between socialist nations and communist parties. After the demolition of Stalin's cult, he told a friendship meeting in honour of visiting Polish leaders in Moscow that relations among socialist states "have become closer, friendlier, and all elements of inequality have disappeared from them. The times of big and

small cults have gone forever and life will cruelly ridicule those who intend to revive them. Today nobody is given the right to strike the pose of a high-priest monopolizing the truth."

### Independence

One result of the change has been the growing assertion of independence, by smaller partners in the socialist fraternity. But such show of independence as is consistent with the overall aims of the socialist camp, is not scoffed at. The concept of a socialist commonwealth of nations constantly referred to by communist leaders is in fact recognition of the need to give play to independence of views. The new emerging

relationship is not a consequence of the quarrel with China but is the cause of it.

The changed basis of relationship has affected attitude to communist parties in capitalist countries too. It is logical as once the principle of "many roads to socialism" is accepted the independent role of communist parties to decide their strategy and tactics in relation to the condition obtaining in their countries must also be recognized.

The Chinese refusal to accept the change is manifest in its desire to split the communist parties in non-socialist countries and create groups that will obey its decrees. In other words, China sees communist parties in capitalist countries as instruments of its own foreign policy and not vehicles of revolution in their respective countries. In no other way can one explain the

them with him all the way, happy and confident.

This was amply demonstrated at the Soviet-Polish friendship meeting in the Palace of Congresses last week. He had a prepared text since most of the speech was devoted to China. The audience listened to him in respectful silence. But half way through, while dealing with Chinese criticism of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries for concentrating on economic tasks to the alleged exclusion revolutionary demands, he discarded the text.

"I shall depart a bit from the text", he said apologetically. "Suppose we called a Party Congress and adopted there the following resolution: 'it is time to stop developing the economy; we should turn out less industrial and agricultural goods so as not to get fat and thereby prevent our degeneration, bourgeois degeneration.' How do you think our party and our people would meet such news?"

"With such an approach to the construction of communism, industry would have to change over to the production of belts so that these would keep trousers from falling. Would such a decision be inspiring to the people and give it the strength and will to move on? Move on towards what? Towards the grave? No this is not the road for us.

"The Chinese leaders call us revisionists and describe themselves as revolutionaries. If you talk to Chinese workers and peasants and ask them what they want — war or rice — I think they will say that that they want rice. The Chinese workers and peasants are just as human as our workers and peasants, as all workers and peasants of the world. The Chinese leaders think they are indeed guiding the world revolutionary development.

"Life will show who is right."

At another point he asserted that it was essential that the condition of workers and peasants should improve under socialism. This was so not only for the sake of the workers and peasants but also to prove the supremacy of socialism. He asked the people to consider whether the workers of the world will feel enthused if Russian workers

by  
**P. UNNIKRISHNAN**

contradiction inherent in Chinese antipathy towards Indian communists for not helping in demolishing the image of Nehru and towards the French party for not overlooking De Gaulle's faults. In both cases the Chinese grievance is that the Communist parties are not helping in the advancement of Chinese foreign policy interest.

### Challenge

It is inevitable that the world meeting of Communists now on the cards should discuss the evolving relations and give flesh and bone to the concept of a commonwealth of socialist nations. That might turn out to be both a reply and a challenge to China.

Mr. Khrushchov is at his best when he speaks off the cuff. His wit and humour come into play and he is able to drive in his point without effort. Reading through prepared texts he sounds something like a dull elderly statesman making profound observations or doling out advice. When he takes his eyes off the text and faces the audience he is a different man. He casts a spell on the people and takes

went about in split pants as they used to in the days of the Tsar. "Many workers would then say: 'Under bourgeois system we wear trousers but when we take power in our own hands, well, we shall, like the Russians, have no trousers.' You understand, of course, that I exaggerate somewhat, but this is not far from the truth."

### Warning

Mr. Khrushchov also referred  
 continued on page 14

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# LESSONS For CEYLON

Before concluding this effort to explain Cuba and her policies to the people of Ceylon, it would be appropriate to set out the inferences that should be drawn by our people from the great lesson of Cuba, which stands as a shining example to the world in general and to Latin America and Ceylon in particular of how, a small country can resist international bullies by the stout resolution, unity and determination of her people.

In the five preceding chapters, the political, economic, social and cultural advances, and the Agrarian reform in Cuba since 1959 were discussed. It remains only to consider the lessons that we, in Ceylon, who have so much in common with Cuba, can learn from their brave endeavour in spite of the oppressive and cowardly campaign that has been, and is being, carried on against her by her powerful neighbour.

## Patriotism

*The first political lesson that we can learn is the value of patriotism. The greatest obstacle to the national progress of Ceylon today is the lack of patriotism in the great majority of our people, especially those who have been imbibed with Western culture. There breed many today with soul so dead that they have never thought of Ceylon as "our own, our native land". Instead of thinking of patriotic slogans, which can inspire our people, many in Ceylon, including certain political leaders, indulge in and encourage vulgar slogans about those who are making an honest effort to serve our people.*

Not only are many people in Ceylon lacking in a sense of patriotism to their own country, but they are more loyal to the ideals and aspirations of foreign powers, as represented by foreign companies and foreign vested interests. There are many who still dream of "the good, old Colonial days", when they could have happily exploited the starving masses of our country with the assistance of their foreign masters and their laws and institutions, which were heavily weighted in favour of capital and against labour.

Cuba also shows that there should be no place in the Government of Ceylon for those who seek to encourage colonialism in whatever shape or form. Batista fell because of this serious non-nationalist approach. Those who ruled Ceylon from 1947 to 1956 faded away for the same reason. Ceylon cannot become another Turkey or Thailand or South Vietnam, for the river of progress would not only flow backwards but would enter the muddy pool of reaction and, perhaps, stifle progress for all time. In effect, Ceylon would become a colony once more, in fact, if not in name.

Cuba has the same problems as in Ceylon, which are the result of reaction. But Cuba has been able to solve those problems by the relatively simple device of removing all

bureaucrats, who served reaction rather than the state. Today, the key offices including Ministries are in the hands of young people, who made up for their inexperience by their loyalty and enthusiasm and have now gained the necessary experience and are doing a finer job than the experienced men ever did. This is an example that Ceylon might well follow instead of depending on old fossils, who are more concerned about their salaries and the kudos and the position of vested interests than with progress and socialism.

This is the concluding instalment in the series on Cuba by Mr. E. R. S. R. Coomaraswamy who had paid a visit to that country last December

heart of Cuba." Ceylon, which under the late Mr. Bandaranaike, realised that these bases are an infringement on her sovereignty, should give every assistance in the United Nations to other countries, which are involved in similar disputes. This applies not only to the Guantanamo base but also the British bases in Aden.

Cuba successfully resisted the mercenaries and the Americans in April 1961 because today the power is in theory and in practice in the hands of the people. Today the people have

by

E. R. S. R. Coomaraswamy

## Barren Concept

A further deduction is that the barren concept of democracy is not an end in itself. It can only be the means to an end—the attainment of a socialist state. Some countries, like Cuba, found that with the corruption that prevailed including the rigged up elections (as in other Latin American countries today) and the economic stranglehold of the United States, it was impossible to achieve this goal by the democratic process. They, therefore, quite justifiably resorted to revolution. Fortunately, Ceylon does not need a revolution because our democratic process has enabled us to usher in a bloodless and silent revolution in 1956 through the ballot instead of the bullet. But it is not enough to rest on our laurels and to refer to 'democracy' with bated breath, as though it is the most sacred concept on earth. If our democracy failed to produce socialism, it ought to have been discarded. It is fortunate that the late Mr. Bandaranaike's policies made it possible for democracy to exist with socialism and to be the instrument for the creation of the ultimate goal of a completely socialist state. Cuba and Ceylon have used two different means, but the end is the same.

In abolishing the Trincomalee and Katunayake bases, Ceylon went ahead of Cuba, which is still compelled to put up with the Guantanamo base as any attempt to close it may lead to an international crisis, though there appears to be no juridical validity for this "knife thrust into the

true liberty and not the freedom of the wild ass or the reactionary right to exploit others. As stated in Article 1 of the S. L. F. P. constitution "certain individual freedoms which have arisen as a result of capitalism and which go against the very idea of democracy" must be limited. If we also vest this true freedom in our people, instead of appealing to abstract ideas which are 'liberties' only in name, our people can also unite against any common enemy within the country or from foreign lands. Democracy must necessarily cater to the rights of the vast majority of the people and not to the privileges of a favoured few.

## Reform Laws

The Reform Laws in Cuba have resulted in the honest administration of public funds, the end of smuggling and of gambling and the recovery of embezzled public property. Ceylon requires similar laws here. There is no purpose in attempting to hide the fact that there is corruption in our public offices and in our Corporations, Co-operative Societies

and similar institutions, which make much of the moneys voted by the Government for public purposes to be used for private profit. If all such moneys are utilised properly, our economic development would be facilitated and our economic situation would be different.

Many of our public servants are not working more than two hours a day. This tremendous waste of man-power was a symptom in Cuba prior to 1959. Today, public servants work even fourteen hours a day. What is required in Ceylon is a class of public servants, who are imbued with a true national spirit and who place the country before self. In a truly socialist state, the public servant will feel that he has something to live for, as a part of the machinery of Government. Stern punitive measures and education of our public servants are two remedies.

