

SLFP - LSSP GOVT. Big Step Forward.



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ADDING INSULT TO INJURY

The facsimile, which appears on this page, is from a frontpage report of the Times of Ceylon dated June 5, 1964.

The single inverted comma (slight and feeble) is perhaps intended to secure legal immunity for the headline False Prelate under which a picture of the Mahanayake Thero appears. The worthy prelate had declared in his statement that the daily press had lied all down the line. This means that the lying had gone on even after the Mahanayake Thero's letter to the Prime Minister had been broadcast over Radio Ceylon.

The Malwatte Mahanayake's statement was recorded before the Press Commission (through the Secretary), and if the Editors of the daily papers have any measure of self-respect they should go before the Press Commission and state why they acted in the fashion they did. If the Mahanayake Thero was being untruthful, the daily press should say so either in the columns of the paper or go before the Press Commission and testify to it. To take refuge behind a thinly veiled False Prelate headline is only to add insult to inquiry.

For the record, the statement of the Mahanayake Thero is set out below as reported in the Observer. "The newspapers continue to publish news items that bring discredit to Buddhist activities and to Buddhist temples. If some disturbance occurs near a Buddhist temple, the newspapers present it as being connected with the temple or as if the dayakayas of the temple were involved in it. If any such event occurs near or in a church, it is never published.

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The SLFP-LSSP coalition is only a beginning. It marks the first stage of a broader and firmer Coalition consisting of the SLFP and all other Left and Progressive Parties. It is unfortunate that an SLFP-ULF Coalition had not been possible in the first instance owing to the activities and prejudices of the anti-Coalitionists inside the SLFP and the rigidities and mistakes of some elements in the ULF. But a beginning had to be made somewhere and the swearing-in of the SLFP-LSSP Cabinet is a beginning from which much can legitimately be expected. It must be mentioned that the Prime Minister was chiefly responsible for the Coalition and she must be congratulated for the determination she has shown in effecting what was politically necessary at this stage.

TRIBUNE can legitimately take pride in the fact that it was the first political organ which had suggested an SLFP-LEFT Coalition as a way forward for the progressive movement at the present juncture. When this suggestion was first made, the tensions and conflicts between the SLFP and the LEFT were at the highest, and many in the progressive movement had ridiculed our arguments that an SLFP-LEFT Coalition was a historical necessity at this stage and that the upsurge of opinion among common people made this a realistic possibility. Though TRIBUNE does not enjoy the bogus circulation of the daily papers, TRIBUNE is read by those who make opinion in this country, and the Coalition which has been possible today and even the unsuccessful discussions with the ULF are clear indication of the validity of TRIBUNE'S analysis.

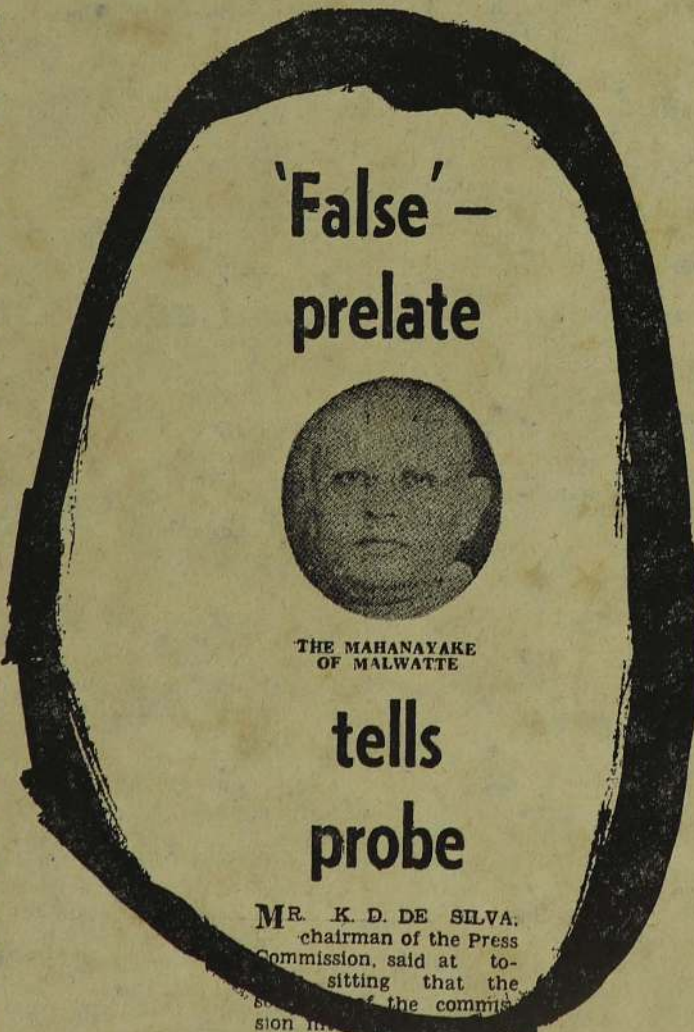
It is also necessary to mention that in recent weeks TRIBUNE has been under severe pressure, direct as well as indirect, to think differently on matters connected with the Coalition and the withdrawal of much of our advertising so obviously apparent in our pages now is perhaps one outcome of such pressures.

The daily press, particularly the publications of the Times group, had descended to the lowest depths in order to prevent a Coalition with the Left and push the SLFP to seek an alliance with the Rightwing UNP. If avowedly politically partisan newspapers participated in such a campaign nobody could have complained, but even here one would expect that ethical standards in regard to truth and decency would be maintained. But the Times group pretend that they are "national news papers" which print all the news fit to print, but in reality for a long time these papers have resorted to every form of lie and falsehood to sustain their partisan political campaigns. Elsewhere (on page 8) we have shown that the prevailing philosophy in the Times building seems to be

dictated by the new techniques of journalism by rumour.

Lake House has been somewhat cautious in recent months. Although the Daily News has cleverly tried to do its bit for the cause of Rightwing Reaction, the Observer had succeeded in maintaining a degree of objectivity and fairness in regard to coalition news that was surprising for a Lake House newspaper. But the Times group had thrown all caution and decency to the winds. If the Daily Mirror and the Times headlines and reports had any meaning at all, it was that there would be no coalition even with the LSSP, and that if the Prime Minister persisted in it, 18 to 19 members of the SLFP would walk out and set up a new Party and tie-up with the UNP. It is yet possible

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MR. K. D. DE SILVA, chairman of the Press Commission, said at to-sitting that the... of the commis- sion in... Amunugama Rajaguru Sri Wipassi Thero, Maha- nayake of Malwatte, on Wednesday on various statements published in the newspapers alleged to have been made by the mahanayake and on any other matters pertaining to the terms of reference of the commission. The secretary had sought the interview at the request of the commission.

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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, June 3rd to June 9th.

WEDNESDAY, June 3

The *Daily News* reported that the leader of the LSSP, Dr. N. M. Perera, is understood to have suggested to the ULF intermediaries who are trying to settle the dispute between him and the leader of the MEP, Mr. Philip Gunawardena, that he wanted neither an apology nor a withdrawal of the remarks made by the MEP leader at the last meeting but just that Mr. Gunawardena accepts that he (Dr. Perera) had negotiated with the Prime Minister on behalf of the ULF. It is not likely that Mr. Gunawardena would accept this request and therefore the ULF meeting is not likely to take place immediately. The *Daily Mirror* started another Anti-Coalition story by proclaiming that the anti-coalitionists wanted to make Dr. N. M. Perera the Minister of Labour in the proposed coalition Cabinet. The *Times* reported that while the MEP and CP awaited the outcome on the LSSP Conference on Saturday, the NM wing was gathering strength inside the Party. The *Observer* frontpaged the news that the ULF in its reply to the Prime Minister's letter of last month (informing the ULF that Mr. Philip Gunawardena and the Communist Party could not be given office) had emphasised that nothing in the PM's letter would make possible a SLFP-ULF coalition possible. According to a Washington report, President Johnson stated in a press conference yesterday that the U.S. would maintain its "solemn commitments" to help defend Southeast Asia against Communist encroachment.

THURSDAY, June 4

The *Daily News* front paged the news that the LSSP three draft motions on the proposed coalition with the SLFP had been placed on the agenda for the crucial party conference during the weekend.

The *Daily Mirror* proclaimed (with a question mark) that a "RED" Minister would be sworn in on June 9. The *Times* following the *Daily Mirror's* morning lead, suggested that it was likely the PM would sit in the House of Representatives as an Appointed Member. The *Observer* stressed that the snag in the SLFP-LSSP coalition talks next week would centre around the question of portfolios.

New Delhi reports indicated that the Indian Government fully supported the French and Soviet proposals for a 14-power international conference on Laos. A PTC Reuter report stated that officials in Saigon did not expect the conference of American leaders in Honolulu to result in military action against North Vietnam or other dramatic developments.

FRIDAY, June 5

The *Daily News* reported that it was likely that the LSSP Conference which meets tomorrow would decide to appoint a new Central Committee. The *Daily Mirror* sensationalised a statement attributed to the FP leader that the Federal leader would not accept any office in the present Government until a Federal government was established. The *Times*, under the front page single column headline 'FALSE' PRELATE (picture) TELLS PROBE, carried the news that the Mahanayake Thero of Malawatte had denied statements attributed to him in the daily press in a communication to the Press Commission. The *Observer* speculated on the possible role of C. P. de Silva should the LSSP resolve to go-it-alone with the SLFP. It also revealed that the BJB had resolved differences which had arisen among its leadership in regard to the current political situation. A PTC-Reuter message from New York stated that US diplomats in Indo-China considered that the French were "working to thwart and even sabotage United States policies in Southeast Asia" according to a comment in the *New York Times*. The report also further quoted from the same paper which had stressed that "there were indications that relations between the United States and France had deteriorated much more than their governments were willing to acknowledge... Still more indicative of the sub-surface tension was a widespread feeling among the Americans that spite — a wish to see the United States fail in a region where France could not succeed — was one of the motives leading Paris into conflict with Washington."

SATURDAY, June 6

The *Daily News* had on its front page the details of the three resolutions before the LSSP Conference today and also the news that Minister C. P. de Silva "according to sources close to him" expressed grave doubts on the "advisability of the Government coalescing with any

groups of Marxists at all." The *Daily Mirror* frontpage was an eye-ful with a picture of Dr. N. M. Perera in travel kit with the headline COALITION.....BIRTH DAY OR DOOMSDAY stressing that it was also Dr. N. M. Perera's birthday. The *Times* reported that that the Ministers had once again turned down a proposal to cut the rice ration in order to reduce the cost of living. The *Observer* assured its readers that Dr. N. M. Perera would carry the day at the crucial LSSP Conference today which was scheduled to end tomorrow. A PTC-Reuter report from London stated that United States army missile battalions from Europe will use a British missile-firing range in Hebrides, off Scotland.

SUNDAY, June 7

The *Sunday Observer* reported that Dr. N. M. Perera had won the first round with a massive 700 against 25 in support of the proposal to set up a new Central Committee. The paper also raised queries as to whether C. P. de Silva would be pressurised or misled into resigning either by the coalitionists or the anti coalitionists with a view either to make the coalition impossible or to enlarge the scope of the coalition. The *Sunday Times*, besides reporting on the preliminary decisions at the LSSP Conference yesterday stated that the anti-coalition group in the SLFP had decided to form a new political party in the event of the SLFP forming a coalition with any Marxist political party: that the name Sri Lanka Nidahas Samajavadi Pakshaya (Sri Lanka Freedom Socialist Party) had been suggested; that C. P. de Silva should be the leader of the Party; and that they were confident that at least 18 MPs of the SLFP would support this party. The *Sunday Times* also frontpaged a statement by K. G. Senanayake that "coalition meant partition." A PTC-Reuter despatch from Washington reported that Mr. Christian Herter, President Johnson's trade negotiator, had said yesterday that the United States ought to use trade concessions to encourage Eastern European countries which showed economic independence of Moscow.

MONDAY, June 8

The *Daily News* reported that the NM line had won at the LSSP Conference: the voting had been 501 for 179 against and 16 abstentions. The Edmund Samarakoddy group of about 100 persons had walked out and had decided to form a new "revolutionary" party. The paper also reported that the LSSP terms for the coalition were 3 portfolios — Finance and National Planning Internal and External Trade and Nationalised Services, and also the agreement on a ten-point minimum programme. The *Daily Mirror* cynically sensationalised on its front page the same news under the headline VICTORY FOR N. M. ... VIVISECTION FOR EDM.

MUND..... The *Times* noted that the new line of the LSSP had split it into two, but the papers frontpage sensation was that OPPOSITION WAS GROWING in the SLFP to the coalition: that there were second thoughts in the SLFP as the LSSP won its mandate and that "five" Ministers were against the tie-up. The *Observer* spread across its front page the news that C. P. de Silva would send a note to the PM that it "would not be possible to work with the Marxists," and that also vigorous efforts were being made to collect as many signatures as possible among SLFP MPs in support of this stand. A PTC Reuter report from Washington stated that an American jet fighter had been shot down over the Plain of Jars by Pathet Laos forces: that this was the second plane in two days and that both planes were based on the US Aircraft Carrier Kitty Hawk, a vessel belonging to the US Seventh Fleet.