Cuba's reaction to the American blockade is a lesson in national pride and contempt of foreign intervention in domestic affairs. It shows, just as Ceylon's reaction to the withdrawal of American aid showed, that the bluff of bullying nations can be called, as in the case of individuals, by the self-respect and dignity of the Government that is being bullied. If powerful states cannot respect the principle of non-intervention enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, then they must be taught their obligations by bitter experience.

Cuba has also shown the advantages of bilateral trade and the necessity to trade with the whole world, as Ceylon has consistently done since 1956, and not with one bloc alone. It has also demonstrated the advantage of eliminating private enterprise in the import and wholesale trade. Burma has also followed this example with great success. A similar step in Ceylon is long overdue.

Another important lesson is the difference in the type of foreign aid provided by Western countries like the United States and that provided by Socialist countries. It must be stressed that it is now a principle of international law that powerful nations, which have exploited developing countries and their people and natural resources in the past, should, as a matter of obligation, aid those countries in their development. This is not a favour, but a duty. It is, therefore, un-

fortunate that these Western Powers exploit such countries, by attaching political and political and economic strings to that aid, in order to make it obligatory on them to fall in line with their own policies and to give special favoured treatment to their own industrial and commercial interests. Socialist aid, on the other hand, respects the sovereignty of the aided country and does not impose humiliating or self-interested conditions, nor is there interference with the purpose for which the aid must be utilised.

## Great Success

Nationalisation of all large enterprises in Cuba has proved to be a great success. This is not only because of the national consciousness of the workers but also because the workers are part of the administration of the nationalised enterprise, as in the Port of Havana. Ceylon must have workers' representatives on the Boards of public corporations, even though some of our bureaucrats of Civil Service vintage may throw up their hands in horror at the prospect of sitting with them. At the same time, executive and supervisory staff like foremen in Ceylon must be educated in the dignity of labour and be willing to work with their hands, if necessary.

In the Fishing industry, Cuba has abolished the fish mudalali system, which still prevails in Ceylon. The sooner we eliminate this middleman, who reaps an inordinate profit, while the poor fishermen, who risk life and limb, continue to live in abject

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## Ceylon Petroleum Corporation

PARAFFIN WAX 135/140

The Ceylon Petroleum Corporation has imported some quantities of Paraffin Wax 135/140 and will be offering this product for sale to the public very shortly. Further imports can be obtained as required.

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**COMMENT...**

**\* CATHOLIC ACTION AGAIN**

\* **BISHOP DE SARAM.** Following close on the heels of the President of the All Ceylon Buddhist Congress, the Roman Catholic Auxiliary Bishop Anthony de Saram has raised the Red threat to religion in order to throw dust in the eyes of the people to stem the progressive trend and if possible, to instal Reaction in power. Speaking at a meeting held at the Kelani Raja Maha Vihare Bishop de Saram is reported to have said (Times of Ceylon), May 15 "Marxist countries denied the common man freedom of worship. It was therefore, incumbent on all peace-loving patriots of Ceylon to safeguard democracy which was at stake. Our religious convictions should not be a bar to national unity. Freedom of worship was a privilege that the people enjoyed only in a democratic state. It was unfortunate that sixteen years after independence Ceylon was still a backward nation economically. In order to solve the country's grave economic problems all must unite forgetting caste, creed and religious differences and work for the country each in his own capacity." To the Roman Church not only Marxism but Buddhism is anathema now as in the past and brands Buddhists heathens, pagans and infidels fit enough to be burnt at the stake. What the fate of the Buddhists in this country would have been had the Roman Church been in the majority can be better imagined than described. The era of colonial rule, particularly the period when the Portuguese held sway, bears ample testimony to the intolerance of the Roman Church towards Buddhism and other religions which they crushed with an iron hand and forced the Faith on an unwilling people.

\* **CATHOLIC DICTATORS.** Where the Church is in a majority—Portugal and Spain—under Catholic dictators, Salazar and Franco, there is not even a trace of freedom of worship for the adherents of other faiths. Catholic Ireland is not any better. Yet the Church does not raise her voice in defence of freedom of worship for the adherents of other faiths in these countries. It is only in those countries where the Church is in a minority that she for reasons of political expediency seeks to peacefully co-exist with the majority religions, while all the time plotting to destroy them through the political arm of Catholic Action which is a positive menace both to the Government and the Buddhists. In Ceylon, the UNP during the long years it was in power, created optimum favourable conditions for Catholic Action which has now successfully penetrated into every sphere of the public life, and it is only the vigilance of the patriotic forces that has saved Ceylon from becoming another South Vietnam. One can hardly believe when the Church states that it is always prepared to co-operate with the Buddhists to safeguard democracy. Bishop de Saram has only resorted to the crafty tactic of temporising with the Buddhists whom the Church regards as her enemy. The bloody massacres of Buddhists and the denial of freedom of worship to Buddhists in South Vietnam by Catholic dictator Diem is a grim reminder to the Buddhists that if they succumb to this propaganda it will only be to the detriment of Buddhism.

\* **AMUSING.** It is indeed amusing that the Church has only now realised that Ceylon is still a backward country and that one's religious convictions should not be a bar to national unity. But one might well ask to what extent has the Church given tangible expression to translate these ideals into reality. The history of the Roman Church down the ages has been to separate her adherents from the others which has made national unity a virtual impossibility. Despite the teachings of Pope John XXIII even today innocent little Catholic children are taught in Catholic schools, colleges and convents to regard Buddhists and Hindus pagans and heathens and infidels and to disrespect their religions. The Church in Ceylon, as elsewhere, is the bastion and fortress of capitalism. Never has she identified herself with the progressive movement which largely accounts for the economic backwardness of Ceylon. At a time when the progressive forces are rallying round under the leadership of the Prime Minister to take this country forward the Church is raising the "Red Peril" to religious freedom with an ulterior motive which is to help Reaction to instal itself in this country. What the Church seeks to defend is not Buddhism but the position, power and privilege of the capitalist class which will give a free hand to political Catholic Action to Vaticanise the entire world. It is a well known fact that the Church is one of the most powerful capitalistic organisations in the world. The assets of the Vatican alone amount to over eleven thousand million dollars. The Vatican is one of the biggest landlords. In Italy, for instance, it owns nearly eighty percent of the nation's arable land. Its investments in foreign banks, insurance companies and industrial concerns throughout the world amount to over several thousand million dollars. In Ceylon, too, the Church owns many large tracts of lands and houses. Are these essential for the Church which claims to be a spiritual organisation? Never has the Church come to the defence of the poor and the down trodden, except, of course, to shed crocodile tears. Anyway, it is indeed a heartening sign, which augurs well for the future, that there are many Catholics who have not fallen victims to the propaganda

poverty, the better it would be for our fishing industry. Fishing is one of those industries which has a vast potential for the development of Ceylon and it should be approached on sound, technical lines so that it could help in our economic prosperity. The Cuban example in this respect is worthy of emulation.

We can also follow with profit the magnificent low-cost housing schemes that are now being completed in Cuba. In Ceylon, we are unable to make a success of these ventures because of the commissions, the pilferages of building materials and other malpractices that devour the monies that are voted for these projects. The elimination of the rapacious landlord and the rent-purchase schemes for houses provided for the workers by the state are other pleasing features in Cuba. Slum dwellers should be given employment on our projects intended to eliminate slums.

The fact that Cuba has obtained her permanent sovereignty over her own natural resources, previously exploited principally by Americans, should show us that we should accept the principle of the nationalization or immediate Ceylonisation of our own natural resources and take steps towards the speedy and successful implementation of this principle.

In the social sphere, the success of the Castro Government is due to the fact that it has offered the same working opportunities to all citizens and ensured that private affluence will not be a justification for undue prerogatives and discrimination. Since 1956, Ceylon has also taken the same road, but a great deal more remains to be done.

The history of Cuba before and after 1959 shows that the main cause for unemployment, hunger, illiteracy, lack of hospitals and schools and other forms of misery before 1959 was the fact that American companies took a good portion of the money while the balance was concentrated in the hands of a few Cubans. After 1959, there is no drain on the economy by foreign companies and inequality and injustice have been eliminated. This would justify the nationalisation of foreign assets in Ceylon and the speedy implementation of socialistic measures. Social justice requires the control of the gross national product by the state and by the genuine citizens of this country. It is important to emphasise that in the new set-up, nobody should be permitted to live by the work of others. Every endeavour must be made to raise the living standard of

speeches and sermons from pulpits that their religion faces the Red peril. Cuba, a predominantly Catholic country in Latin America, is an example that the Church can peacefully co-exist with Socialism so long as she does not interfere in politics. The enlightened Catholics in Ceylon now realise that if democracy is to have any real meaning for them they must join hands with the progressive forces to take this country forward. As for the Church, it would be better and desirable if she refrained from dabbling in politics and worked for the common good of the country and national and religious amity.

**Cuba**

continued from page 7

the people and to increase the means of livelihood and the technical capacity of our citizens.

Exclusive clubs, resorts and places of entertainment are a thing of the past in Cuba. In Ceylon there is still an unfortunate tendency to enforce class distinctions and tolerate exclusive places like the Colombo Swimming Club. It is time that steps are taken to abolish such acts of discrimination.

In the legal sphere, we could well emulate the college system of Advocates in Cuba, where lawyers are performing useful functions for the state and the people, instead of exploiting them. Peoples' Tribunals, Industrial Courts with worker's representatives and other Labour Commissions inspire the confidence of the masses.

The greatest social achievements of the Revolution in Cuba are the eradication of the gambling habit, (a principal cause of misery in Ceylon) and the elimination of bribery and corruption in public places. Severe punishments for the misuse of public funds and even for negligence in official duties have had the desired effect. Ceylon would do well to follow this example.

**Cultural**

There was a striking parallel between Cuba before 1959 and Ceylon in certain aspects of education. Teaching positions were sold or given to favoured individuals, without considerations of merit. Corruption reigned in educational institutions. In Ceylon also, there is no doubt that certain corrupt practices still prevail in the Education Department and these must be corrected.

As in Cuba, steps should be taken in Ceylon to reform our Educational system with special emphasis on the content and method of education. We should place the accent heavily on vocational training, technical education and farm schools. The class room idea should be fully exploited so that all our children will find places in schools.

The people, including parents, should participate in the work of education - in planning, orientation, direction and teaching administration. These matters should not be imposed on the people from above, but should grow from the people themselves from below. A Permanent National Council of Education would be useful.

Even our universities should function according to a plan based on the needs and objects of our new society. Teaching in secondary schools must be linked up with actual productive work and our industrial needs. Steps must also be taken to improve the workers' level of education.

In cultural matters, a dynamic approach is necessary to foster and develop our National culture. The National Sport Council must be established immediately. Above all, what is most important today is to curb the attempts on the part of the Press in Ceylon to foster reaction and to be the tool of capitalism and vested interests and the chief enemy of progress. A truly nationalist Press can play a great part in the new orientation of our people.

**Agrarian Reform**

Cuba nationalized the large holdings (latifundia) of land. But it left the small holdings (minifundia of less than 900 acres) alone. The results have justified the nationalization and have also emphasised the evils of participation of foreign capital in local enterprises. A study of these results would also show why the means of production in Ceylon should be nationalised, and, at least, in the first instance, be Ceylonised.

The Agrarian reforms in Cuba have also proved that nationalisation on a sound, planned basis can provide small social communities on large holdings with all the amenities of life, education, house, food, medicine and electricity. Ceylon can also give every encouragement and assistance to our small farmers while the State runs the large Estates for the benefit of the entire community. Thus, our agricultural production can be increased.

Cuba has succeeded in producing complete harmony between the worker in the town and the peasant in the country. This is absolutely necessary in a socialist state. We in Ceylon must work for the realization of this alliance between our workers and our peasants. There is no better way of achieving this ideal than by a coalition between the true leaders of these two forces.

There is much that we can learn from the State Farms and the People's Co-operatives in Cuba. In these organisations, the peasants have a feeling of common ownership. Products have a ready market. Kapacious middlemen, unscrupulous merchants and money-lenders have been eliminated by setting up thousands of Peoples' Stores.

The Agrarian Reform Law in Cuba has produced a large, powerful group of small farmers. In Ceylon, we give our peasants land but then leave them to the tender mercies of money-lenders and local traders. That is why our half-baked system of land reform has failed. Unless there

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## Sirima's Dilemma

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bruised in the fray, the tyrants of the monopoly Press.

### "Tears"!

It had been suggested that it was the "tears" that she shed that turned the country towards her. I remember a West German newspaper writing ludicrously at the time about the miserable tears that turned the tide in her favour. But the victory was decisively and truly won on political grounds. With the united support of the Leftist Parties (yes, Communist Parties—don't be afraid of the term—whether CP, LSSP, VLSSP or MEP), Sirima Bandaranaike led her own SLFP Party to overwhelm the United National Party, symbol of Reaction in this country; she exposed its hypocrisy, its shams and Shibboleths, and finally outmanoeuvred its cold, calculating and diabolical strategy to deceive the people with communally explosive maps and savagely obscene cartoons. There was incidentally a minor casualty at this encounter. Sirima Bandaranaike drove the wretched Collette back into obscurity.

The lesson of this memorable, revolutionary and historic victory must never be forgotten. The people placed their trust in the New Leader of the combined forces that routed the United Nationalist Party. It is not for Dudley Senanayake to say how Sirima Bandaranaike should regroup her forces, and when she should do so. It is not for the monopoly Press either, to say so, howsoever they may protest that they are verily her candid friends.

We need not here recapitulate the shaping events of the recent past. The Prime Minister outlined the new orientation of her policy in her May Day speech, and followed it up with a clear and convincing address to her Party, and a magnificent extempore rejoinder to her implacable critics at the same meeting. She has set her sights in the right direction and we have no doubt she will steer the good ship through any storm or tempête.

The other day J. R. Jayawardene delivered himself of a pseudo-erudite historical essay on the Lion Flag in the *Sunday Times*, hoping that here was a flaming slogan of the dishonoured bopath that one could use to rouse the Buddhists into a crusade. But this subterfuge seems to have ended like one of our price fireworks; as a damp squib!

### Catholic Dignitary

It was reported in the *Times of Ceylon* of the 15th May that Bishop Anthony de Saram had addressed a meeting held at the Kelani Raja Maha Vihara premises last week. The good divine

seems to have entered into the present controversy with ill grace. It is not for me to say here that even his sacerdotal Lordship should not rush into spheres where his angels would fain retrace their steps. But in the report of the meeting, I find a gentleman by the name of Saranapala Gunawardena deploring that "certain Bhikkhus were dabbling in politics, thereby bringing the sasana to disrepute. Such Bhikkhus were a blot on the sasana." A profoundly wise comment, and I agree with Saranapala Gunawardena, as does I believe the Venerable Mahanayaka Thero of Asgiriya. But surely His Lordship too could do likewise, keep off politics.

The writer would be failing in his duty if he does not here record, that although much damage has been wrought, and gross injustice perpetrated, and grave peril done to the concept of a United Ceylonese nation as a result of the misguided zeal of Catholic Actionists (who he believes and is convinced are real and not fictitious), yet the cure for this national distemper does not lie in promoting a parallel Chamber of Horror—call it Buddhist Action—by equally misguided militant (so contradictory to the mild and gentle faith) Buddhists.

His Lordship Bishop de Saram would appear in this instance to be repeating the mischief done earlier as a result of Bishop Cooray's circular letter to the faithful read at all churches on the Sunday before the March General Election was announced. That mischievous political diktat was a call to the faithful in effect to support the UNP, and thus it unnecessarily and undeservingly antagonised the majority of the people in this country against the political machinations of the church. Let us hope that wiser counsel would prevail in the future. Cyril E. S. Perera's gallant defence of the Catholic position vis-a-vis the country has commanded the respectful attention of all believers and heretics.

To us in Ceylon and to a large proportion of others like us living outside the pale of the "Free World", Communism, does not hold terrors as conjured up by ignorance, bigotted, intolerant and generally hypocritical peddlars of virtue. S. W. R. Dias Bandaranaike never fought shy of Communism, whatever patient researches into curiosities of literature might reveal.

### Absurd

The argument that the Communist Party should not be taken into the Cabinet, because it is Communist and Marxist is absurd, if one is prepared to take in the LSSP and MEP. All three Parties are avowedly Communist and Marxist. But these are dynamic institutions. They have developed, and are developing in a genuinely patriotic manner according to the needs of the time and place.

## SLFP & Coalition

continued from page 1

suppressed the Embilipitiya elections results and also the Kolonne results but flashed a UNP victory at the Atakalan Korale Medapathu V. C. which is in the same Province and which took place at the same time as the other two elections, with special headlines. The *Daily News* included the results among other elections, but the headlines referred to some other V. C. election. Both the Kumbalwela V. C. results and the Minuwangoda results were suppressed by the *Times Group*. The *Daily News* obscured the results of the Kumbalwela V. C. at the bottom of column 6 on page

One is tired of the wreckers of the Coalition trotting out arguments that we must follow the policy of S. W. R. Dias Bandaranaike. No policy worthy of its name is static. To adopt anachronistic policies in this rapidly changing world and besmirch the name of Bandaranaike by calling them as his policies would be to slander his revered name and dishonour his memory.

It is not generally realised that Bandaranaike was a pioneer, and that he heralded a Revolution in this country. We have travelled very, very far and very rapidly since. Today the mass of our people are politically more conscious and enlightened than at any time before. Do we remember the UNP posters with Buddhist and Hindu temples and Christian churches enveloped in flames? They are of no avail now; although too late in the day the *Daily Mirror*, like a Rip Van Winkle, banner-headlined recently that Buddhism was for sale. It only raised an uproarious laugh in the country. Perhaps that was what it was meant for to relieve the tedium of high-tension day-to-day crisis journalism.

As we go to press, a start has been made in the talks between the Prime Minister and the leaders of the ULF. We appeal for goodwill from both sides. We know for certain that there is at least one person in the Cabinet who is determined to clear every road-block placed by designing and anti-nationalist forces, and finally lead a united nation to prosperity. And that person is none other than Sirima Bandaranaike who has now become a mature statesman, and an undaunted leader of the first rank in South-East Asia. All these talks of saving Religion, Language, Citizenship Rights and No-Contest Pacts are deliberate and calculated attempts by stooges of Reaction to scuttle the Coalition.