TUESDAY, June 9

The *Daily News* reported that SLFP circles were surprised that the LSSP wanted three portfolios consisting of key departments. The *Daily Mirror* threw out a new suggestion that what the SLFP required was not a coalition but a Kamaraj Plan to bring new blood up from SLFP insiders. It also made front-page news about anti-coalitionists' activities. The *Times*, probably fearing that the efforts to blackmail the PM with threats of splitting and a new splinter SLFP, cautiously mentioned that "coalition sup-

port see-saws in SLFP" and stated that 56 MPs were backing the PM while 19 were gravitating towards the anti-coalitionists. The *Observer* reported that MINISTERS WERE TO BACK THE PM in the coalition moves and that Mr. T. B. Illangaratne was even ready to stand down if the PM should want to make any changes in the re-allocation of Ministries. The *Observer* also frontpaged a news report (with a pro-coalition - with - LSSP slant) under the stirring headline IF SLFP REBELS SEEK TO QUIT..... ULF SEES FRESH HOPE, and stressed that if the 15/18 SLFP MPs quit led by anti-Marxist C. P. de Silva then the ULF would be able to muster 20 MPs and several Senators in support of the government which would then to have to extend the coalition to the whole of the ULF. According to a PTC-Reuter message from Zurich Sir Roy Welensky, former Prime Minister of Rhodesia Nyasaland, blamed an "inexperienced and irresponsible" Afroasian majority in the United Nations for an "emotional mass hysteria" in world affairs which has led to "tragedies" following premature independence. Tass reported from Moscow that the *Pravda* commenting on the Cyprus situation had stated that "hourly the situation in the Eastern Mediterranean is becoming worse." A PTC-Reuter despatch from Vientiane disclosed that Pathet Lao forces had captured the pilot of one of the American planes recently shot down over the Plain of Jars.

Legal Successor

On 6th March, the British High Court pronounced judgment in favour of the traditional Zeiss factory in JENA (GDR) in a trial between the original factory Carl Zeiss Jena and the West German pseudo undertaking concerning the right to the name Zeiss. The judgment stated that the VEB Carl Zeiss in Jena represents the Carl Zeiss Foundation as its legal successor. The background to the controversy is the following. Some 10 years ago, the British foreign trade ministry intended to hand over the trade mark rights (of Zeiss) to the West German firm. This was prevented by pointing out that the seat of the genuine traditional Zeiss factory was in Jena, in the German Democratic Republic. Thus started long drawn-out proceedings. The High Court concerned themselves mainly with the questions whether the Carl Zeiss Foundation is properly represented by the GDR County of Gera as the local authority and by their plenipotentiary, Dr. Ing. Schrade, the works director of VEB Carl Zeiss, Jena. The British High Court found that they are and has thus demonstrated a fundamentally different opinion than the West German judiciary who pronounced in a judgment that the Zeiss Foundation did no longer exist and the GDR Zeiss Factory was not in existence. It made this judgment without hearing the GDR representative of the VEB Carl Zeiss in Jena. Contrary to the West German judiciary the British High Court heard as witness Dr. Ing. Schrade of the GDR and fully recognised the legal document submitted by the GDR. Commenting on the Court's decision the British paper 'The Guardian' wrote on 7th March, 1964 that it seemed the Judge had given the first English legal recognition of the GDR, as became obvious from the decision that the JENA Foundation should be examined according to GDR law. "This decision is the first East German victory in a fight that is waged at the courts all over the world", the paper added.

Jawaharlal Nehru

We publish with acknowledgements to LINK, this tribute paid to the imperishable memory of the Indian Prime Minister, the late Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, by Mrs. Aruna Asaf Ali.

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU, our beloved, has taken leave of us. The unimaginable has happened. His tireless spirit has been stilled by the inexorable law that makes death the ultimate goal of all life. In innumerable homes in our country and the world over, there will be mourning for long.

sudden withdrawal has deprived us of our mainstay. A sense of insecurity unknown in his life-time has already begun to haunt us. A feeling of un-

certainty about the shape of things to come robs our peace of mind as we think of the world without Nehru, of India without Nehru, and last but not least of the Indian National Congress without, Nehru. Truly may we ask: "Whither India?" now that Jawaharlal Nehru has gone to rest, his voice silenced, his being a part of eternity.

For us the very thought of having to face life without Jawaharlal Nehru is alien and uncomfortable and full of desolation. How shall we re-

concile ourselves to the fact of his absence from our midst? He meant so much to so many throughout these last forty years of Indian history that his

BY

ARUNA ASAF ALI

As a great and good age of our history comes to an end and we wander through its corridors, many names of eminent Indians come to our mind. Men who thought and lived nobly, worked, suffered and died for freedom from bondage and stagnation. Will the era that now commences in India find an adequate leadership rising to heights of nobility and integrity, fearlessness and forthrightness, so that the process of regeneration may flow on uninterrupted and unhampered, conquering all that is evil in humanity, rescuing it from violence, pettiness and greed? Or will we be compelled to acknowledge that henceforth only puny minds will be available to India because the best among us have vanished?

If this is the major challenge in our present situation, is it not our imperative duty to plunge afresh into the mind and thought of Nehru, discover what is imperishable therein and use it as a frame of reference for comprehending the forces with which we must reckon?

Collectively and individually, every Indian must be held accountable and responsible for the safety, well-being and progress of this magnificent land and its people to make up for Jawaharlal Nehru's loss. Thus, after Nehru, if we could justify his passionate and uncompromising belief in democracy, the problem as to who will now replace him will resolve itself.

If those whom the people have elected as their representatives rise above individual ambitions and carry on the gigantic struggle for uprooting inequality, war and poverty with the zeal and devotion of Jawaharlal Nehru, then only will he have not lived and died in vain.

We who have had the good fortune to live with him for the best part of our lives received our baptism at a common altar. He taught me and my generation to think clearly even as Gandhiji helped us to act instantly. We were fascinated by his scientific bent of mind, his impatience with conservatism, his utter unawareness of social categories of caste and religion and more

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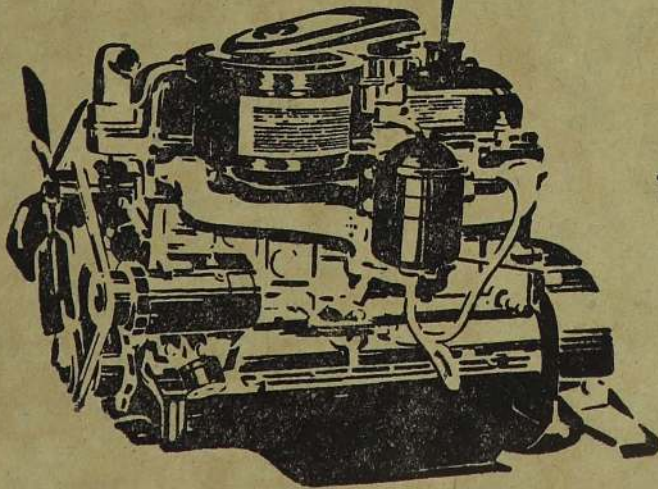
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POINT OF VIEW

COSMOPOLITAN

TREND in ballet

by Amarapriya

The only comments made on the ballet of Chitrasena during his entire tour of the Soviet Union was that of the acknowledged master of ballet in Leningrad, Yuri Grigorovich. This is convincing proof, if proof were needed, of the existence of a cosmopolitan trend in our national ballet. It also confirms the views I have expressed: "Instead of enhancing the tradition established by his earlier ballets, Chitrasena has made a definite breach with the past and is gradually forsaking the style and spirit of Oriental ballet." While it cannot be denied that one of the pioneers of National Ballet was Chitrasena, it is equally true that the origin of the cosmopolitan trend is a attributable to him.

Cosmopolitan trends in art are not a new phenomenon: it is present in our songs, it is there in the dances and it is apparently omnipresent in the Sinhala film: In fact, in a nation going through a transi-

tion cosmopolitan trends are inevitable and constitute a factor to be reckoned with.

As mentioned before one of the foremost pioneer of national ballet was without doubt

Chitrasena. To those who have followed the divergent trends in ballet it is not difficult to recall 'Kindurangana', 'Chandali' or the delightful children's ballet 'Sepalika' composed by Vajira. They were as rare as ballets at that time. The style and spirit of National ballet were inseparable from them: it was found not only in its music but in the dance and decor as well. The curtain went up and we were quietly surrounded by the rare atmosphere of Oriental ballet: it may have been the innocent Chandala maid unfolding the secluded loveliness of her inner life or a vendor gaily selling his wares without much ado.

In whichever the role, whichever the ballet, the sine qua non, viz — the harmony of the mood and movement was certainly present. The music unwove beautifully in the varied movements of the dance. It captured the spirit of the dance, and the dancer's inner being sought harmony with it. But all that rich tradition has now been thrown to the winds: it was forsaken in 'Karadiya' which seriously undermined the national and unveiled a new cosmopolitan trend in ballet.

Karadiya

In Karadiya, the set-up was new but utterly uninspiring. The sets rising roof-high were completely out of proportion to the stage and overwhelmed the perspective of the audience. This initial obstruction was intensified by the music which was invariably jarring and failed to harmonize with the dances.

Incidentally, it is very revealing in this connection to read the following in the programme book of Karadiya: — In this field new ground had had to be broken and this has been achieved with considerable success by Amara-deva whose collaboration with Chitrasena goes back to over 10 years." Judgement is obviously forestalled which not merely prejudices the casual observer but retards objective assessment, which was consequently the 'result'. Despite this, it was perfectly clear that the spirit of Oriental music in Karadiya was lost.

Vulgarisation

Nala-Damayanthi saw the cosmopolitan trend begun in Karadiya further vulgarised. The music became closer to western ballet music and the songs — rendered superbly by Amara-deva — were out and out solos. The vulgarisation was extended to the sphere of dances, which at times was

"Some of the ballet scenes show that the choreographer was influenced by European classical dance. I think that is a pity".

Yuri Grigorovich

100 percent western. As a balletomaniac remarked: "Nala Damayanthi has imitated the Russians but it has failed to come off"

The tragedy today is that this cosmopolitan trend is influencing — surreptitiously or otherwise — the national trend and tradition. Less than a year ago, a producer staged a 'ballet'. To symbolize oppression all he had was a duster and to cap it were a plethora of songs by a popular singer. This same producer presented yet another ballet last year, pursuing the cosmopolitan trend to its furthest extreme, which he himself admitted to be overdone. The variations of this sterile trend have not ended — their forms are as freakish as they are diverse. At a public performance, last year again a couple danced a duet wherein the influence of Nala Damayanthi was obvious: it reminded me of the following lines from 'Absalom & Achitopol':-

Doej, whom God for mankind's mirth has made

O'er tops thy talent in thy very trade

The attraction of the cosmopolitan trend continues unabated: in 'Ranpighatu' which was produced by a student of Chitrasena, new ground is broken — there is no dancing, there is walking instead. And apart from the customary supply of songs, the young producer was bereft of all feeling despite his comely face. The music indeed did more of the dancing than the dancers themselves. Such are the multifarious forms of the cosmopolitan trend — it has no beginning, no end. The motive behind it is to popularise through vulgarisation at the expense of the public. It is as sinister as that of a vandal and must be resolutely opposed.

In this confused situation, all artistes must unitedly oppose the cosmopolitan trend by preserving and enriching the national tradition evolved by Selalihini, Sandesaya, Chandali, Thitha batha, Ranketi-putha and Manohari. The public for their part, must judge dispassionately and promote what is genuine in ballet and is best suited to the progress of national art.

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AFTER

NEHRU

NEW DELHI, May 30, 1964: Hardly have the stunned millions of this country wiped off their tears of grief over the loss of their inimitable leader when the haunting question, What After Nehru, raises its head with all its implications. The people at large are less concerned with the immediate aspects of the succession battle as with its fuller long-range impact on the nation's life. For them the issue is whether the country will move forward with the heritage of Nehru, towards the ideals he set for country, or begin a process in reverse. If the personal aspect of the succession issue becomes important it is only in this larger context.

Some of the happenings in the succession battle have indeed brought forward many apprehensions. With the removal of the towering figure of Nehru the only way in which a capable leadership could be found to take over the country's helm was to pool forces of all those who could carry forward the tasks which Nehru had set for the country. A collective leadership of all the varied figures who comprise the ruling party's Centre and Left alone offered such a prospect. The alternative to such a collective leadership spells the dangers of initiating the process of retrogression—of opening the flood gates to regionalism, party bossism, and the force of big money which will act as a constant pressure group hampering the operation of valued policies.

Dangers

The pertinence of these questions arises from the manner in which the lobbying for the Prime Ministership has been going on. Particularly distressing is the report that provincial groups have been using the succession issue for bargaining. Talk of monied vested interests figuring in the power horse-trading—using the facade of both Sri Morarji Desai and Sri Lal Bahadur Shastri—reveal the dangers which may set in. That one need not take a too gloomy view of situation is mainly because of the momentum of Nehru's legacy which can be expected to hold the country in good stead for a period. Some of the national habits created during the Nehru era, democratic institutions, the

This despatch from New Delhi was written and sent before the final stages of the behind-the-scenes deliberations which led to the unanimous election of Lal Bahadur Shastri as the Prime Minister.

method of economic planning and the war on poverty through industrial advancement, will persist. On the international scene, the world's massive homage to Nehru is a reflection of goodwill that the policy of non-alignment and anti-colonialism has gathered. This will act as a shield for India in the coming crucial period.

Reflecting through the mirror of the world, the Indian people have every reason to be proud of their country and its great leader—Nehru. The leader still remains a force working for the good of his country even in his physical absence. Those who assume the mantle of governance will find the name of Nehru and his progressive ideas a valuable instrument for the nation's unity.

All these assets can become the base for carrying forward the country towards the objectives which still remain to be realised—the goals of democracy, secularism, unity and industrial progress and socialism at home and peace and security based on adequate defence abroad. But these assets cannot last the country too long if the country does not move forward. The ruling party has an arduous task. It has the great heritage of the leader to propel the nation forward. But if it fritters away this heritage, it will find the people of the country to be hard task-master.

Centrists

The Central leadership's handling of affairs of the country at the critical time when Jawaharlal Nehru was struck by illness at Bhubaneswar gave a glimpse of their resources of strength. Equally commendable was the manner in which Sri G. L. Nanda was swiftly appointed caretaker Prime Minister immediately as the great Nehru passed away. But subsequent developments have been somewhat disconcerting.