A no-contest pact at this stage is, to say the least, most premature. We want the best men in the country of whatever Party, — men who are dedicated to regenerate the masses — to be in Parliament. As for Religion, Language and Citizenship Rights, these are safe in the hands of our Prime Minister. The best course our Ministers could take is to follow her, not to attempt to lead her any more.

12 and reported the Minuwangoda results on page 3 in another obscure place under the heading "ULF routed at V. C. spoils" (because the ULF had put up a few candidates there without any reference to the SLFP. Tribune would respectfully ask the Press Commission to consider this biased reporting when it begins its deliberations.

### PM's Responsibility

It is necessary to remind the Prime Minister and her colleagues, now in the process of Coalition-cabinet-making, that the resolution endorsed by the SLFP Executive Committee meeting on May 9 was that a Coalition should be set up with Progressive and Leftist Parties which were willing to collaborate with the SLFP in such a Coalition. This Resolution does not envisage the keeping out of the MEP or the CP, and if any Ministers for personal or other reasons want to keep out representatives of one or more Leftist Parties willing to join a Cabinet, it would be tantamount to a violation of the spirit of the Resolution so overwhelmingly approved by the SLFP Executive Committee on May 9.

## US VANDALISM IN CUBA

The Prime Minister of Cuba, Dr. Fidel Castro made a statement immediately after a pirate boat of the Central Intelligence Agency attacked with cannon fire and machine guns the Central Sugar Plant in the Port of Pilon, on the south west of the Province of Oriente on the 13th instant.

He said, "A new and criminal vandalic act by the Government of the United States has just been perpetrated against the people of Cuba in the early hours of the morning of 13th May when a pirate boat, type "REX", of the ones operated in Central Intelligence Agency, attacked, with cannon fire and machine guns, the Central Sugar Plant "Luis E. Carracedo" in the Port of Pilon, South-West of the Province of Oriente.

As a consequence of this impact the sugar deposits caught fire, destroying 70,000 bags of sugar which had been manufactured at the Central out of the present harvesting. Many houses of workers were hit by bullets, a woman named Ofil Guerrero, and a little girl

The ULF leaders too must approach the problem in a realistic manner and keep before them the objective of tactically helping the pro-coalition elements in the SLFP to achieve unity. In the democratic process reactionaries can be defeated only stage by stage, and it would be unrealistic to lose sight of this fact in any discussions regarding Cabinet-making.

The Prime Minister must lead, and not be led by her Ministers or anyone else. She must consult all whose counsel is of value, but she must refuse to get lost in details. Her husband had succumbed to the demand of the 10 Ministers who boycotted Cabinet meetings at the behest of Big Business and the Monopoly Press to drive Philip Gunawardena out of the Cabinet — and he had to pay the price with his life!

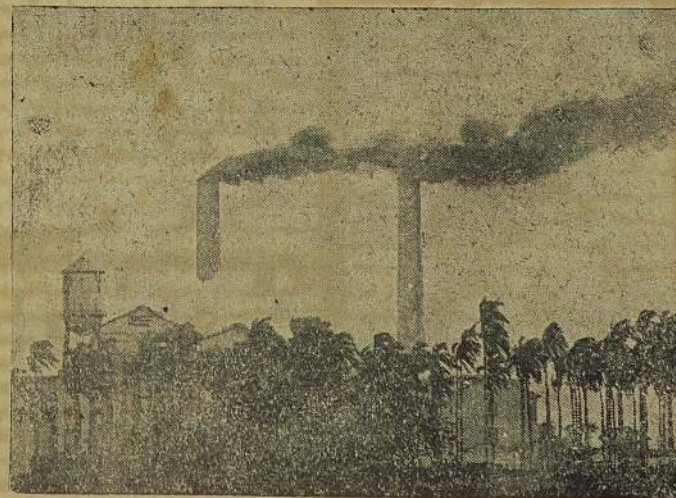
The spirit of the SLFP resolution of May 9 must be implemented. This is the responsibility of the Prime Minister, and she should refuse to fall for the personal predilections or political prejudices of any of her Ministers or any other group in the SLFP.

of eight years, Maria Ortega, were injured as a result.

While the people of Cuba are making a bold effort to improve their economy, Yankee Imperialism, not satisfied with the economic blockade and the aggressions, are using mercenary elements and traitors against our Fatherland, and they realize these criminal acts against our Centres of Production, violating the most elementary standards of International rights. New acts of this type are foretold shamelessly by the Press and the News Agencies of the United States.

Many of the mercenaries with whom the Revolution behaved generously, after the victory of Playa Giron (Bay of Pigs) have again been enlisted by the Government of the United States to perpetrate new misdeeds against our country.

These incidents will only help to strengthen the spirit of the struggle of the Revolution, put it on a fighting foot and oblige the Revolution to be hard and implacable against its enemies".



This was the Sugar Plant that the pirate boat of the CIA attacked on May 13th

REVEALING

# U.S.I.A.

## new tactics

by  
Tribune's Diplomatic Correspondent

The USIA is the centralised bureau of all Washington's propaganda organs which exist (a) to convince the world that the American way of life is the best; (b) to carry on vicious counter propaganda against those who make other claims; (c) to activate in every country the reactionary and pro-West forces on which Washington depends for support; (d) to co-ordinate the activities of "psychological warfare", which is the special field of the USIA with all other U. S. departments and forces, military, paramilitary and otherwise, with the object of conquering the world for the almighty Dollar.

Though USIA officials are attached to the U.S. Embassies in each country and though they are formally under the Ambassador, yet it is known that they operate separately with separate funds with direct access to the appropriate USIA chiefs in Washington. The USIS is one of the many departments under the USIA. So is the VOA.

### Anti-Neutrality

In the last one year or more, the activities of the USIA have been greatly intensified in Ceylon, and from available reports, in all Asian countries. At the moment, the two matters on which the USIA devotes the most attention are: (1) the liquidation of neutrality and non-alignment; (2) the attempt to harness Asian religions to fight America's battles.

In many capitals of neutralist Asian countries, including Colombo, the USIA now seeks to carry on subtle propaganda that India's neutralist policies have come to an end. In this, the USIA pursues a definite objective. The U. S. Information Agency tries to wean other neutral Asian nations from neutrality by stressing that India has abandoned neutrality. USIA officials today give much publicity to the statement of Chester Bowles, U. S. Ambassador to India, who had stated last December, that the Indian government "is no longer pursuing the non-alignment policy." However, they say nothing of the opposition of the Indian government to this statement. In this way they try to create the impres-

sion that the Indian government agrees with the American diplomat's statement. In actual fact, as is known, Nehru has time and again, confirmed his adherence to the policy of non-alignment.

The USIA also tries to spread as widely as possible information about military aid rendered by Western powers to India, laying a special stress on the joint character of the military exercises recently carried out. Thus, Air manoeuvres jointly conducted by India, the U.S.A., Britain and Australia conducted last November, were widely publicised—all this only to create the impression that, allegedly, India fully co-operate with the Western powers in military affairs and was virtually a member of the Western bloc.

The USIA obviously expends much effort and money for the preparation of this kind of propaganda material. Thus, last year it is reported the Agency had earmarked huge sums for the shooting of a film in Ladakh to show how military aid to India was rendered. USIA used this material in a number of Asian countries, mainly in neutral ones.

A tremendous propaganda "hoo-ha" is always made of American military missions to India and those of Indian ones to the U. S. and even information about American-Indian Scientific Co-operation is slanted to create the impression that such relations between India and the U. S. resemble military collaboration. In particular, information about the joint

In this article Tribune's Diplomatic Correspondent, who has made a very close study of the USIA, explains the subtle tactics adopted by this Agency to conquer the world for the United States. Its agents are attached to the US embassies in each country. While in India the USIA carries on a subtle propaganda to discredit its neutralist policies with the help of the rightwing reactionaries who are heavily bribed; in Ceylon it has harnessed certain unsuspecting Buddhists and rightwing reactionaries to trot out certain out dated arguments to skuttle the progressive movement which is gaining ground. Our Correspondent insists that the progressive forces must be alert and vigilant to the dangers that lie ahead.

American-Indian Scientific Programme for the study of the upper layers of the atmosphere as made to appear like some warlike exercises. Some USIA officials go so far as to depict the Indian department for Atomic Energy, as a "partner" of the U. S. Intelligence Service in South East Asia. The USIA is no doubt seeking to make people believe that close cooperation exists between India and the U. S. even in the field of military intelligence.

The USIA also devotes a great deal of effort to convince the Indian people that neutrality is outdated. Thus, the insistent demands that the policy of neutrality be abandoned made by the representatives of some Indian political parties, especially Jan Sangh, and Swatantra, are not coincidental.

Quite a few members of these organisations are linked with USIA. The leaders of the Jan Sangh's Delhi branch for example, are said to be in cahoots with the USIA.

### Right-Wing Bribed

It is an open secret also that the Indian Right-wing parties are connected with U. S. representatives particularly with the CIA and USIA officials. The anti-neutrality statements, made by certain M. P.'s, who until recently supported Nehru's policies, have provoked in knowledgeable circles the justified question: weren't these M. P.'s bribed in one way or another by the Americans?