It may well be that the battle for succession which we are currently witnessing is a phase which every country faces and eventually overcomes. The question, however, arises whether this will leave behind an imprint on the set-up of the ruling party somewhat akin to the pattern in many States? If that happens it will immensely

Red Robin Hood

IF YOU were to say that the legendary Robin Hood shot his arrows at capitalists and preached a classless society in Sherwood Forest, people would say you are crazy. Yet something of this sort was said at the Indiana State Board of Education. One of its members actually demanded that the teachers stop telling pupils the story about Robin Hood and his forest followers because they "held communistic views."

This astonishing fact was made public at the centennial convention held by the American Association of School Administrators in Atlantic City on February 17. The speakers at the convention emphasized that the ultras were playing an increasing role in the American educational system. The Birchites and other extremists, they said, had entrenched themselves in many local educational boards and were trying to take control over school curricula. Under their pressure, one publishing house has been compelled to delete from a textbook a whole chapter about the United Nations because it is "subversive material." These obscurantists have also demanded that the schools remove everything "unreliable," from play toys to books by J. D. Salinger.

Miss Kinnaird, associate executive secretary of the National Education Association's commission on professional rights and responsibilities, told the convention: "Be careful what you teach or you'll be branded a Communist. The [extremist] groups have tried to hound out of the system as Communists those teachers who try to see that all sides of an issue are presented."

It is interesting that Miss Kinnaird's chief opponent at the convention was Allen Dulles. The former Central Intelligence Agency chief assured the convention that the Birchites were "well-meaning people" and urged school administrators to follow their example and "teach Red facts early." Well if this former "cloak and dagger" expert has turned educator, should one be surprised that in some American schools Robin Hood has been anathematized as a "Communist"?

weaken its stability and capacity to pull the country forward.

The great divide currently has taken place between what are generally labelled as the right wing and the centrist group. Centrist candidate is Sri Lal Bahadur Shastri and whose main propelling force is Congress President Kamaraj. This group has the backing of Sri Atula Ghosh. Smt. Indira Gandhi, whose influence in Bhubaneswar made the Centrists a force to reckon with, is also expected to cast her lot in favour of the Centrists. On the other side is Sri Morarji Desai, the candidate of what is generally believed to be the Congress right-wing. He has however the support of Sri Jagjivan Ram in addition to a number of Chief Ministers, including those of Punjab and Uttar Pradesh, and the reported force of Sri Biju Patnaik.

A doubtful position is occupied by what is generally known as the Congress Left-wing which has such stalwarts as Sri V. K. Krishna Menon and Sri K. D. Malaviya in its ranks. Their stand has been that there should be no hurried elections which will divide the party. They have favoured the continuance of the present Prime Minister Sri G. L. Nanda till the time that the party is able to come to a commonly agreed successor. A paradox seemed at one time to be developing in the form of overtures

between the Congress Left and Right at the expense of the Centrists. Prospect of rapprochement between the two groups however appear to have disappeared.

The fact that the division has permeated the Congress leadership from top to bottom is evidently a danger-signal for the party. For the present the edge appears to be in favour of Sri Lal Bahadur Shastri. But unpredictable developments may follow in the form of compromise moves—such as the one which favours bringing Smt. Indira Gandhi to the helm. There is also the possibility that in the process of lobbying some of the group alignments and loyalties may undergo changes. There is already a reported hint that Sri Jagjivan Ram may cast his lot with the Centrists if the strong position of his group—reported to carry with it some 110 M.P.s—is respected while constituting the Central Government.

The only redeeming feature of the tussle is the promise that it will not be prolonged—a decision is expected within the next few days. But will the decision be enduring, this is the question mark. Its answer will influence the shape of the political landscape in a considerable way—of the ruling party, of course, but of national political pattern too without doubt.

Tribune Correspondent

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"JAWAHARLAL AMAR HAI"

TWO HISTORIC DAYS

This is a graphic account of the funeral of the Indian Prime Minister, the late Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, which we publish with acknowledgements to LINK.

Not since the fateful day when an assassin's bullet cut short the life of Mahatma Gandhi had Delhi wept and sobbed as it did on Wednesday and Thursday. (May 27, 28).

Two days black with the gloom cast by the death of a leader in the direct line of Asoka and Akbar. Two days radiant with the glow of a people's overflowing, torrential love for its guide and commander.

Two days when Delhi's heart throbbed in unison with the rest of the country and when it became the place of pilgrimage for the leaders of the whole world.

Goodbye

An ancient city which is reputed to have been destroyed and rebuilt seven times, Delhi had often seen history being made in its streets and lanes, but never so vividly as in these two days when it bid goodbye to a leader whose death closed the heroic chapter in the story of India's resurgent nationalism.

"Jawaharlal Amar Hai!" (Jawaharlal lives for ever). The cry came out of thousands of anguished hearts as Sanjay, younger son of Indira Gandhi, lit his grandfather's pyre on Thursday afternoon—barely 25 hours after Jawaharlal Nehru had died. The crimson flames leapt to the sky consuming the mortal remains of a great man.

Six days ago he had told newsmen, "My lifetime is not ending so soon." He looked aged and weak but quite cheerful. He spoke slowly, weighing every word, but his replies showed he had complete grasp over the subjects he was dealing.

Sudden Illness

He had been taken ill five months ago at Bhubaneswar but recovered soon and resumed normal work. His determination to live long to serve the country evoked spontaneous cheers from newsmen at his first press conference since he fell ill. Next day he was going on a three-day holiday to Dehra Dun. They bade him a happy journey.

At Dehra Dun he told friends and admirers that he would live for another 20 years. But his optimism proved false.

He came back on Monday evening looking cheerful as usual. He had dinner with his daughter and retired to bed at 11 p.m. On Tuesday morning he got up early looking his normal self except that he complained of a slight pain in the back.

Shortly afterwards he suffered a heart attack. Within a few minutes he became unconscious and by 6.30 the doctors

found it necessary to put him under oxygen. Other methods were tried to revive him but they all proved unsuccessful.

As his condition began to deteriorate the President came to see him. He stood by his bedside for a few minutes, and went out quietly. The Vice-President also came, followed by Home Minister Gulzari Lal Nanda, Finance Minister T.T. Krishnamachari, Minister without Portfolio Lal Bahadur Shastri and his friend and comrade V.K. Krishna Menon.

Nanda, T.T. Krishnamachari, Shastri and Menon sat by the side of Indira Gandhi, watching the doctors struggle unsuccessfully to revive Jawaharlal Nehru. Nanda and TTK went out to inform Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha which were beginning a seven day session that morning. When the two houses were called to order the members were informed of the serious illness of the leader. Nanda and T. T. Krishnamachari came back to the Prime Minister's residence and again went at about 1 P.M. to tell the two houses that his condition was grave. Members were concerned and wanted to know more. The Speaker and the Deputy Chairman expressed the feelings of all when they wished him a speedy recovery—a wish that was not to be realised.

In the next half hour Jawaharlal Nehru's condition became desperate and a message was sent to Bombay to summon an eminent physician, Dr. Vakil.

The End

At 2 p.m. even as anxious pressmen were being told by an official spokesman that the Prime Minister was in danger, the end came.

For long he had not been keeping good health and in certain circles unseemly speculation about his successor had begun. Yet his end came as a shock to the nation—even to Members of Parliament and his colleagues in the Cabinet who knew much more about his health than others.

When Minister Subramaniam told Lok Sabha that "the light is out," members were shocked and dazed. Some of them could not check their tears. The Speaker adjourned the House. So did the Deputy Chairman. The Members literally rushed into the

Central Hall where one of them exclaimed "We have become orphans."

It seemed the session of Parliament had been summoned to hear the sad news.

All India Radio suspended its normal programme to inform the nation that Jawaharlal Nehru was no more. State Governments and Indian missions abroad were informed.

From all the capitals in India and the world, statesmen and politicians set out to New Delhi to pay their last homage to the man who had worked for peace in the world and unity and progress in the country.

Plunged in Grief

As the news spread, people from all parts flocked to the Prime Minister's house. Members of Parliament, leaders of political parties, prominent citizens, social workers, diplomats, Government officials came rushing and lined up in a long queue for a last glimpse of Jawaharlal Nehru.

Dazed and stunned they sat in the big hall where he used to receive visitors, for their turn to file past his dead body.

Some wept hysterically, some stood listlessly. No one knew what to do. Their friend, guide and philosopher was no more.

In the bedroom where he breathed his last sat by his side on the floor Indira Gandhi whose grief was beyond consolation. Diplomats came and laid wreaths on behalf of their governments and consoled her. Friends came, filed past him bowing at his feet, and tried to give her courage to face the calamity. People unknown to him personally paid their homage with folded hands. Their tear-filled eyes indicated that they shared her sorrow.

She sat composed but it was apparent she too did not know what to do. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, his sister and comrade, came and burst into tears as she embraced her.

As the surging crowds outside asked for an opportunity for the last Darshan, he lay there covered in white Khadi with a serene and peaceful face. By his side burnt incense. On the other side under a picture of Himalayan landscape were placed slabs of ice to keep the body cool.

After sunset he was taken out to lie in state in the front hall of the house with two army officers standing guard.

Outside the crowds formed an endless queue. Throughout the night they came and filed past. They came from far and

near. They belonged to all walks of life, to all age groups. Among them were housewives with babes in arms, women in purdah and working women. There were children and old men, industrial workers, Government employees, shopkeepers, business magnates.

By morning the crowd had become uncontrollable and as the time for the last journey approached people rushed in to see him for the last time. In the stampede three were killed and several injured.

When the last journey began, over a million people from outside the city had joined its two million population to pay reverent homage. They had lined up the six-mile route to Rajghat.

Funeral

Every inch of available space on the two sides of the road was filled by grief-stricken people. Every now and then a stretcher came up to remove persons who had fainted in the scorching heat of May. But so deep was the grief that nobody would think of leaving without one last glimpse of the dead leader. It took nearly three hours for the body to be taken to the place where it was to be cremated near the samadhi of Jawaharlal's teacher and leader Gandhiji.

From abroad for the state funeral came Ceylon Premier Madame Sirimavo Bandaranaike, Earl Mountbatten representing the British Queen, Soviet Vice Premier Kossygin, British Premier Sir Alec Douglas-Home, UAR Vice-President Hussein Shafet, Nepal Premier Tulsii Giri, Iraq's Home Minister Jawad Sadr, Pakistan Foreign Minister Bhutto and Japanese Foreign Minister Ohira.

The cortege emerged from the Prime Minister's residence at 1-20 p.m. With every yard it moved forward the number of weeping, crying human beings swelled. Along Teen Murti Marg the crowd stood nearly ten deep on both sides. At the turning from Vijay

Chowk to Rajpath it became a sea of humanity. From the Secretariat buildings to India Gate—a distance of about a mile and half—the cortege was sailing, as it were, in an ocean of human beings. From Tilak Bridge to the cremation ground, along Indraprastha Marg and Ring Road, the funeral procession looked like a broad and billowing stream breaking up into innumerable rivulets before joining an even bigger expanse. People rushing towards the cremation ground like ants: people swarming up slopes, climbing over barbed wire fences; men, women and children with tears streaming down their cheeks, throats hoarse with shouting and parched with thirst, but determined not to miss the last glimpse of the departing leader it was a sight which none could forget.

At the cremation ground over a million gathered. Behind the body went the President, Prime Minister Nanda, Lal Bahadur Shastri, Defence Minister Chavan, Mrs. Bandaranaike, Sir Alec Douglas-Home, Alexei Kossygin, Dean Rusk and other visiting dignitaries. Lord Mountbatten was sobbing as he paid his last respects; the Bulgarian Ambassador's wife collapsed and had to be taken out on a stretcher.

On the pyre the body rested in serene grandeur as three priests chanted mantras. Sanjay was led up the pyre. Indira Gandhi bravely stood calm, collected, the very picture of courage and fortitude. V. K. Krishna Menon looking dazed, stumbled as he got down from the pyre. Sheikh Abdullah came in just as Sanjay was being asked to begin the final rites. Sanjay set the flame to the funeral pyre of sandalwood logs at 4-36 p.m. As the flames shot up, the surrounding multitude was for a split second silent, as if it could not believe what was happening, and then shouts of "Jawaharlal Nehru Zindabad" rent the air.

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U. S. Tactics in Kerala

TRIVANDRUM

"Capture Kerala for the free world."

This is the new slogan being heard and echoed in the circles of Washington Patriots, here.

The slogan is not an empty bravado. Behind it lies an elaborate programme, planned by American pool experts to the last detail, but touched up here and there by the "locals" with a view to giving it "a desirable local colour."

US Will Supply Poll Know-How

The "Capture-Kerala" Programme is going to be financed out of PL 480 funds. Money would be routed to the anti-Congress, anti-Communist front through inflating publicity expenses of the Embassy and the Consulates. Also the direct aid being given to the private sector out of the PL 480 funds, in terms of the Cooley Amendment would be on the secret understanding that substantial donations would be made to parties chosen by the American agencies.

Financing apart, the Americans will also supply the "poll-know-how" to organise the vote-getting campaigns on "scientific lines."

Political planning has been left to the charge of Mr. C. Rajagopalachari. And BLITZ understands that he is already on the move.

The Swatantra Party has no following in Kerala. The unit exists there only in its sign-board. Rajaji is, therefore, anxious to put it on a sounder footing, with the help of the Catholic Church.

He is in touch with the Chacko group in the Congress. Mr. P. T. Chacko himself, anxious to "cultivate" Rajaji, is known to be in correspondence with him. According to reports, if Mr. Chacko fails to get himself or his nominee elected as Pradesh Congress Chief, he will straightaway join the Swatantra Party, "rather than remain in the party being state-managed by the crypto-Communist, Mr. C. K. Govindan Nair".

Rajaji-Chacko Alliance

Rajaji is happy to encourage Mr. Chacko, but he is insisting that Mr. Chacko should cross over, not in isolation but in sizeable company. The Swatantra party should start kicking with at least 20 legislators on its rolls. This has been the pattern elsewhere, in Orissa, Bihar, Gujarat and Rajasthan.