This is all the more probable recently it is known that USIA chiefs had taken a number of major decisions on step up work in Asia and, especially, in India. It would seem that in the future, the brainwashing of individuals is to take priority over publishing activities. USIA has strong ties with the Rightwing of the India National Congress and, especially, with certain M. P.'s

The Agency has tremendous resources at its disposal for the preparation and distribution of so-called "useful speeches". Moreover every USIS-composed speech delivered in the Indian Parliament is paid between 500-1,500 rupees, or with a case or two of whisky.

However, up to now, investments of such kind have not brought USIA any important dividends in India or elsewhere. Assessing USIA efforts to discredit Nehru's traditional policy in India, many feel that, despite the officials U. S. presence at co-existence with neutrality, Washington continues to abhor it and that the present extension of aid to India — military and otherwise — is only a manoeuvre to sabotage neutrality.

The U. S. attitude to the neutralist group of nations is that the sooner this group disappears from the international scene, the better it would be for Washington, primarily for the "non-committed" nations. Guido Kolonna, NATO Acting Secretary General, stated in a recent interview to an Indian journalist, that the abandonment of the non-alignment policy by India would undermine and destroy the whole doctrine of non-alignment which has been the cornerstone of both Indian foreign policy and that of many other countries. Wash-

ington's one main effort today seems to be to remove this cornerstone from the world edifice of non-alignment and neutrality.

However, this disappearance of neutrality and non-alignment would help only the "Western bloc countries" i. e., the U. S. and its allies, but not the neutralists themselves.

Only a few people believe that the USIA and Washington would really succeed in liquidating neutrality. But, there are misgivings in Asian countries that a great many things done by the Indian Government in recent times have made it possible for the USIA to use such actions for its propaganda machinations.

### Harnessing Buddhists

In Ceylon, it has been possible to study the techniques adopted by the USIA to harness the Buddhist (and in a secondary way Hindu religion to the forces of the cold war against neutrality, non-alignment, and "communism" — i.e. national sovereignty, economic independence, and indigenous cultural integrity. The new USIA chief in Ceylon, Dr. Carol, shortly after his arrival, paid a much publicised visit to the new Mahanayake. Then his assistant Dr. Arndt also paid homage with fanfare and newspaper headlines and photographs. Similarly publicised visits were made to the seats of Hindu Reaction in the North, whilst very loose contact is maintained by an U. S. Embassy official of Iran and U. A. R. fame ( he had been asked to quit U. A. R. by Nasser in six hours ) with anti-Government Catholic Action circles.

Additionally, there has been a surfeit in recent months of lectures on "Buddhism" in the Lincoln auditorium of the USIS in Colombo.

The titles of the lecture sound innocent enough "Buddhism and the Free Mind", etc., but everyone of them in a pseudo-intellectualised blast against "communism". In concrete terms, in guarded language, which everyone understands, the independent radical attitudes of the S.L.F.P. and the U. L. F. are attacked without local terms or names being used.

In political circles in Colombo it is believed that Sir Lalitha's recent outburst against the Coalition was only an echo of the USIA material on this subject. The line plugged by the Daily Mirror and the Times of Ceylon on the same question is also the voice of the USIA. Stock, and outdated arguments about a coalition in Czechoslovakia are trotted out by USIA propaganda in the hope that people would be frightened into opposing the coalition.

# U. N. P. & BUDDHISM

Sir,

The capitalist Press gave publicity to the full speech on the above subject delivered by Sir Lalitha Rajapakse on 7.5.64 at the Y.M.B.A. Hall, Borella. I was among the audience that listened to the learned Knight's lecture. At the end of the talk I raised a few questions; but I am not at all satisfied with the answers given by the learned lecturer. Although I had many more questions to be raised the Chairman ruled out in the most un-buddhistic manner that I was entitled to ask only two questions. I have attended innumerable lectures by various persons and raised many questions, but I have never been gagged in that manner. Those Red leaders whom Sir Lalitha brands as dictatorial and undemocratic have patiently listened to me and answered my questions. In these circumstances I have no way other than through your esteemed paper to put across my view to Sir Lalitha in particular and the public, in general. I therefore earnestly request you to give publicity to this letter in your paper.

In the first place I wish to ask the learned Knight whether the religions or any other philosophy should exist for the benefit of humanity or humanity should exist or suffer for the benefit of maintenance of the religious or any other philosophy. The efficacy or the necessity of any doctrine is judged by the degree of good or benefit it is capable of bringing to humanity. Humanity is supreme; everything including Buddhism invented by man is second to him. All our actions therefore should be to bring the greatest good to the greatest number. Buddhism is based on the predominance of mind, i.e. all thoughts and actions of an individual are guided by the mind and that the remedy is to purify the mind.

But Marxism points out that even the mind is consciously or unconsciously directed by the economic and social forces that exist in the society

in which the individual lives. Purification of the mind cannot be achieved as long as those economic and social forces continue to pressurise the individual. The remedy, therefore, is to remove these economic and social forces and effect a complete revolution in the society. Then and then only man can be liberated and elevated economically, socially, culturally and spiritually. Thus, Marxism is the forerunner that clears the ground for Buddhism to flourish in all its splendour.

## Not Against

Marxists are not for the extermination of any religion or doctrine; but they are determined to exterminate all those who exploit people in the name of religion. Take the clergy in Ceylon; do all of them practise their respective faiths? A considerable proportion of them are utterly corrupt and inimical to society. Some of them hoard wealth, engage in business, maintain families and even commit murder! When majority of the people are suffering for want of their bare needs, temple and church coffers are brimful. Surely this kind of behaviour by the clergy at the expense of the suffering masses was never advocated by any religious leader.

Sir Lalitha stated that the Marxists would extend the franchise to the Indians. No Marxist party has ever declared that they would extend the franchise to Indians. Indians enjoy their franchise in India. I think he was referring to the estate workers who were disfranchised by a vicious Act of Parliament. When I asked him whether it was not in accordance with Buddhism to extend the franchise to a section of the people who earn almost two thirds of the economy of Ceylon, he said that Buddhism was not concerned about the extension of the franchise to any section of the people and that it was a political question. If it was so I cannot understand why he referred to this

We have received many letters and comments on Sir Lalitha Rajapakse's propaganda speech on "Save Buddhism from the Marxists." We publish a letter from one of our Buddhist readers who says that to entrust the defence of Buddhism to the UNP, which is the protector and promoter of Capitalism, is like entrusting the safety of Lord Buddha to Devadatta and Mara.

in the course of his speech. I think, true Buddhists should not think in terms of racial or religious barriers.

He said that the temple lands would be confiscated if the Marxists come to power. Surely temples do not require vast acres of land when people do not have sufficient land to live on and cultivate. A temple requires only the block of land on which it is situated.

## Free Society

While speaking on the subject 'Fate of Buddhism under a Communist Regime' he referred to Dictatorship of the Proletariat and a 'Totalitarian State.' This reference is completely irrelevant. In a true Communist society, 'Dictatorship of the Proletariat' or 'Totalitarian State' or any other form of government will not be present. It will be a completely free society. The present society in Ceylon which Sir Lalitha desperately endeavours to defend is truly capitalist, i.e. concentration of all the wealth and power in the hands of a few privileged individuals while the ordinary masses are suffering. This society therefore is completely unBuddhistic in character.

Capitalists have closed the gates of democracy to the masses. The masses, therefore, have to overthrow this dictatorship of the capitalists and then set up a democracy. In that process they must have the dictatorship of the proletariat and they cannot tolerate an opposition party which would consist of angry and blood-thirsty capitalists who have lost their ill-gotten wealth and privileged positions.

He said that elections under communism are farcical and rigged. He is sadly mistaken. A true Communist society need not have elections. When there is no government, the necessity of an election does not arise. He also mentioned that lies are encouraged by the Communists. It is the capita-

lists who propagate lies to keep the masses in ignorance and suppression in order to remain in power and protect their privileged positions and wealth. Communists have nothing to safeguard by telling lies. They are all the time engaged in the noble task of extricating the suffering people from the deadly clutches of the capitalists. For this task the communist have to tell nothing but the truth to the people in order to take away the mass of lies heaped on them by the capitalists.

## Lies

'All traces of free thought are eradicated'. 'The Tooth Relic may be ground to powder'. 'Annual pilgrimage to Sri Pada may be stopped and perhaps a statue of Lenin may be erected on its summit'. 'Buddhist and Lion Flags will be lowered and that of the Hammer and the Sickle will go up'. Those are the type of lies heaped on the innocent people by the cunning capitalists in order to scare the people and keep them in eternal subjugation. When Lord Buddha started the propagation of his doctrine to enlighten the suffering people, all types of lies about him and his doctrine were spread by the Hindu Brahmins who realised that they were losing their hold on the ignorant people that sustained their privileged positions.

Do we have free thought in this rotten capitalist society that Sir Lalitha attempts to defend and maintain? Are the Government servants allowed free thought and speech? A writer cannot get his books published. He must sacrifice his writings produced with his sweat to the capitalist publisher and continue to suffer under economic hardship. Why are certain books banned by Governments? Why is Marxism not taught in schools? The only way to achieve free thought is to smash this capitalist set up and establish true socialism.