Reportedly Mr. Chacko is willing to cross over in "impressive" company, but he wants an assurance that an all-embracing Plan to fight both Communists and crypto-Communists (Kerala Congressmen) would be put through with

This article which appeared in the Blitz describes how Reaction is organising itself under U.S. aegis in Kerala in India in order to capture power for the diehard reactionary groups. The method seems to be the same as in Ceylon with variations.

sufficient "backing" (Financial?) Rajaji is willing on condition that Mr. Chacko ensures the political "conduct" of the Catholic Church.

The take-over plan counts on Mannath Padmanabhan also. The octogenarian leader of the Nair Service Society was recently in Madras in connection with the marriage of a film actress. He responded favourably to Rajaji's hints, according to reports.

Muslim League to Back Chacko

The NSS support may not however be unconditional. It maintains a net-work of educational institutions that need large funds year after year. Political understanding with the Swatantra may pave the way for permanent financial understanding with the known and not-so-obvious parties, the NSS hopes for.

The next and near ally is, of course, the Muslim League. Mr. Mohammad Ismail, the League President recently complained to Rajaji that he had been left in the "unenviable situation" of having to choose between the Congress and the Communists in Kerala and that he was personally unhappy in having to choose between the two "devils".

He appealed to Rajaji to come to Kerala and promised him full, unconditional political support. It is thus taken for granted that the Muslim League would align itself with the Chacko-led Swatantra front in Kerala.

There is unexpected support forthcoming from an otherwise wholly unexpected quarter, too; Kerala's "turbulent priest". Father Vadakkan seems willing to partner the Take-Kerala operations. He has apparently asked Rajaji to visit the State and personally organise the "democratic front" against Congressmen and Communists.

Father Vadakkan Woos Rajaji

However, the Kerala priest who still maintains friendly relations with the Left Wing Communist leader Mr. A. K. Gopalan, has also warned against the "banality of an excessive emphasis on anti-Socialist slogans" during the poll campaign, keeping in view the State's "Communist background."

Protestants

IN SPAIN

"In a surprise move Spain has made an advance towards the establishment of a Charter guaranteeing the rights of its small Protestant minority. At a special session this week, held as usual in private, the Council of Twelve Spanish Archbishops, according to a high source, approved a draft statute with minor amendments. Senor Fernando Maria Castiella, the 56-year-old Foreign Minister, who for seven years has been struggling to reduce the hardships of the harassed Protestants, said he thought victory was at last in sight.

"After preparing the draft he left it in December 1961 with Pope John XXIII. The Vatican approved it in principle before sending it back to the Spanish Church to consider.

Reluctant Bishops

"But most of the bishops dragged their feet in spite of the proddings from Rome. The Bishop of Huelva said bluntly: "Spain is not yet mentally, psychologically or socially ripe for the exercise of religious freedom." The Bishop of Bilbao remarked: "No Catholic can defend the principles of freedom of worship."

"Senor Cardona, Secretary-General of the Spanish Evangelical Defence Commission, founded five years ago to protect the interests of the Protestant minority, said the draft had met with a great deal of resistance. He said to me that he believed that nearly all the bishops in Spain did not like it. The Archbishops' Council can, however, override them in the general interest of the Church.

"The struggle may continue for months before the Cortes adopts the Charter. It is designed to give legal status with equal civil rights to the Protestant communities of all denominations, numbering about 30,000 families, scattered throughout the country in a population of 30 million.

Public Service

"The outcome should be that: 1. The State would recognise baptism and marriage certificates issued by Protestant clergy after church ceremonies. 2. Protestant schools would be authorised after prior approval by the

In short, the Rotarians, the Chacko-swearing Congressmen, the Catholic Church, the NSS, the Muslim League and Father Vadakkan — if he does not change his moods in the meantime — would be holding a convention soon to draw up the programme for defending the Free World's interest against "Communist and crypto-Communists". Rajaji, as of destiny, would be there to guide it to victory.

The following is the full text of a front page despatch from Spain published in the British newspaper *The Daily Telegraph* of February 16, 1964. The despatch speaks for itself, and is a sad commentary on the state of religious freedom in the Catholic country of Spain. It betrays the double-standards maintained by the Catholic Church in regard to freedom, and also that the efforts of the late Pope John XXIII to liberalise the Church have suffered major setbacks.

local bishop. 3. The right of Protestants to obtain commissions in the armed forces, and hold public office would be clarified. 4. Protestant congregations would be entitled to own property.

"The Charter which is for all non-Catholics would also apply to Spain's 5,000 Jews, mostly in Madrid and Barcelona, against whom there is otherwise no discrimination. Protestants will not be allowed to carry out missionary activities, which have always been suppressed. In practice some of the provisions of the Charter will be difficult to carry out as the Spanish church tends actively to regard Protestants as heretics.

"Political opponents of General Franco's government think the Charter will bring about less pressure on the Protestant minority but not much greater freedom of public worship.

"Tactical" Reasons

"Speaking in Madrid Professor Tierno Galvan, a leading member of a Democratic Socialist Opposition group which is beginning to express its views more openly, said to me: "The Government is promoting the Charter for tactical reasons. "It considers it opportune to defer to the wishes of the Vatican Council, and to present a more acceptable image of Spain to the rest of Western European public opinion now that it is seeking association with the

Common Market. It is not possible in general to speak of religious freedom as long as there is no liberty of opinion, because one is part of the other. Religious freedom must go together with civil liberties. Nobody can talk of religious freedom in a country where people are not at liberty to express their political, economic and cultural opinions.

Despite deep-rooted popular prejudice and the disapproval of the many zealots in the Church, the Government, spurred by Senor Castiella, has for the past two years been encouraging the local authorities to adopt a more tolerant attitude to Protestants.

"Some 200 Protestant churches and chapels out of a total of more than 306 were closed down after the civil war. Practically all-including about 100 in the past two years, have been reopened with the sanction of the authorities and the treatment of Protestants has improved. Until the Government eased the situation small congregations even worshipping in private were liable to denunciation and fines.

Marriage Difficulties

"Protestants found it extremely difficult to get married. In accordance with age-old custom practically all Spaniards are baptised Roman Catholics, and by law they must be married in church. As 30 per cent of the Protestants were automatically baptised Roman Catholics most of their requests to be married in their own church and to be granted civil marriage licences were refused.

"In every instance the Protestant Defence Council appealed against the refusal, and usually managed to have it reversed after several years, struggle. Thanks to government action local refusals have today fallen to about two per cent.

"Thanks to the improvement of Anglo-Spanish relations, the British and Foreign Bible Society has again been authorised to distribute the scriptures in Spain. In 1956 the authorities raided its Madrid offices and seized Protestant devotional literature. After several years of Anglo-Spanish negotiations the society was recently allowed to resume work."

COMMENT...

Prime Minister Triumphs

BY

JAMES T. RUTNAM

* **RUMOUR IS NEWS.** The Daily Mirror continues to degrade standards of journalism in this country. Not so very long ago when the Daily Mirror had shouted from the housetops that nine years of SLFP rule had led to increased malnutrition among children — 43% in a crucial age group — we had challenged the paper to cite the official Education Department report from which it claimed to have obtained the “information”. The Daily Mirror never took up the challenge. It dodged the issue in tell-tale silence. The least the paper could have done was to apologise to its readers and the public for having made a “mistake”. But such graciousness cannot be expected of the Daily Mirror which presently bases its editorial outpourings on lies, not once, not twice, but practically every day, proving Goebbels’ dictum that bigger the lie the better, and the more frequently it is repeated even better. In its unrepentant progress to the same end that befell Goebbels, the Daily Mirror has even thought it fit to proclaim a new ethical code for news reporting. On Friday, June 5, the Daily Mirror, on its front page, in big bold type, under a brash headline entitled Editor’s Note stated as follows: “RUMOURS and ‘intelligent speculation’ in the political field have often materialized into fact. In the silence that followed prorogation, rumours were rife, while authority kept mum. The ‘rumours’ eventually turned out to be true. As such we did not rule out our information regarding the FP’s attempts for ‘plums of office’ or their ‘clandestine affairs’ with the SLFP. Particularly since they did have such an affair in 1960. We note however, that the FP chief’s denial refers specifically ONLY to the acceptance of ‘office’ and not to ‘clandestine affairs’.”

* **DISEASED LOGIC.** This astounding proposition that “rumours” and intelligent speculation make good news because rumours sometimes turn out true is something which would make even the press lords of the bourgeois world shudder. Rumour, when stated as rumour, is one thing, but when it is conveyed to the reader as “news”, it is a travesty of the principle of truthful reporting. “Intelligent speculation”, if set out as such, is something which every reader might enjoy, but when it is disguised as hard news it denigrates the very purpose for which newspapers exist. But what makes the whole thing stink is that the Daily Mirror at the moment uses “rumour” as news in order to carry on a holy crusade against the Prime Minister in her efforts to effect a coalition. To justify its total repudiation of the first principles of news reporting the Daily Mirror claims that “rumours” which followed the prorogation proved to be “true” and that therefore “rumours” should be presented as “news”. But what were the rumours after the prorogation: that a dictatorship was to be formed and on the basis of this rumour the leader of the UNP was pressurised, allegedly by the press barons, into lodging a complaint with the CID. This dictatorship rumour persisted in the columns of the Daily Mirror even after it was known that what had transpired were discussions about the possibilities of a coalition with the Left. The truth is that to the UNP (and its mouthpiece the Daily Mirror) it seemed tactically worthwhile to pretend that a dictatorship was in the offing in order to kill the coalition. The Daily Mirror editor’s note also contained lame excuses as to why the paper had published rumours about the FP and SLFP as news: impliedly its statements were only half a lie because the FP leader’s statement did not specifically deny the “clandestine talks” allegations concocted by the Daily Mirror. When logic becomes diseased and debased in this puerile manner, then it is time that attention is drawn to the mockery of journalistic ethics by a newspaper which speaks only for the UNP and Big Business as a partisan newsheet.

* **PARTISAN.** The extent to which the Daily Mirror is prepared to carry its partisan techniques can be seen in the way that local body election results are reported. Recently, Tribune had pointed out that Lake House and Times papers were twisting and distorting facts to pretend that the UNP was winning all down the line in local body elections. This week we had another example of this kind of distortion in order to favour the UNP. The Daily News on June 9 under a headline UNP TO THE FORE had published the results of seven local body elections. The reader was led to expect by the headline that the UNP had been scoring total victories. But what was the reality? At Atturugiriyta, the ULF won 11 and the UNP 4 seats. At Dickwella the UNP won 19 of the 28 seats. At Kotte-Galkissa the ULF won 7 seats, the UNP won 3 and 1 by a LSSP man (evidently a dissident). At Kolonna Korale Gam Paththu, the UNP won 7, Independents 7 and the SLFP 5. At Haldanduwana (in the Wennapuwa Catholic area), the UNP won all 15 seats. At Naimana-Makavita the ULF won 8 out of the 15 seats (no mention is made of any UNP victories). At Panwala Korale, out of 12 wards, 6 went to the ULF 4 to the UNP and 2 to Independents. Only in two elections did the UNP score victories, and yet the Daily News headline stated that “UNP To The Fore”. But the Daily Mirror did not even

At long last there is hope. The forces of reaction have been overwhelmed. The new coalition nationalist Government led by the Prime Minister and supported by the progressive body of people in this country could now address itself to the vital task of building a free, united socialist state.

There were several ugly features in the campaign that ultimately brought about the present happy result. A massive effort in the monopoly press, pulpit, and platform was made by the Prime Minister’s enemies to thwart her determination to form the coalition.

Triumphed

We are reminded of the anxious times the country went through before the General Elections of July 1960. If one had followed the news reports of the monopoly press then, there was hardly any support for the Prime Minister. But she nevertheless triumphed and steam-rollered over her enemies.

During the last few days the monopoly press, in mortal fear of its own life, careered madly, not hesitating to stoop to the lowest depths of depravity in order to gain its ends. The Venerable Mahanayaka Thero of Malwatte was misrepresented, misquoted and finally insulted.

In one breath the Prime Minister was congratulated for her “masterly strategy” in breaking up the ranks of the ULF, as if that was her suicidal intention. In another breath she was told that her dear husband would turn in his grave, that religion would be sold, bartered and even destroyed, that the Federal Party was “pow-wow” for portfolios, that international complications would arise, that the Soviet Union would shrink from her, that China would abandon her etc. etc.—such confounded nonsense—if she should get the Marxists in.

We shall deal especially here with the explosive cry of “religion in danger” that was raised during the course of this acrimonious debate.

Bertrand Russell, by far the greatest humanist of our age, paid this last tribute to Nehru, his friend and admirer. “I hope,” he said, “those who damned him while he lived will not try now to embrace him in the name of all the things he loathed.”

A situation somewhat similar to what Russell feared might happen to India, has happened in Ceylon. We have seen the spectacle of a host of S. W. R. Dias Bandaranaike’s notorious enemies in his lifetime such as the UNP, the monopoly press, Rajaratna, R. G. Senanayake and several

public exhibition of their religious scruples, bogus or otherwise?

The need of the hour in Ceylon is not Religion, as corrupted here for political purposes, but a sense of Righteousness, for truly, it is Righteousness that exalteth a nation.

Our former Governor-General, who is shortly presenting himself with his fellow knights of St. Michael and St. George at St. Paul’s Cathedral, London, was seen at the Kataragama Shrine on more than one occasion. Recently a shy Christian Minister of State was seen at Kataragama hiding his Christianity with a handful of of holy ash; and a fair daughter of a Christian divine was also observed proceeding to the same shrine, with her recently overpowered spouse, fully trusting that amor vincit omnia. Could hypocrisy go any further?

Misreporting

Now that the Press Commission has taken due note of a flagrant case of dangerous and deliberate misreporting of the Venerable Mahanayake Thero of Malwatte, on the part of the “Times” and “Lake House” groups of newspapers, we shall say no more for the present. Except to note here that even when the newspapers were obliged to publish the contradiction, they have done so (as would be observed) with such ill grace on the part of one, and malice on the part of the other, that when the forfeit is finally claimed they will have nothing to plead in mitigation.

The monopoly press expended much print on preaching the Middle Way. The Middle Way that they commended was a geometrical middle path, away from Good and away from Evil, away from Right and away from Wrong. That certainly was not the Middle Way that would be justified or recommended by any Moral Teacher. The Middle Way is the way of understanding, of toleration, of loving-kindness. We have no doubt that the Right Path is the path chosen by the Prime Minister, and that truly is the Middle Way.

The talk that the country had not given a mandate for a Coalition was a desperate argument meant to bamboozle the people. So was the argument about the hideous spectre of Marxism. Enough, enough, we say, of this “Billa, Billa” cry that could only frighten children and the politically immature.

No Terrors

Marxism will hold no terrors for the people. It is not so frightening as you

others trying to use Bandaranaike’s name in a subtle effort to consolidate their position in the country.

Clowning

But the star act of this type of clowning seems to have been reserved for J. R. Jayawardena who, speaking recently, literally embraced C. P. de Silva and Maithripala Senanayake and held them up as virtuous UNP angels in disguise. It was a hot kiss of betrayal. Great is their mortification.

“Religion is in peril,” said the anti-coalitionists. These self-same Defenders of the Faith were unstinting in their praise of Nehru last week. The whole world paid its tribute. Nehru’s funeral procession was described as a “tide of humanity at its highest flood-level. No king, no conqueror, no democrat, and no dictator in the history of the world ever marched at the head of a procession like this,” stated a correspondent in the Blitz.

And yet Nehru had no religion. Nehru was never a hypocrite. Without in any way meaning to offend, Nehru did not want to fool the people even in death. In his last will and testament he left it on record that he categorically abjured religion. Oh, this materialistic atheist! How well the Catholic Actionists would have voted against him if he had stood for an Election in Ceylon!

Was Nehru, therefore, a dishonest man, a man unworthy to lead his people and his country? No. Religion is a personal matter. An honest Marxist would certainly be a much better leader than a bogus Buddhist, a sanctimonious Hindu, a pharisaical Christian, or a fanatical Muslim.

Significant

It is significant, in this connection, that the new Prime Minister of India, Lal Bahadur Shastri, when he took his oath of office, chose to affirm than to “swear before God.” He was honest. How many there are in Ceylon who would likewise refrain from making a

report these elections, but on June 10 picked on the results of the Raigam Korale Adhikari Pathu to spread a headline UNP SWEEP THROUGH AT V. C. POLLS because the UNP had won 14 out of the 19 seats, but the details published in the paper did not support even this contention. Such are the results of journalism by rumour!

WHISPERS

★ Oily Contact

★ Who's Goodwin?

*REVEAL that some funny business seems to be afoot about the supplies of petroleum products. It will be recalled that the Ceylon Petroleum Corporation (CPC) now obtains its supplies from the USSR, Rumania and the UAR on advantageous terms. The foreign companies had in 1961 refused to sell oil to the CPC in identically worded letters—this was to be expected in view of the fact that the companies were only cogs in the giant international oil cartel. The prices at which the CPC obtained the supplies were only about 75% of the posted prices of the oil companies. Early this year there were certain dubious purchases from Shell and Esso, and the public outcry was so great that the matter was covered up by changes in the Board. The attempt to blame the regular suppliers for the breakdown in distribution misfired badly—this was no doubt intended to pave the way for a general switch-over.

Current whispers from the petroleum world, however, reveal that a new attempt is being secretly prepared in order to break with the present suppliers and thereafter effect a switch-over to the western oil companies. This is also an attempt to betray the friendly suppliers who had helped the Corporation to commence operations in the first instance. To service this OPERATION SWITCHOVER, there has been in Ceylon for some weeks now a Ceylonese contact man who also happens to be a nephew-in-law of a former Minister who is himself a business tycoon of no mean repute. This contact man arrived from the U.K. (he had played a big role in the ill-fated shipping and other business ventures of the Buddhakhitha era), a short while ago, and has been busy thereafter in contacting the VIPs in the petroleum world, and has been vigorously canvassing for orders for Western suppliers. Rumour has it that he has promised to all who help a kickback secret commission of five percent on petroleum purchases. This commission is not something to be laughed at, as it amounts to about £7,000 (nearly a lakh) for every tanker load of the normal type that calls today.

Tribune is aware that unless certain parties are scared by the public outcry that would arise—from the warnings that Tribune gives on this matter

from now on—the conspiracy now being hatched to effect OPERATION SWITCHOVER would go on in secrecy, i.e. to sabotage the present arrangements and purchase oil from the western countries. At this stage, Tribune does not propose to disclose the identity of the persons in the conspiracy (i.e. those who want to share the £7,000 on each tanker-load), or of the persons with whose blessings the contact man has been active in this matter. This disclosure will be made at the appropriate stage.

The proposed OPERATION SWITCHOVER will mean loss of foreign exchange and bilateral trade advantages even if the Western suppliers are now willing to give slight price concessions—and this only to place the CPC at their mercy after they have effectively thrown out the present suppliers. But it is known that western sources cannot match the prices even if bureaucrats are briefed to juggle figures. Secret kickback five or ten percent commissions, they say, are usual in the trade, and the practice no doubt goes on in the CPC in many deals and purchases as in all other Corporations, but what is being planned now is on so gigantic a scale that it staggers imagination.

*REVEAL that the main-spring of all activities in regard to the current anti-coalition campaigns has come not from British sources but from the US subversive units in the country. On the surface, the Asia Foundation and the USIS chieftains, Heggie and Carroll respectively, have been publicly associated in work with religious and cultural groups from which had come the motivating force for the anti-coalition hysteria. But political circles have for long been intrigued to know just who is the shadow figure behind it all. In the past, the USOM chief, Baird, had directed the operations. Collaborating with him for some time had been Josif, an attache of the Embassy, who moved around in certain political circles which made it essential for him to quit in a hurry when the abortive coup took shape. Just now, Tribune has received letters and information from many readers that in their view the chief, SEATO-CIA agent in Ceylon is neither Heggie nor Carroll, but a member of the US Embassy who has been quietly flitting around in the back-

ground, even attending secret meetings of Catholic Action groups. Anti-coalitionists in the SLFP and the paid scribes in some of the daily papers have been guzzling a great deal of piffle about "Marxist infiltration", about Marxism and religion, about Czechoslovakia and what not. The talking points were supplied via the USIS, but what many wanted to know was who had directed the operations. Reports which have reached Tribune point to the fact that Joseph C. Goodwin, attache of the US Embassy, is the key figure in the business of US interference in the internal affairs of this country. Middle Eastern diplomats in Colombo have never hidden the fact that Goodwin had played a notorious role in overthrowing the Moosadegh Government (1952-57) in Iran and that later he had been in the UAR (after spells in other countries in the region). It would appear that he had to leave Cairo in a hurry in 1960 because Nasser would not tolerate certain activities of the US officials in the country. Although information from Middle Eastern sources had spotlighted the past of Joseph C. Goodwin, his role in Ceylon became clear only recently. If there is anything which the people of this country resent, it is interference from outside, whether it be from Moscow, Peking, New Delhi, London, Bonn or Washington. Each of these countries is entitled to present the story of their country and maintain friendly relations with all sections of the people, but for them to poke their snouts into the internal questions to stir up dirt and trouble with a view to pressurise this group or that, is highly deplorable. If the United States wants to be

MAHANAYAKE

continued on page 1

"At Elpitiya meeting a secretary bhikku made a speech. I presided at the meeting and made a speech. The newspapers carried the speech of the Ven. Palipanea Chandranana (secretary bhikku) but attributed that speech to me.

"That temple belonged to the Amarapura Nikaya. I went there because of unity among Sangha, a matter I had in mind.

"The news report that appeared in the 'Times of Ceylon', 'Lankadipa' and other newspapers regarding my speech at the Elpitiya meeting were not correct. On a matter of principle as I have stated from the beginning I have refrained from commenting on political matters."

"Today I refrain from making such comments. I did not speak to any newspaper reporter at Vidyodaya University before or after the dana held on that day. On that occasion when a newspaper

friendly with the people of Ceylon, it must stop the kind of activities which political circles in Colombo are now convinced that Joseph C. Goodwin seems to be indulging in. Her Excellency the Ambassador it would appear, had got hot and bothered about the coalition, and the Observer had referred to her "loud mouth" in its Sunday edition a fortnight ago. Carroll's activities and humbug were suitably dealt with by The Critic in last Sunday's Observer. More anon.

reporter posed a political question the Ven. Asgiriye Anunayake Thero remarked that it was not the occasion to discuss politics and then he remained silent.

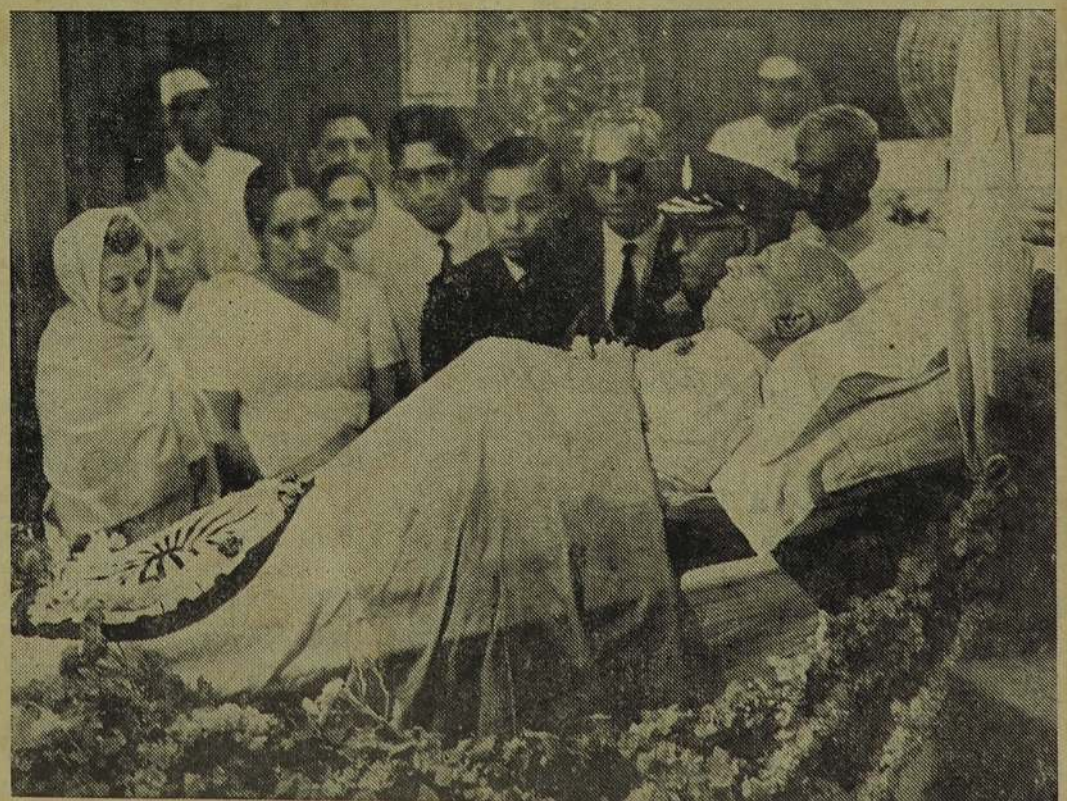
"Next I spoke at the Asia Cultural Institution. There too, my speech was on the Dhamma. All reports in the newspapers from my speech at Elpitiya up-to-date regarding the political situation in the country are statements which I have not made.

"I have always said that I would support any government that worked for the protection of Buddhism. If any programme against Buddhism is initiated by any government I would also point out the mistake.

"Many people tended to go astray because of certain advertisements which helped spread immorality in the community. Particularly advertisements that dealt with sexual impotence tended to corrupt them."

"Reports of murders, crime and rape tended to lower the morale of the community. If newspapers were to act with an awareness of the responsibility, they would be able to render a great service to the country."

No comment is necessary at this juncture, except to mention that the contradiction of the Mahanayake was not published on the first page of the Ceylon Daily News, although the false report of the Elpitiya speech scored banner headlines on the first page of the paper. There was no admission of misreporting or any apology for the misrepresentation done. Such is the state of the Fourth Estate in Ceylon today!



The Ceylon Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, paying homage to the late Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru as his body lies in state at the Prime Minister's House in New Delhi on May 28. To her left is her son and to her right, Shrimati Indira Gandhi.

LETTERS TO EDITOR

* UNP & Socialism

* Capitalism & Religion

Sir,

The most vociferous critic of the proposed coalition of the SLFP and the ULF is the United National Party. As a student of politics who has delved a little into the recent history of this country, I wish it to be placed on record that the UNP came into being as a coalition of the Muslim League, the Sinhala Maha Sabha, and almost all of the Ceylon National Congress. Subsequently the Tamil Congress took office under the UNP. Provision was made in the manifesto and constitution of the party to make such a coalition possible. Article 3 and 9 provided that members of political organizations existing prior to the formation of the UNP could become members of the party while retaining their earlier applications if that organization agreed to accept the programmes, principles and policies of the UNP.

Howard Wriggins in his book "Ceylon, the Dilemmas of a New Nation" says of the UNP that "..... It was, and re-

mained a coalition of distinguishable political groups".

Henry Karunaratne

Cyril Jansz Mawatte,
Madakumbura
Panadura.