May I ask Sir Lalitha whether the Tooth Relic brought here by the Chinese and venerated by thousands of Buddhists in Ceylon had been ground to powder? The Buddhist and the Lion flags are being made use of by the oppressors to further their own ends. Let me remind Sir Lalitha and his class the day is not too far when the Buddhist and the Lion flags will go up along with that of the Hammer and the Sickle.

He referred to Hungary and Czechoslovakia and went on to explain in detail the methods by which the Communists came to power in those countries. I wonder what relevance has this got to the subject of his lecture, 'Fate of Buddhism under a Communist Regime'. He cunningly avoided to speak on the place that religion enjoys in those countries.

## Tibet

While referring to Tibet, he said that whether the conquest was justifiable politically or not was another matter. The same speaker who spoke of the politics in Hungary and Czechoslovakia deliberately skipped the political aspect in the Tibetan revolution. Let us see whether the Tibetan revolution was justifiable.

Before the revolution, Tibet was ruled by an oppressive feudal Lord called Dalai Lama. He kept the people of Tibet in starvation and semi-human state. Poverty ignorance and primitiveness were the predominant features in that country. While the Buddhist peasants were suffering under economic hardship, Dalai Lama and his henchmen were amassing wealth and living in splendour. Dalai Lama lead life of luxury utterly unsuited to a Buddhist monk.

His greed for wealth is evident by the fact that he brought with him gold and other treasures worth millions when he fled to India.

continued on page 16

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# FOREIGN AFFAIRS

# ★ Africa ★ Arab Revolution ★ Pathet Lao

For some weeks now, the focus of international affairs was on Africa. Apart from the further hardening of the apartheid of the white rulers of the Republic of South Africa, significant developments have taken place in other parts of this continent in which the greatest political ferment of the century is taking place.

There was first the political union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar master-minded by Julius Nyerere and Sheikh Abeid Karume. It was the first success in the strenuous efforts for the unity of East Africa. It has already received the blessings of Jomo Kenyatta and the leaders of Uganda. It has been hailed by all who cherish the freedom of Africa and the preservation of the policy of non-alignment.

The formation of the union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar has been followed by suggestions that there should be a federation or union of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika (and Zanzibar). The urge for unity in East Africa is great, but the problems which colonialism left behind after exploiting the tribal structure of African society (just as colonialism had utilised the communal and caste structure of India and Ceylon to divide and rule) are many, and it is not likely that a united federal union will emerge without major hurdles being overcome.

## Nasser

President Gamal Abdel Nasser's recent ultimatum to British colonialism to quit the Arab lands, delivered in the Liberation Square in Sanaa, the capital of the once British-protected theocracy of Yemen, "signified the completion of a full circle in the destiny of renaissance West Asia and Arab Africa." It is well to remember that only eight years ago, the arrogant Anglo-British colonialists led by Antony Eden and Guy Mollet (together with the Zionist hirelings) had vowed to destroy the regime of Nasser.

The Nasser revolution has emerged triumphantly in a manner unique in the annals of Afro-Asian history. Nasser has not only stabilised, socialised and secured his own home land but lent a big helping hand to other nations fighting against the same foe. From Algeria to Aden, the Nasser Revolution has made its impact. Even pro-West

leaders like Habib Bourguiba of Tunisia, King Saud of Saudi Arabia and King Hussein of Jordan have begun to fall in line with the rest of the Arab countries.

When Nasser declared in Sanaa that "we swear by God to expel Britain from all parts of the Arab world" he was only echoing what was in the heart of every true Arab and every freedom-loving person all over the world.

## Khrushchov

Shortly after greeting Ben Bella of Algeria in Moscow, Prime Minister Nikita Khrushchov set sail for Egypt on a 16-day state visit centred around the ceremonial functions connected with the completion of the first stage of the work on the Aswan Dam which is regarded by many as the "eighth wonder of the world."

It is necessary to recall that the USSR stepped in to help the UAR to build the Aswan Dam when the US withdrew the aid it had promised earlier because Nasser would not toe the Washington line on foreign policy and other matters. There was therefore every reason for the spectacular welcome Khrushchov received in Cairo on May 9—described by PTI as "the biggest ever welcome accorded to a foreign dignitary." An estimated one million people had turned out in Cairo to greet the Soviet Prime Minister.

Public speeches and joint communiqués reflect the degree of understanding which countries reach, and if these are any index of USSR-UAR relationship, there is no doubt that Soviet prestige stands very high in the region. In a speech on May 9 at the first state reception, President Nasser had declared that Soviet and UAR efforts on the international level coincided on a large number of issues—such as the fight against imperialism, the fight for disarmament and peaceful co-existence.

He said "Our efforts, have met together in the fight against imperialism in all its forms, in support for all liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America in the field of disarmament and the liquidation of foreign military bases, in the banning of the use of nuclear weapons, in the fight against racial discrimination and finally in the field of peaceful co-existence between peoples, which has orientated the crea-

by

## ARIEL

tive energies of man to the service of life."

Replying, Mr. Khrushchov said he had come to Egypt to discuss with President Nasser "how to continue the development of friendship and co-operation between our two countries." He went on: "You have got rid of foreign armies and nationalised the Suez Canal we supported this struggle by all possible means, including arms....."

## Front Against Imperialism

Perhaps one of the most important developments of Khrushchov's visit is that he has suggested that a front should be formed, with support from Soviet Union, to fight imperialism and colonialism in the area. Political observers regard this as a major step in the counter-offensive against the current Chinese line of seeking to denigrate the Soviet image as a "revolutionary country." Mr. Khrushchov's suggestion was that the Front should consist of socialist states, national liberation movements and progressive forces in capitalist countries. He made this proposal when he addressed the UAR National Assembly. He denounced the "barbarous British raid in South Arabia" and demanded the implementation of the U.N. resolution on Palestine by Israel and condemned the Israeli plans for diversion of Jordan waters. He also greeted the Arab peoples' movements which he said, were built on anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism.

Mr. Khrushchov also emphasised that the UAR had chosen the path of socialism and declared: "I can tell I am a Communist, and we Communists respect the paths chosen by people of other countries to develop their own countries through socialism" He referred to various socialisation measures taken by the UAR and said that Egypt's circumstances differed from those of the Soviet Union in some aspects, but he emphasised that "we view with great satisfaction your determination to achieve progress" He went on to stress that communism, socialism and nationalism should combine in the struggle against colonialism.

## Aswan

But the highlight of Khrushchov's visit was the function connected with the beginning of the work of the new stage of the Aswan Dam. President Aref of Iraq, President Sallal of Yemen and Prime Minister Khrushchov together with President Nasser jointly pressed a button which detonated 160 kilogramme of dynamite to change the course of the Nile through a 1,150 metre diversion canal. This detonation blow up a temporary dam holding the river Nile's turbid waters.

The Aswan Dam project was one of the greatest defeats the US suffered in Africa and West Asia in the post-war period and enabled the Soviet Union to penetrate into a region which had been a close preserve of Western Imperialism. The refusal of US aid to build Aswan was followed by the UAR nationalising the Suez Canal which in turn provoked Anglo-French hotheads to resort to war in 1956. Once again, Khrushchov had stolen the thunder by rushing to the aid of the UAR and secured the defeat, diplomatically and otherwise, of the imperialists. This was the real beginning of the Nasser revolution in the Arab countries, and today it has swept the region from one end to the other.

Even more significant is the secret talks held by the chiefs of four Arab States, namely Algeria, Yemen, Iraq and the UAR, with Khrushchov in a yacht in the Mediterranean. Greater collaboration between these Arab States and the

Soviet Union not only in regard to development projects but also the supply of arms can be envisaged as an important consequence of these talks.

## Laos

Events have begun to "hot" up in Laos. The Rightwing had staged a "coup" sometime ago, and though the Big Powers guaranteeing the neutrality of Laos refused to recognise it, the neutralist Prime Minister Souvanna Phouma knuckled down to the demands of the Rightists before he assumed power again on the invitation of the King.

The Leftwing Pathet Lao was evidently unwilling to tolerate a situation where the Prime Minister had succumbed to the blackmail of the Rightwing coup leaders, especially the condition that all the armed forces should merge under one command. This was interpreted as a move to establish the hegemony of all the armed forces under Rightwing control.

It must also be remembered that the Pathet Lao army is an excellent fighting unit and it is not likely to come under Rightwing orders. This has now led to fighting, and the Pathet Lao have driven neutralist forces out of the strategic Plain of Jars.

This is likely to create a difficult situation where open intervention by SEATO and the Americans on behalf of the Rightwing might take place. This will immediately bring China into the war if the intervention is on a massive enough scale as to overpower the Pathet Lao.

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# THE WESAK LANTERN

The streets were gaily decorated. The workmen were busy finishing the pandals. Men, women and children dressed in white walked towards the temple. The sound of temple bells mixed with the tom-tom beat of the drums rebounded through the village. It was Wesak. The village of Meedeniya like all other villages of Ceylon celebrated Wesak. The preparations start about a month before the festival. Wesak lanterns intensify the spirit of Wesak. The young and old both sit down to make the lanterns. The children are happy and enjoy themselves.

The children sat constructing their lanterns. They were throughly absorb- and full of excitement. There was also an element of competition among the older people.