Sir,

Concluding his monumental work: "Religion and the Rise of Capitalism", the world-famous economist Professor R. H. Tawney, Reader in Economic History, University of London, says:

"Circumstances alter from age to age, and the practical interpretation of moral principles must alter with them. Few who consider dispassionately the facts of social history will be disposed to deny that the exploitation of the weak by the powerful, orga-

nized for the purposes of economic gain, buttressed by imposing systems of law, and screened by decorous draperies of virtuous sentiment and resounding rhetoric, has been a permanent feature in the life of most communities that the world has yet seen. But the quality in modern societies which is most sharply opposed to the teaching ascribed to the Founder of the Christian Faith lies deeper than the exceptional failures and abnormal follies against which criticism is most commonly directed. It consists in the assumption, accepted by most reformers with hardly less naivete than by the defenders of the established order, that the attainment of material riches is the supreme object of human endeavour and the final criterion of human success. Such a philosophy, plausible, militant, and not indisposed, when hard pressed, to silence criticism by persecution, may triumph or may decline. What is certain is that it is the negation of any system of thought or morals which can, except by a metaphor, be described as Christian. Compromise is as impossible between the Church of Christ and the idolatry of wealth, which is the practical religion of capitalist societies, as it was between the Church and the State idolatry of the Roman Empire.

"Modern capitalism," writes Mr. Keynes, "is absolutely irreligious, without internal union, without much public spirit, often, though not always, a mere conge-

CAR ALARM

Car owners around the world are acclaiming the Alert Auto Alarm, a unique but simple device to prevent auto theft and tampering. Developed and manufactured by Alert Auto Alarm Co. of Toronto, this new "car watchdog" is already being sold on four continents.

A compact unit measuring 5" x 3 1/4", the Alert Auto Alarm is installed under the car's hood and connected to the horn relay and headlights. It is turned on by means of a switch which can be installed under the dash, or which can be located anywhere the owner wishes, inside or outside the vehicle. As soon as a would-be thief commences to tamper with the car, the vibration sensitive alarm sets off a 15-second series of horn blasts. Subsequent tampering — whether three minutes or three hours later — produces the same result.

The Alert Auto Alarm is sold in kit form, and simple-to-follow instructions enable the car owner to install it in a few minutes. It is highly recommended by police authorities.

Substantial orders for the Alert Auto Alarm have been received from Rhodesia, Kenya, Ethiopia, Germany and Yugoslavia and sample orders have been sent to Australia, Italy, Mexico and Jamaica. It drew wide attention at the recent Canadian Trade Fair in Philadelphia and negotiations are currently under way for United States representation.

— CANADIAN COURIER

ries of possessors and pursuers. It is that whole system of appetites and values, with its deification of the life of snatching to hoard, and hoarding to snatch, which now, in the hour of its triumph, while the plaudits of the crowd still ring in the ears of the gladiators and the laurels are still unfaded on their brows, seems sometimes to leave a taste as of ashes on the lips of a civilization which has brought to the conquest of its material environment resources unknown in earlier ages, but which has not yet learned to master itself".

If as Professor Tawney observes Capitalism is the very antithesis of the of the teachings of Jesus Christ, it is also the very negation of the teachings of Gauthama Buddha and Prophet Mohamed.

All these Great Teachers idealized selflessness, detachment and renunciation. The foundation of Capitalism, on the contrary, are the opposite values; selfishness, craving and acquisitiveness.

The concepts of the brotherhood of man and the equality of man are fundamental to the Teachings of these Great Teachers. Capitalism however has no use for such concepts. It thrives on exploitation of the weak by the stronger, on man's inhumanity to man, on the maintenance of the class structure for all times. Under this structure man, beast and machine are all there to be exploited for the greater good of the few rich.

Yet Capitalism would not hesitate to exploit the common man's devotion to religion to gain its own irreligious ends. The employer of labour and the representative of the propertied class whose only religion is the worship of wealth, would cry "Religion is in danger", whenever they find that the Capitalistic structure of the society is threatened. They would try to lighten

proletarian misery in this world by promises of comfort and blessedness in the world to come. They would find scriptural warrant for the continuance of the status quo and the laissez faire in Society. They would attribute poverty, ignorance and squalor either to God's will or to the Working of Karma.

To the genuinely religious man, religion is a way of life; a way of development of the human personality. To the capitalist, religion is yet another instrument of exploitation.

Genuine Religion seeks to create in man spiritual contentment by teaching him that material wealth is not the be all and end all of human endeavour, while Capitalism seeks to concentrate the material wealth in the hands of the few and to make the many contented with the unspiritual conditions created and bred by it. Capitalism often uses religious phraseology to justify the existence of such unspiritual conditions.

Capitalism has no morality except that of the market place; no ethics except that of the Stock Exchange. It has no use for spiritual values except that of promising the masses comfort and blessedness in the world to come. In a word, as Professor Maynard Keynes observes: "Modern Capitalism is absolutely irreligious. Without much internal union, without much public spirit, often, though not always, a mere congeries of possessors and pursuers".

It is when irreligious Feudalists and Capitalists use religion to cover up and to continue with their exploitation that "Religion becomes the opium of the People."

T. U. de Silva,
Vice President, Bauddha Jatika
Balavegaya
139, High Level Road,
Nugegoda
June, 1964

NUCLEAR POWER STATION FOR INDIA

The Canadian and Indian governments have completed discussions for the construction in India of a \$ 70,000,000 Canadian designed nuclear power station. Purchase of Canadian materials and equipment for the nuclear component of the power station is being financed by a long-term loan to India totalling 35,000,000 dollars from the Canadian Federal Government's Export Credits Insurance Corporation.

The 200,000-kilowatt plant, similar in design to the Canadian plant now under construction at Douglas Point, Ontario, will be located in the Rana Pratap Sagar section of India's Rajasthan State.

The huge nuclear generating plant is the first sold by Canada abroad. It will be the second to be built by India and is an expected forerunner of a series of Canadian designed plants to be constructed by India.

Sale of the plant to India will open up a new market for natural uranium fuel rods from Canada. India will also be a potential market for heavy water produced at a Canadian plant to be built in the near future.

SUGGESTIONS

to make Air Ceylon pay

Subsequent to the retrenchment in 1961 as a measure of re-organisation separate Stores and Purchase Sections have been created necessitating the creation of new posts when originally there had been one section dealing with both these aspects. This has been a recommendation made by the Organisation and Methods Division of the Treasury.

The expenditure on the maintenance of a staff in the stores section is not commensurate with the value of stores (other than for major overhauls) issued monthly. It was revealed that the average value of stores issued monthly was Rs. 5,000 or Rs. 6,000 per mensem with a total budgeted expenditure for 1963/64 for personnel emoluments alone being Rs. 54,967, not to mention the cost involved on uniforms, pension fund etc. The Stores and Purchase Sections should be reorganised for better utilisation of staff and for its smooth working — see also paragraph 29.

No Verification

There has been no complete verification of stores, plant and equipment done since 1955 by a Board of Survey other than a continuous verification which itself has covered only a fraction of the stores. We are informed that there are about 7000 items in stock costing about rupees seven lakhs and that so far only about 1500 items had been checked. Although the value of the assets are indicated in the accounts each year one could not be certain that all assets are available. Reference in this connection is invited to the comments regarding revaluation of assets during the year 1954/1955 appearing in Appendix D. The revaluation has resulted in an increase in the book value of assets and an abnormal profit being reflected in the books for that year.

The procedure followed by the purchase section in purchasing various items of stores leaves much to be desired. Stationery, printed forms and uniforms are said to be ordered annually after inviting quotations. We are informed that there are about 1500 items of commercial stores which were ordered after telephone inquiries from various dealers as and when necessary on requisitions being received from the Stores section.

In this connection it has to be borne in mind that the Stores Section is in Ratmalana and the Purchase Section in the Head office in Colombo. There have been instances where after the order has been sent to a particular firm after such telephone inquiries the required stocks were not available and the entire balance requirements had to be purchased at higher rates elsewhere. For example 4 doz.

split pins (steel) had been purchased from Messrs. Walker & Sons at Rs. 1-50 each and 8 doz. of the same item from M/s. Samuel Sons at Rs. 3-50 each on the same date.

The explanation of the Purchase Officer was that the order had gone out to Walker Sons for 12 dozens after a telephone inquiry but they were able to supply only 4 dozens and hence the balance had to be purchased at a higher rate from the other firm. It was also revealed that such items such as Thinner are obtained in large quantities. There is no need to obtain these in bulk unless there is a major overhaul to an aircraft in progress. There is also the instance where 8 copies of the Ferguson Directory had been purchased last year — 7 at Rs. 25 each; and 1 at Rs. 35 when the Airline could have done with much less copies. We note that the General Manager has since ordered that only 4 copies should be purchased in future. We consider therefore that with the reorganisation recommended in paragraph 63 and with better planning savings could be effected.

It is very essential that set procedures be laid down for inviting quotations in advance of requirements scheduling them and submitting same for the consideration of a Tender Board appointed for the purpose. There is no Tender Board at present. Provisions can be made for emergency purchases, the value of which will not exceed a stipulated amount to be approved personally by the Chairman.

Engineering

We agree with the General Manager's statement that "the nature of our operations is such that we do have certain long periods of idle time." This is particularly so we observe in the Engineering Section when there is no major overhaul for "certificate of airworthiness" at hand. As already mentioned two Dakota Aircrafts have already completed these overhauls recently and the work on the third which is presently being attended to will be completed shortly. The Beach-craft too is expected to be taken up for overhaul early. The table appended shows the position clearly:

Registration No. of Aircraft.	Date O/H commenced	Date of completion	Date next O/H is due
Dakota 4R.ACI	7.1.63	28.5.63	8.12.65 or 4000 hrs.
" 4R.ACF	9.6.63	17.10.63	24.4.66 or 4000 hrs.
" 4R.ACG	21.10.63	16.4.64	2½ years from date of completion or 4000 hrs.
B'craft 4R.AAU	5.1.62	24.4.62	21.3.64

Unless something untoward were to happen to any of the aircraft it would be clear that there will be much idle time after the overhauls now on hand are completed. The Engineering Section therefore needs some reorganisation for better utilisation of equipment and staff. Particular mention must be made of the Production Department where a system should be introduced to assess the volume of work to be done.

Unjustified

We note that in early 1963 a five day week had been introduced for staff attached to the Accounts and Administration Sections. Approximately 20% of the staff are attached to these sections. This proposal was to have been reviewed at the end of 3 months and the Treasury appears to be pursuing this matter. The staff in Air Ceylon have the following leave privileges.

Annual leave 14 days
Casual leave 7 days
Sick 21 days
Company leave 12 days
Lunch interval 12.30 pm to 1.30 pm.
Unofficial tea interval staggered
10 am to 10.15 am
10.15 am to 10.30 pm
3 pm to 3.15 pm
3.15 pm to 3.30 pm
Short leave twice a month of 1½ hours duration each. Sinhala classes have been introduced this year with the frequency of 3 times a week and the staff attend these classes to a staggered system as follows — 9 am to 10.30 am; 10.30 am to 12 noon; 3.30 pm to 5 pm.

We have already commented on the low utilisation of staff at present and taking into consideration the gradual switch over to Sinhala the above mentioned leave privileges and attendance at tutorial classes, we consider that a five day week is unjustified. The General Manager has already admitted that the output of work is low and there is much absenteeism. There is no reason to grant the five day week only to a small section of the staff. Further, we feel that it affects to some degree the business of Air Ceylon and inconveniences customers especially those who call over for refunds etc. It has to be borne in mind that the work of the Accounts and Traffic and Sales Departments are connected to a certain extent. We recommend that the 5½

day week be reintroduced forthwith.

Operations Division

There are 14 Pilots at present on the Air Ceylon Cadre which is really in excess of its requirements. Their utilisation therefore is very low. In the absence of an Institute for the training of Pilots at present we feel that it would be in the best interests of the Airline to continue to have in its cadre all Pilots who are qualified according to the requirements of the Air Navigation Regulations.

We are informed that some of the Pilots have not qualified in their Instrument Rating Examination which is a mandatory requirement in terms of the rules of the International Civil Aviation organisation and of Ceylon Air Navigation Regulations. The possession of an Instrument rating which is in fact a compulsory requirement must be insisted on.

Representations have been made to us by a section of the Pilots who belong to the Air Pilots' Association of Ceylon that they are not satisfied with the way these examinations are conducted. (These are conducted at present by a panel of examiners and observers appointed by the Director of Civil Aviation). The Assistant General Manager, Air Ceylon, is one of the examiners. Since these representations were made there is a split in the camp and that the dissenting section forming the majority have formed themselves into a body known as the Air Ceylon Pilots' Association. The unsatisfactory feature in both these Associations appears to be that the President of the former is the Operations Manager while the latter has one of its members the Assistant General Manager who is also an examiner.

This question of the conduct of the Instrument Rating Examination has become a controversial one among the Pilots and matters have been made more difficult by one of the examiners (Assistant General Manager being a member of Air Ceylon Pilots' Association). There should be no objection to Pilots being given the option of following instruction courses and taking up examination abroad at their own expense. This question on the other hand might easily be resolved by arrangement with the Indian Airline Corporation

This is the fifth instalment from the Report of the Special Committee on Air Ceylon. It refers to many aspects which have made Air Ceylon an uneconomical proposition. The Committee recommends that Air Ceylon should explore the possibilities of obtaining as many agencies as possible and that the Government should consider imposing a condition that the traffic handling of all foreign aircraft touching at any airport in Ceylon should be by the national airlines.

if Air Ceylon enters into a pool arrangement with that Airline as recommended in Paragraph 105.

continued on page 14

**CEYLON
METAL
INDUSTRIES
LTD.**

*Manufacturers of
Shell Brand
Pure Aluminium
Hollow Ware*



Agents & Secretaries:

**BHATT
&
KAMANI
LTD.**



SOVIET AID

Moscow, June 5

The completion of the first stage of the Aswan High Dam in the United Arab Republic has brought the problem of aid by the economically strong states to the young developing countries to the fore in the world press. In Moscow, Paris, New York, and Peking nobody denies that such aid must be given and increased. However, as it often happens in the contemporary world, different things are meant by the word.

We shall try to analyse the nature and specific features of Soviet aid by examples taken from the life of the countries of Southeast Asia.

Reliable Means

The London magazine *New Africa* said recently: Soviet aid is based on the assumption

that the industrialisation of the young countries and the financing of the construction of major industrial establishments serves as a reliable means of ensuring industrial development of the recipient countries. Is the conclusion true for Southeast Asia?

One of the latest events enabling us to answer in the affirmative is the understanding reached on the construction of a steel plant in Bokaro which is called "Second Bhilai" in India. We can say outright that the state sector in the Indian steel industry is an offspring of cooperation with Soviet Union. The building of a steel plant near Colombo and a similar enterprise in Java Island can be placed on a par with the Bokaro plant.

Why did I dwell on metallurgy? It is because it is

providing a firm basis for the economic independence of the majority, if not all, young countries. It is not surprising that you cannot find major steel works similar to the one in Bhilai built under the colonial regime in that or another country in Asia or Africa. At any rate, I do not know of any such enterprise.

According to the US statistics, US aid, in terms of money, surpasses Soviet aid in many countries of Southeast Asia. We have no reasons to put this in doubt. However, in the final run it comes out that Soviet aid gives birth to more major and tangible results of long-range effect, useful for the entire nation.

Cases in point are the power station in Sumatra, the atomic reactor in Celebes, the antibiotics factory in the Indian State of Uttar Pradesh, assistance to the medical establishments in Cambodia and Thailand to promote public health there, another major state-owned farm in India second to the Suratgarh farm in Southeast India. Incidentally, the Suratgarh farm built in 1955 has turned a vast deserted tract of land into a flourishing garden cultivated with Soviet equipment given over as a gift to India. It is a state owned farm, that is, the one which benefits the whole people rather than a single person or a group of persons.

Sincere Desire

The United States is so far wealthier than the Soviet Union economically speaking. But that is another favourable sign for Soviet aid, indicating that it is based not on the intention to get rid of surpluses but on a sincere desire to share with foreign brothers things which might be of use at home. The Aswan celebrations have given rise to an attack of "self-criticism" in the Western press which was forced to admit that the prestige of Soviet aid had grown incredibly in the eyes of the developing nations. "Russians are right" is the heading of an article in the Parisian newspaper *Aurore*, which says: "it is necessary to co-operate with those countries (in Asia and Africa) so as to create wealth there, opening factories for them, building dams, ending equipment and specialists they lack." One can only hail such enlightenment.

However, it is hard to believe that the West will suddenly discard the principles of neo-colonialism, the egoistic and strategic interests in its aid. There is still another capital which did not respond enthusiastically to the reports from the Nile banks. It is

Peking, which limited itself to two news items throughout the 16 days of Khrushchov's visit to the UAR. This is because the Aswan High Dam and the Bokaro plant are big and real aid to the national-liberation movement rather than the noisy "anti-imperialist" slogans which constitute the main item of Peking's "exports" to the developing countries. It is no secret that Peking's ultra-revolutionary slogans only serve to weaken the struggle of the peoples for strengthening economic, and consequently, political inde-

pendence in a number of countries, because these slogans bring dissension and disorder into the unity of the democratic forces of a country.

Thus, at least three different meanings are put into the word "aid" in the contemporary world. If I have preference to the Soviet in this article it is not because these lines have been written by a Soviet commentator. This is the common opinion of the peoples of developing countries, including the peoples of Southeast Asia.

Boris Novikov

The US Stake in Brazil's coup

By Cedric Belfrage

MEXICO CITY

WASHINGTON can congratulate itself on its biggest Latin American "success" in years. The uneasy balance in continental relations that had been maintained since the Cuban revolution and U. S. countermeasures, was upset by the coup in Brazil. The curtain has been lifted upon a new act in the grisly performance: the era of the "Mann Doctrine" in which all coups are to be judged coldly and publicly by the yardstick of U.S. big-money interests.

At the time of the coup, five governments representing more than half of Latin America's population still had relations with Cuba; the coup may well achieve what nothing else could — Cuba's isolation from the continent. A Brazilian break with Cuba will render little Bolivia and Uruguay unable to resist U. S. pressure to follow suit, leaving only Mexico and Chile with ties to Cuba. With this perspective, discussions are in progress here as to the course of Mexico, which provides Cuba's sole air link with the mainland. Strong forces are pressing for a break, but the internal effect of such a course is a serious consideration for President Lopez Mateos.

What can be expected in Chile, where the masses are particularly well informed about, and partial to, the Cuban revolution? If conservative President Alessandri breaks with Havana he will make a FRAP (Socialist-Communist coalition) victory in the September elections more probable than it already is. But Chilean progressives realize that the Brazilian coup is the writing on the wall for their country, and that Washington, flushed with triumph, can now be expected to act fast and stop at nothing to prevent "communism by ballot" — i.e., an elected popular government.

On the day after the coup began in Brazil, inflation-pauperized Chilean workers went on a 72-hour strike for a 70% raise, which virtually paralyzed Santiago, Valparaiso and other cities. On April 3 there were battles with police outside the Congress in downtown Santiago (20 wounded, 200 arrested) which FRAP candidate Sen. Allende denounced as having been instigated by provocateurs. Warning of a Brazil-type plot in preparation in Chile, Allende repeated his pledge, if elected, to nationalize copper and other basic industries introduce drastic land reform and generally reclaim Chile for the Chileans. Washington may not yet have abandoned hope of "reaching" or intimidating Allende — a member of the wealthy business and professional class who has hitherto seemed incorruptible.

National Guardian, 18/4/64

VASCULAR STAPLER

A new Canadian instrument for joining blood vessels as small as one millimetre in diameter—an unusual stapling device—may revolutionize vascular surgery.

Invented by a team composed of two Ottawa doctors: I. J. Vogelfanger, M. D., F. I. C. S. and W. Gordon Beattie, M. D., F. R. C. S. (C), and engineers of the National Research Council's Division of Mechanical Engineering, this Canadian stapler is the most highly developed instrument of its kind.

A significant breakthrough in the application of this precision instrument was achieved in a recent operation at the Ottawa Civic Hospital where a team of surgeons created a new throat for a cancer afflicted patient, using a segment of her own intestine.

In the throat-colon graft, a piece of bowel was removed from its normal site and inserted into the throat. The gullet area blood supply was tapped off to the transplant by means of the new stapler.

The Canadian stapler is the result of eight years of joint research and development by doctors Vogelfanger and Beattie and engineers of the National Research Council. The prototype of the vascular stapler now in use was developed in 1956, for the anastomosis of vessels ranging from six to eight millimetres in diameter. As a result of experience with that model, it was possible to construct finer instruments which could anastomose vessels from 2-5 mm in diameter and in the latest model, vessels 1-2 mm in diameter.

This new development has many important surgical implications, particularly for reconstructive surgery. In addition to gullet replacement it has also been used successfully to transplant vein segments; the transplantation of venous valves to replace ones that are non functioning because of disease;

Canadian Courier

MADE IN CEYLON

- * GALVANISED BUCKETS
- * SOLDERING LEAD
- * WIRE NAILS

* Best Quality
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SEVENTH FLEET

Indian Defence Minister's Role

In this article *Tribune's* Diplomatic Correspondent, who has made a close study of the US Seventh Fleet's intrusion in the Indian Ocean points out that the suspicions of Pentagon's ties with certain groups in India's War Office in regard to the Fleet are confirmed by the reconstruction recently started with American backing, of a number of Indian ports including Visakhapatnam and Madras, and the diplomatic comments on Defence Minister, Chavan's visit to Washington who is in the know as regards the US military plans in India.

From the very first days of its existence the United States 7th Fleet has been one of the main weapons of the cold war in the East. It was involved in the violation of the Geneva Agreements on Indo-China. It has become a permanent fixture in the Saigon Straits. All the wars in Indo-China, whether in Laos, or Vietnam, are connected with its operations. The 7th Fleet occupied Taiwan to create a hotbed of world war in the Far East. This is elemental, just as the fact that the Fleet is a bearer of aggression.

The question is: why are Ceylon and Indonesia the only countries in Asia to protest openly in connection with the United States intentions to station ships of the 7th fleet in the Indian Ocean?

Menace to Neutrality

Up to now the state of international relations in this area was determined by the balance achieved by the predominance of the policy of non-alignment, the mainstay of which is India's neutralism. Bringing the 7th Fleet into the Indian ocean will disrupt this political balance and turn a vast area into a cold war zone. It will also menace the neutrality of India and other countries.

The United States 6th Fleet in the Mediterranean and the 7th Fleet in the Pacific have long sought to catch in a pincer grip a massive area of non-aligned Afro-Asian countries in the grip of the cold war. With the appearance of a floating nuclear monster in the Indian Ocean a sharp dagger will be pointed at the "soft underbelly" of the main neutralist power, to use Sir Churchill's words,

This conclusion cannot be upset by any trickery including claims that the ships of the 7th Fleet will not enter territorial waters and will restrict themselves to courtesy visits to the ports of individual countries. What changes if an aircraft carrier with super-

sonic aircraft cruises not inside but alongside the 12 mile strip of territorial waters? Can Indians feel any more secure as a result?

In this connection we cannot help being alerted by a UPI dispatch to the effect that ships of the 7th Fleet will enter Indian and Pakistani ports "at their discretion". How is it that this dispatch of the American news agency says diametrically the opposite of what Indian government agencies do?

Judging from fragmentary reports from certain diplomatic sources there are dangerous symptoms that the question of the 7th Fleet has become a subject for backstage diplomacy which has been undermining Delhi's official position step by step and even the position of the late Premier Nehru himself. Recently a British magazine stated that the United States was able, through agents of the CIA, to pursue its own line in India without worrying very much about the reservations made in conventional political spheres. At any rate we cannot help being suspicious of a definite autonomy of the Pentagon's ties with certain groups in India's war office with regard to the question of the 7th Fleet.

Suspicions Confirmed

These suspicions are confirmed by the reconstruction, recently started with American backing of a number of Indian ports including Visakhapatnam

by
**TRIBUNE'S
Diplomatic
Correspondent**

and Madras. So far no satisfactory explanation has been given. Claims that big merchant vessels cannot enter these ports must be discredited. Merchantmen can use these ports without any hindrance. It is quite another thing that they are not suitable to receive big warships such as aircraft carriers. It is not excluded that the United States readily agreed to help this reconstruction project having in mind the possibility of using these ports for the needs of its Fleet. Such a decision can only be founded on the certainty that India's policy of neutrality in general will not remain unchanged for long.

Food for such deliberation is provided by several diplomatic comments on Mr. Chavan's visit to Washington. Mr. Chavan is the only man in the Indian government who is in the know as regards the United States military plans in India. The United States hopes with his help to go over to direct co-operation between the armed forces of the two countries. The United States also hopes through him to realise plans for air and naval umbrellas which would give India the status of a direct military ally.

Fragmentary reports indicate the United States offers to impress Mr. Chavan although they are incompatible with the position of a neutral country. Mr. Chavan is in a ticklish position. But the Americans are full of optimism following their talks with him. It is alleged that Mr. Chavan inspired them with certainty as to the evolution of India's foreign policy in a spirit favourable to the Americans. He also made it clear that holding a number of concrete preparatory measures, such as joint naval and air exercises, might lead to a situation boiling down to virtual cooperation between the U. S. Navy and India's armed forces. In this way it would be possible to avoid political statements on matters ticklish to both governments.

FOREIGN AID

U.S. AID & PAKISTAN

by A Special Correspondent

It is customary to offer thanks for gifts, especially when they are given in all sincerity. How should one react, however, if one is given a present which has no material value, but rather has the only aim of demanding something more valuable in return? Should there be an expression of gratitude to a "friend" who gives it? Apparently not.

Such thoughts involuntarily come to mind when one analyzes the statistical reports on American assistance to Pakistan and the latter's foreign trade.

The Motives of Foreign Aid

American assistance comprises a good half of all loans and subsidies received by Pakistan from foreign states. The motives of U.S. aid to other countries have been clearly stated in the message of the former U.S. President Eisenhower in connection with the Mutual Security Programme for 1959. It said in part: "We have an economic interest in promoting the development of the free world. In the years to come, the increased economic strength of less-developed countries should prove mutually beneficial in providing growing markets for exports; aided opportunities for investment and more of the basic materials we need from abroad".

A very frank statement indeed. The former American President laid special stress on the profits that the U.S. can receive from its so-called disinterested aid. While formulating the basic principles of assistance Eisenhower was primarily concerned with the gains such an assistance can bring the United States. The U.S., as well as other industrial Western powers, did receive profits. One of the terms of assistance is the unwritten obligation of the recipient country to sell its raw materials to the donor country. This is what it has led to.

Starting from 1951 foreign aid to Pakistan comprised in toto \$ 1.8 billion. At the same time the losses of Pakistan as a result of the unfavourable balance of prices for raw materials and industrial commodities comprised approximately the same sum during the period under review. Prices for raw materials were set by the aid-giving countries. Thus, despite the aid received by Pakistan, its resources instead

of increasing have probably dwindled.

Does Aid Help Trade?

American aid is given primarily for education, to buy food stuffs and alleviate the consequences of natural calamities etc. This is not so bad. But is it this kind of assistance that is needed by Pakistan and other countries of Asia which are striving to deliver themselves from the tight grip of poverty and backwardness? These countries are primarily interested in the development of their own industry and in freeing themselves from the necessity of importing a large number of industrial commodities, even such items as nails and buttons. No one has ever heard, however, that American aid to Pakistan helped to build an iron and steel works or a machine-building plant which would make it possible for the country not to import the expensive manufactured goods.

On the contrary, starting from October 1959, the U.S. began to exercise strict control over its aid so that it be given along the lines of the Buy American Act under which all means received within the framework of the aid programme should be spent solely for buying American goods. Such assistance does not promote the development of national economy but rather hinders its progress.