Davith Mudalali was considered by some to be the richest man in the village. Siyadoris Mudalali was considered by others to be the richest. The villagers were not positive about the truth. The previous year Siyadoris had spent the most amount of money on Wesak celebrations. Villagers admired and praised him and Davith was jealous of this.

A large Wesak lantern was displayed prominently in Siyadoris's garden. That was the chief attraction and the villagers came in crowds to see it. Davith made a firm resolution to outshine his rival this year. He was conversing with his wife and revealing his plans to her: 'You know this year I am going to beat Siyadoris he said in a challenging voice. But the wife replied. 'He has donated a big sum of money to the temple Wesak celebrations.' 'Oh that was last year, he replied. 'I have given five hundred rupees, Siyadoris only three hundred. This time I going to be in charge of everything. Besides, I am invited to open the refreshment stall near the railway station. They asked me to make a speech too. I must meet the school master and ask him to write out a speech for me. I am going to build a large lantern which will be the largest ever built in this village. Villagers will gather round it and admire it. You know the village committee elections are drawing near, this time Siyadoris won't go uncontested.'

Davith hurriedly set about carrying his plans into practice. William was an experienced craftsman. He had made Wesak lanterns as a child of five years. He had learned the craft from his father. The lanterns that he made as a child were small. He was now making large lantern. It was to be the largest in the village and he was very proud of it. Childhood memories came flashing into his mind. He used to go with the rest of the village children to the bamboo forest by the river. He watched his brother busily cutting the bamboos. He was not allowed to cut. He was too small and his job was to pile up the bamboo splinters. He eagerly

He worked at it mechanically. The enthusiasm with which he worked as a child was not within him. He tried to get it back and when he failed he wondered why he could not. Davith Mudalali's children were seated near the workmen thoroughly absorbed in their work. Their mother scolded them for dirtying their new clothes. They were not interested in their clothes. Watching the workmen they were happy.

Simon Singho was a fisherman. It was Wesak and he had not gone fishing that day. It was a sin to kill on Wesak day. He had been so cautioned by the priest of the temple.

by

Ranjit Gunawardene

awaited his share of work. He was very happy with the few small bamboo splinters he got. Immediately he sat down working. His brother worked late into the night. He too wanted to stay awake like his brother. But his mother forced him to bed saying that that it was too very late. He felt unhappy and implored his mother to allow him to go on. After a hurried breakfast early next morning he went back to his work. Then came Wesak. He puts the finishing touches to his lantern. In all the world, for him only his little lantern existed. The lantern was lit and he looked at it with great satisfaction. When everything was over he went with his brother to the river for a bath. In clean clothes they went to the temple. He experienced a feeling of innocent joy. Everything around him seemed so friendly. Everything seemed so happy and gay.

He built bigger Wesak lanterns as he grew up in years. There was keen competition among the village youth. His ambition was to beat them all. He often realized his ambition but he lost that feeling of innocent joy and spontaneous gaiety he experienced as a child. There were times when he was defeated. He felt miserable and terribly jealous. William was now working at the largest lantern of his life.

A row of bucket lanterns, red, blue and yellow hung at the entrance to his hut. He had also bought crepe paper for the Wesak lantern. His children pestered him for it. He had bought those with his meagre earnings. He had gone to the temple with his children and heard the priest's sermon. He heard the names of those who had donated to the temple fund announced by the priest. Davith mudalali's name headed the list followed by Siyadoris' name. The fisherman felt sincerely sorry. He thought 'I have to suffer poverty all my life and I can do no charitable deed'. He cursed himself. The fisherman had once enjoyed making Wesak lanterns. But that was long ago, when he was a child. His life was hard and there was no time for enjoyment. He helped his children to make them, because they troubled him. The children sat working at the lanterns. The lanterns were small and beautifully decorated. The children in their enthusiasm forgot their hunger. They shared a loaf of stale bread. Finishing their meal they went back to their work. They pasted the crepe paper on the framework. One child was cutting the paper to shape and the other pasted it. They had only four colours, pink, yellow orange and blue. They pasted a strip of each colour on each side. Each movement was an expression of spontaneous gaiety; prompted by the in-

nocent spirit of childhood. They looked at their work admiringly and ran with excitement to bring their parents to show them their craftsmanship.

William and his friends were working at it. The giant Wesak lantern was near completion. The hands of the workmen moved mechanically. Some were cutting the crepe paper. There were various colours, it took them some time to select them. William was pasting the paper. He took a large piece of paper and pasted it. He did not notice the beauty of it. He was tired and his body was covered with sweat. The room resembled a tailor's shop. The scissors used for cutting the paper worked in a monotonous click click. The room smelt of sweat and paste.

A song from a loudspeaker echoed in the distance. It was already night. Wesak full moon shone in all its radiance. The sweet aroma of incense was in the air and candles lit the lanterns red. Blue yellow and green lanterns too hung from the trees. It was a fairy land of lights. A row of buckets hung at the entrance to the fisherman's hut. Three little lanterns hung on the branch of the lime tree. The yellow rays of the moon crept through the leaves of the coconut tree, adding colour and beauty to the pink and blue lanterns which threw its shades on to the hut as if to remove darkness from their poverty-stricken lives.

William had finished the Wesak lantern. They were about to carry it out. Word had gone round the village that there was a large Wesak lantern made by William. A large crowd assembled near the mudalali's house. He was boasting to them about the amount of money spent on it and how he had gone to Colombo to bring the material. He saw Siyadoris' brother in the house and he continued his boasting. He was immensely smug about it.

The workmen were carrying the lantern into the garden. The crowd stared at it. Yes it was the largest of all the lanterns they had ever seen. The mudalali looked on the crowd. They admired him, all of them. The fisherman was also in the crowd. He felt ashamed of the lanterns made by his children. They were so small. Bamboo poles were erected and the ladder was used to reach the top of the two poles. William slowly took the lantern in his hands. The crowd stared at him in silence. He was nervous and excited. He was admired by the crowd, and he thought it to be the greatest moment of his life. He fixed the lantern on to the poles. The crowd stared at it again. They were surprised at its bigness. William lit a match and lit a huge candle. His hands were trembling and could hardly hold it straight. The crowd watched him in silence. He very carefully took it and as he was about to place it, a strong gust of wind blew rocking the huge lantern to and fro. Its side touched the candle flame. The pink crepe caught fire. The crowd was stunned and stared as if it was all happening in a dream. The other workmen looked on helplessly. William in his excitement forgot that he was precariously perched on a ladder. He moved about trying to put out the fire with his hands. The ladder cracked and with William it fell crashing to the ground. He lay there unconscious. The lantern burned on. The mudalali was angry, nobody dared to go near the infuriated man. He looked at his enemy's brother. He seemed to be jeering at him. He felt more angry. Siyadoris would ridicule him and the villagers would lose their admiration for him. His hopes and aspirations crumbled. Everything seemed lost. He could not look at the crowd. The fisherman was surprised 'How could such a

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## OIL CORPORATION

The All Ceylon Petroleum Corporation Dealers' Union states that recurring reports have been appearing in the newspapers regarding lack of service at petrol stations. There have been complaints regarding lack of water, air, etc. which have been traditionally supplied free to customers. This may have created a false impression in the minds of the public who might have attributed it to lack of interest on the part of petroleum dealers and their employees. The Union wishes to make it clear that this situation has arisen not due to any fault of dealers or employees at the stations.

The Union states that this deterioration is entirely due to indifference on the part of the Corporation officials. That after the take over of the petroleum distribution by the Corporation amenities enjoyed formerly by the dealers have been withdrawn. The Union has repeatedly requested the Petroleum Corporation to remedy this situation in order to enable it to render the public customary services but these requests have fallen on deaf ears.

The Union has appealed to the public to address all complaints they have to make in regard to petrol stations direct to the management in order to induce them to take necessary action.

The Union feels that only public pressure and Trade Union action could have the desired effect on the Petroleum Corporation's officials.

## New Basis

continued from page 6

to the commune experiment in China under the big-leap forward programme. He told the Chinese of Soviet experience of communes in an attempt to dissuade Mao Tse-tung from taking the wrong step. Yet the Chinese went ahead. And what happened in the communes where free meals were introduced, with equal distribution of foodstuff? "You know very well that when there is plenty of food people eat, so to say, until they are full. It is quite a different thing when the mother of a family has less food than the family needs and she tries to economize so as to provide for each member of the family. In China, while introducing free feeding they did not count their products. They just said: 'eat as much as you like.' That was just done: they sat down and ate up all their stocks.

"We knew from our experience how peasants behaved when communes were set up. If a peasant had his own pair of trousers, he would hide them, hoping to get a new pair from the commune. If he had his own chickens, he would decide to eat them immediately and then the chickens which the commune will supply. When every peasant joined the commune after his chickens, from where do you think the commune will get its supply of chickens? They don't grow out of worms."

When the Chinese policy of big leap forward and communes failed they went to the other extremity. "In essence they abandoned industrialization of the country. This was incorrect. Of course, that is their business. We have never interfered in the domestic affairs of other parties and countries. But it is impossible to pass over these mistakes of the Chinese leaders since they try to depict their refusal to industrialize the country as a law binding on all socialist states."

Polish leader Gomulka, who followed Mr. Khrushchov, told the Chinese that if Mr. Khrushchov was a revisionist Lenin who had enriched Marxism was a greater revisionist, Marx had thought socialist revolution would begin in the industrially

advanced West. But Lenin, proceeding from the teaching of Marx, came to the conclusion that backward Russia need not wait for the revolutions in the West and that in a definite revolutionary situation the proletariat and the popular masses would be able to mature earlier for the revolution.

He accused Chinese of quoting Marx and Lenin tentatively and asked whether in the event of a new war which they considered inevitable, they could rebuff and defeat imperialism through their present policy. Either they do not think armed aggression is inevitable and therefore go about attacking the CPSU, or they are deeply convinced — "and most likely would not be mistaken in the conviction" — that in the event of aggression against China the Soviet Union would go to its defence.

## May Day Slogans

The Chinese ambassador to the Soviet Union was among those present. He refused to rise with the rest of the audience at the end of the function to applaud the Soviet and the Polish leaders.

The list of May Day slogans published for this year mentions for the first time the declaration and statement of Moscow meeting of Communist parties as the basis of unity and solidarity of the world Communist movement. Thus loyalty to these documents is made the touchstone of loyalty to international proletarianism. The Chinese who were signatories to both the documents and who until recently swore allegiance to them have already asked for their revision.

Of the 109 slogans seven are new in essence there is no change in either the order or the content of the slogans. China still heads the list of Communist countries greeted followed by others in alphabetical order from Albania to Yugoslavia. India is the first non-Communist country in the list. Pakistan, as in previous years, finds no mention.

The slogans have been released by the Central Committee of CPSU for the guidance of workers who will march in procession through Red Square on May 1. The order and emphasis of the slogans arouse interest as they provide an index of Soviet approach to current domestic and world problems.

## Buddhism

continued from page 11

Thanks to the revolution today the Buddhist people of Tibet have been liberated from the shackles of semi-slavery. Their oppressors are no more there to suck their sweat and blood. They are a free society awakened from the slumber of primitive feudalism. Roads, factories, schools, hospitals etc. have been built. Modern Tibet has now taken her place in the Socialist world. Sir Lalitha is against this mighty transformation effected in the interest of 90% of the people of Tibet. I am not surprised; he has to safeguard the capitalist class at any cost.

Let me analyse the whole theme of his speech. According to him Trotskyists as well as the Stalinists are enemies of Buddhism and therefore they should be kept out of power. To this category fall the LSSP, CP and MEP led by the father of Marxism in Ceylon. The SLFP is now trying to coalesce with these parties. No trust, he asserted can therefore be placed on the SLFP also.

In which direction is Sir Lalitha appealing to the people to turn for defence of Buddhism? There is no secret of it; Sir Lalitha's implied request to the people is to rally round the mighty UNP, the so called doughty defender of Buddhism in Ceylon. People cannot now be fooled

in this manner. The UNP the representative and protector of Imperialism, Foreign Banks, Estate owners, Big Industrialists, Brokers etc. is to be entrusted with the task of protecting Buddhism!!! Capitalism and Buddhism are diametrically opposed to each other. Entrusting the defence of Buddhism to UNP, the declared protector and promoter of capitalism, is like entrusting the safety of Lord Buddha to Devadatta and Mara!!!

Yours truly,  
M. D. de Silva

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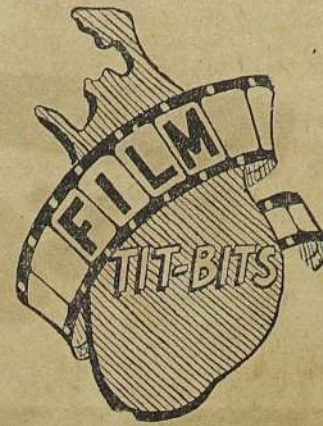
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# FOCUS ON PRODUCTION



\* "CHANDIYA" (Hoodlum), Cinemas Limited latest production is progressing at Vijaya Studios, Hendala. Sequences of a local entertainment and relaxation centre, the three Star Club, featuring H. D. Kulatunga, Anthony C. Perera, D. N. Nanayakkara, Gamini Fonseka, Christe Leonard Perera and Chandra de Silva were recently picturised by cinematographer A.V.M. Vasagam. L.C.T., directed by Titus Thotawatta and assisted by Ananda Wickremasinghe.

Arrangements are now being made to erect an elaborate set of a modern night club, for the elite of the high society under the name of Tango Club, on the biggest sound stage by Art Director, Narayanan. This scene with interesting Western cabaret items, including a prominent band which now plays frequently in the leading Night Clubs of Ceylon, will feature Karl Gunasena, Dommie Jayawardene and Gamini Fonseka. Shooting will commence immediately the set is ready.

ombo, with Aruna Shanti and Vincent Vas, and another sequence at the Colombo Airport, Ratmalana, the 'shooting' will be completed.

The editing of the film is now progressing. The picture will be released through Cinemas Limited.

\* "HANDA PANA" (Moon Light), Samanala Films, Production No. 1, based on W.A. Silva's novel is now three quarter complete.

The sets of the film and the location sites are selected authentically to suit the story and make it realistic as far as possible in the picture.

Few songs and romantic sequences were picturised on outdoor locations at Padiapella off Nuwara Eliya, featuring Herbert M. Seneviratne and Vijitha Mallika.

Ruby de Mel, Marcus Perera, Piyadasa Gunasekera and others are in the cast of the film being directed by Kingsley Rajapakse. Cinematography is by M. S. Ananda, art direction by J. A. Vincent, with music by Sisira Senaratne and it is being produced by Herbert M. Seneviratne at Ceylon Studios, Colombo.

\* "SIGIRI KASHYAPA", This historical film will be completed soon with one more scene to be 'shot' on location at Hokandara. The picture being produced by Walter Mendis, will be a Cinemas Limited release.

Jasmin Film "LA DALU" (Tender Leaves) directed by Sannas Liyanage and S. Ramanathan, is on the sets.

Jayamanne Productions, yet untitled film is scheduled to commence 'shooting' this week.

Biswa Films, Production No. 1, yet untitled, directed by W. S. Mahendran and produced by Wijepala Hettiarachi — outdoor 'shootings' in Colombo completed, and will be mounting the sets shortly.

Cinemas Ltd., Production No. 16, yet untitled, screenplay is ready, and the recording of songs and 'shooting' will commence in June this year.

## U. S. I. A.

continued from page 10

Though the USIA has vast funds at his disposal, it has not been able to make the common people in Ceylon see "red" and adopt an "anti-communist" line. Though the USIA has failed to do this for many years — yet it keeps trying, and more particular attention is being paid to wooing Buddhist priests of different sects (drawn from particular castes). The Asia Foundation which co-ordinates its activities with USIA has sent out many Buddhist priests and leaders on trips round the world.

## South Vietnam

Part of the Washington effort to exploit "Buddhism" in Asia for its cold war resulted in the de-thronement of the Diem regime in South Vietnam. Up to that time, Washington had extended open support to Christian and Catholic Action to conquer Asia for the money-bags of wall Street. But when Diem's "Catholic" regime in South Vietnam began to boomerang in Washington, it staged a "coup", murdered its earlier Catholic stooges, and sought to give a Buddhist veneer to the South Vietnamese regime. But not much success has attended U. S. efforts to sell a "Buddhist" South Vietnam.

In Ceylon the USIA is making all efforts to appear that the USA is one hundred pro-Buddhist, but people know that it is only making efforts to hide its connections with Catholic Action for tactical reasons.

It is necessary for the progressive movement in Ceylon to be aware of the activities of the USIA. A speech by particular personalities and articles in certain newspaper, propounding McCarthvian cold War theories, are only hand-outs of the USIA. Local political battles must be fought by the local protagonists without outside interference such as the USIA provides.

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## CUBA

continued on page 8  
is an overall planning in this matter, the mere alienation of land to villagers cannot solve the problems of the landless. There should be a powerful state-sponsored organisation, like the Cuban National Association of Small Farmers, to look after the varied interests of our farmers. Our co-operatives should be Agricultural Livestock co-operatives.

## Conclusions

*It is the fact that the Cuban example and its success will encourage other countries in the Western Hemisphere and other parts of the world to rise up against these evil forces that makes the enemies of Cuba to act in such a bitter, unrelenting and cowardly fashion against that small country. But why should not the people of Cuba choose their own way of life?*

*Let us hope that Ceylon will also produce a generation of*

*patriots, as in Cuba, who will lead this country on the road to Socialism, in the same spirit of self-sacrifice with which the brave men under Castro have made Cuba a happier place to live in for the common masses of that beautiful country. There is no place for half-baked Socialism. The choice is clear: Ceylon can go forward like Cuba or go backward like South Vietnam. The people must give the answer.*

(Concluded)

## In the Village

continued from page 13

thing have happened to such a virtuous man?' He wondered. The workmen felt miserable too for many days' hard labour had burnt out in a few minutes. They could have proudly boasted to the villagers that the massive lantern was made by them.

## GOVT. NOTICE.

CHOLERA—LUCKNOW (Air Port) N998—It is hereby notified for general information that Lucknow (A) is now considered free of epidemic Cholera and the ban imposed on vegetables, fish, etc. has been withdrawn. However passengers and cargo exposed to Cholera infection will be subjected to the usual quarantine measures.

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