One cannot help agreeing with the esteemed Professor Q. M. Fareed of the Karachi University who wrote in one of his articles that as a result of forcing the Buy American principle on the countries, which receive American aid they were placed in an extremely difficult position since they cannot buy goods in the countries where it is most profitable for them to buy them. Professor Fareed wrote: "For Pakistan, which depends so heavily on the U.S.A, this policy has had unfavourable reactions as well as repercussions".

And this is not all. What Pakistan receives from America in the form of aid it is obliged to return at a great interest due to the negative balance of trade with the U.S. Let us consider the data for the 1962/63 fiscal year. In the period of time under considera-

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Air Ceylon

continued from page 11

We understand that a few pilots have been grounded till they qualify for the Instrument Rating Examination. If all such pilots have to be grounded and paid their emoluments over an indefinite period, the financial commitments would be such that Air Ceylon will not be able to bear it. The Operations Manager for instance we are informed has been granted nine months full pay leave. We recommend therefore that these pilots be given a maximum of 3 months full pay leave on condition their services will be terminated if they fail to qualify.

Air Ceylon has been committed to a expenditure of Rs. 100/- per mensem as an allowance for Captain C.E.L. Ferdinands, the Assistant Chief Pilot for functioning as a Check Pilot. This has been sanctioned by the General Manager without reference to the Board. We understand that as Check Pilot he is responsible for keeping regular periodic checks (normally every 6 months for each pilot) on the proficiency of the Airline Pilots in their flying duties paying special attention to procedures to manouvre and safety requirements in flying technique. He furnishes confidential reports to the Management and the examiners of the Civil Aviation Department. The utilisation of Pilots in Air Ceylon is very low. There being 14 of them to fly the small fleets of aircraft available. We are of the opinion that the payment of an allowance would only be justified if the officer functioning as Check Pilot is qualified as a Check Pilot in all respects.

We are of opinion that the revenue pool arrangement with BOAC is satisfactory in the present context and may continue for the time being.

Traffic & Sales

The question of obtaining the General Sales Agency of BOAC for Air Ceylon should be vigorously pursued. We understand that since entering into the agreement with BOAC the Sales Agencies of KLM and TWA have been given up. Indeed from correspondence provided to us it appears that in the case of the former the agency has been terminated at Air Ceylon's own initiative. The correspondence is reproduced at Appendix F. It would be observed that the first letter to KLM is dated 7th November 1961 whereas the agreement with BOAC has been concluded on 30th March 1962. Although there is nothing to this effect in writing we had been informed by the General Manager that the decision was arrived at by the then Chairman of the Board of Directors as a result of his discussions with the BOAC. We consider that it would have been more satisfactory had this move been initiated on the express and written sanction of the Board. Air Ceylon should explore the possibilities of obtaining as much agencies as possible.

The Traffic staff at Ratmalana (vide Appendix A) work on shifts. The present schedules indicating departures and arrivals at Ratmalana are given below.

Col. Jaffna, Madras	Wed. Fridays, Sundays	0715	1730
Col. Jaffna	Tuesdays, Thursdays	0715	1615
Col. G'oya, Batti. Trinco			
Jaffna	Mondays, Saturdays	0700	1435
Col. G'oya, Batti. Trinco	Wednesdays	0700	1435
Col. G'oya	Fridays	0700	1915
Col. A'pura. Jaffna	Mondays	0645	1645
	Saturdays	1500	1915

Idle Time

From the above it would appear that there is much idle time for the Traffic staff at Ratmalana in between departures and arrivals. This could be rectified by fuller utilisation of staff if our recommendations given under "Internal Operation" are fully implemented.

We consider that Air Ceylon should undertake the ground and Traffic handling of all foreign aircraft. It would be possible for the Government to impose a condition that the Traffic handling of all foreign aircraft touching at any airport in Ceylon should be by the national airlines. We have been informed that Air Ceylon had been negotiating to take over such handling of BOAC aircraft at Katunayake. Although it was originally stated that this would take effect from April 1964 the take over has not been finalised yet and we therefore express our concern at this delay.

We have been informed that the present staff in Air Ceylon could be fully utilised in the event of such takeover and furthermore that additional staff would be necessary. We recommend that additional staff be recruited only after very careful appraisal of the situation and only if this is absolutely essential.

In the event of additional staff being necessary we recommend that these vacancies be offered in the first instance to all Air Ceylon staff who were retrenched in October 1961 as well as those Air Academy personnel who were transferred to Air Ceylon but later retrenched, whether or not these categories have been found alternative employment elsewhere.

In this connection it has to be pointed out that we have received representation from some of these retrenched personnel who are at present serving in the Railway Department on very much lower wages than those they were drawing in Air Ceylon and which was said to be hardly sufficient to eke out a living. Most of them we are informed would be willing to serve again in Air Ceylon, given the opportunity.

Air Ceylon also undertakes servicing of foreign aircraft touching Ceylon on charters. The movements for which for the period March 1963 to February 1964 are given below :-

	Katunayake	Ratmalana
March 1963	9	5
April 1963	12	6
May	11	1
June	13	—
July	4	—
August	5	2
September	4	—
October	5	7
November	6	11
December	6	6
January 1964	7	3
February	7	5

The table appended indicates the revenue earned from these operations.

HANDLING FOREIGN AIRLINES — MARCH '63 to Feb. '64 (Gross revenue)

Month	Traffic	Engineering	Ground—Transport	
			Ratmalana	K'nayake
March 1963	10,217.50	4,920.00	397.00	1,189.50
April	14,307.75	8,375.00	198.50	1,207.50
May	8,042.50	4,395.00	189.00	1,590.00
June	7,700.00	4,270.00	—	2,756.50
July	3,100.00	1,700.00	—	1,885.00
August	4,920.00	2,650.00	83.50	2,345.00
September	3,100.00	1,700.00	—	1,540.00
October	9,212.50	5,225.00	112.50	775.00
November	14,187.50	8,425.00	466.00	1,130.00
December	11,775.00	4,875.00	401.50	315.00
January 1964	10,937.50	4,825.00	278.50	735.00
February	12,025.00	5,075.00	478.50	420.00
	109,525.25	56,435.00	2,605.00	15,889.00

It will be desirable that officers in Government Departments and institutions including Government delegations be compelled to travel by the national airline except under urgent and exceptional circumstances. Although there are certain Treasury instructions to this effect these do not seem to be carried out. The Economic division of the Treasury may also be requested to explore the possibility of incorporating such a condition in agreements entered into with foreign countries, to be made applicable in the case of Experts, Advisors, Contractors and others (as well as their families) who are employed in industrial and similar undertakings. Even where it is not possible to fly Air Ceylon there should be no difficulty in persuading those concerned to make all such reservations and payments through Air Ceylon Booking offices or their Agents so that it could at least derive commissions thereon. Air Ceylon is in a position to make reservations on any airline operating to and from any part of the world on which a prospective passenger desires

NEHRU

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than anything else his tremendous capacity to think in terms of the wide world and its problems.

Thus for the youth of the early thirties and forties of this country he was the symbol of everything new and modern. His ideas swept us off our feet because they were like a breath of fresh air blowing away the cobwebs of our feudal and colonial past, challenging us to revolutionize everything that stood in the way of absolute and undiluted freedom.

Every aspect of Jawaharlal Nehru's personality fascinated

us and inspired us. He was our faultless and flawless idol, ideally perfect. In our own ways we tried to be like him, to live up to his expectations, and often to earn his approval was enough, the highest reward that the heart could desire.

Neither time nor age could blur the radiant image of Jawaharlal Nehru of our youth because we refused to allow ourselves to be overawed by the fact that he was India's Prime Minister. If ever there was a barrier between him and the likes of me it was because of this high office. To see him surrounded by hordes of care-erists both official and non-official, to see him yield to them where he should have resisted them firmly, dismayed and hurt us and at times we felt bitter and became cynical. Outwardly and even organizationally these moods often led to estrangement and aloofness. But these spells of withdrawal were merely passing phases because in every crucial test we found ourselves ranged with him and against those who questioned his fundamental social and political faith.

Will we be able to live courageously even after him, or will work and life become too much of a burden and drudgery? If the brave among the youth of today take over the torch that Jawaharlal Nehru lit our remaining years need not be dismal and dark. Should however a pall of ignorance and indifference keep them away from the field of action, our generation will truly be written off as a lost generation, aimless, empty and adrift.

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This Week

- ★ The Giants of Thessaly
- ★ Bees Saal Baad
- ★ Ambapali

*FASCINATING ADVENTURE FILM! A picture that booms with bloody battles, adventure following adventure,

is crowded with luscious maidens, and the over-all effect with fabulous sets, and including the spectacle elements that generally prove popular, is the Warner Bros. release, "THE GIANTS OF THESALY", now showing at the EROS CINEMA.

Directed by Riccardo Freda and filmed in Eastman color and Totalscope, and starring Roland Carey as Jason and

Ziva Rodann as his beautiful wife, the story opens at the dawn of time when a handful of heroes, led by Jason, set sail upon the boundless sea in search of a mysterious land where the Sacred Golden Fleece is hidden, the finding and recovering of which can bring peace and serenity to his land.

Setting out in a boat built by Argo they face the fury of tempests, hunger and thirst. When they land on a small island they discover that the inhabitants are at the mercy of a man-devouring monster. Jason boldly confronts it and succeeds in killing it after a fierce struggle. In the meanwhile Adrastus whom Jason appointed to rule Thessalia in his absence plots to usurp the throne for himself and casts evil eye on Creusa, threatening to kill her son if she refuses his desires.

The Argonauts, continuing their journey, soon land on another island which is inhabited by beautiful women only. The enchanting queen of the island is a sorceress and from whose viles and clutches Jason narrowly escapes. The Argonauts finally reach Colchis and Jason alone after hazardous adventures retrieves the Golden Fleece. Returning to Thessalia, Jason and his men enter the palace by a clever strategy, kill Adrastus in a duel and bring back happiness to the people.

dar's home, Kumar sensed danger.

In the daytime, Kumar sought the company of Radha, the village Kaviraj's beautiful niece with whom he had fallen madly in love. With the coming of each nightfall, incidents too obviously pointed towards Kumar as the latest victim of the curse.

Radha challenged the curse. If a woman's revenge can bring such a mortal curse, then a woman's sincere love can equally sweep aside all curses that may affect her beloved, she pleaded. The young girl's courage emboldened Kumar, and he decided to stand his ground. Yet, danger to him was real, and the startling climax reveals the mystery that had cursed the Jagirdars for twenty long years.

plishments were the glory of the realm, she should not be the monopoly of one, and was selected as the foremost of the front rank beauties of the State, the jewel of womanhood, the "Striratna", and was directed to be the courtesan-artist of the State of Vaisali. A practice prevalent in those days in almost all States. Not as a bride, wife or mother, but the glory of the city, to be shared by all. Her beauty and accomplishments brought her immense wealth and her name and fame crossed the frontier of Vaisali and spread far and wide.

One day she saw the beautiful portrait of the mighty Bimbisara and felt an inward urge to meet him. Bimbisara, the mighty King of Magada, was far away enthroned in a kingdom inimical to the Licchavis. Bimbisara felt a similar inward urge to meet her, having heard about her from the merchants of his kingdom who often visited the capital city of Licchavis for trade. The king being a great connoisseur of artistic attainments of women, he was determined to see her, and was even prepared to risk his life in the land of his enemy. He went to Vaisali in the guise of a merchant and passed through the city gates unnoticed, but his royal bearing betrayed him. The whole city was alerted by a gong which was sounded whenever an enemy stepped into the city. The guards ran to arrest him; he came straight to the abode of Ambapali and was warmly received by her. The guards at last came to her abode, but was not allowed to enter her residence, because one of the five privileges granted to her when she was selected as "Striratna" was that her house cannot be searched without a week's prior notice.

The revengeful warlike Vajjis hastened his flight. On the seventh day before parting Bimbisara gave Ambapali a signet ring and a "Virali Vastra" (scarf with special emblem) with the assurance that if she should bear him a son and if she would be willing to part with him, she must send him along with the signet ring and "Virali Vastra" to the King of Magadha where he would be given due honour and recognition.

After the King had gone she reverted to her accursed life, but no longer the former gay self. The Vaisalians observed this change and her unwillingness to entertain them. In due course, a son was born to her and she concentrated all her love towards him. The Vaisalians resented her love for the illegitimate child and plotted to kill him. The plot was discovered by her, and being anxious about the safety of her son's life she sent him away secretly to Bimbisara with the signet ring and "Virali Vastra".

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A (CEYLON THEATRES) — Suprya Chowdhury in "AMBAPALI" (Sinhalese)

*"AMBAPALI" (Sinhalese) Ceylon Theatres Limited release, opening this week at the ELPHINSTONE, ROXY and other centres in Ceylon Theatres Ltd., circuit, is the story of North India of 2500 years ago of the glorious period when the Buddha, the Herald of Peace, lit the lamp of knowledge that brought light to the world.

In the state of Vaisali in North India lived a leading citizen named Mahanama. He had a loving wife, a palatial mansion and untold riches. In fact he had everything one could desire, but was not blessed with a child. Devout as he was, the gods were propitious. On a stormy night, when his gardener found a baby in his mango grove, and handed over to the master and his wife, their joy knew no bounds. As the baby girl was found in the mango grove, she was named Ambapali. Amba—mango, Pali—nurtured—the girl nurtured in the mango grove.

Years rolled by, she not only grew up to be a beauty, but also became versed in all the fine arts of her days. The Princes and the rich citizens of the realm sought her hand in marriage. Mahanama was perplexed and was afraid the matter would end in clashes of arms. So he decided to refer the issue to the Assembly of the Elect, and accompanied his daughter and appeared before the Assembly. The Assembly decided that as her beauty and accom-



BSB (CINEMAS) — Waheeda Rehman in "BEES SAAL BAAD"

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SLFP-LSSP

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that a few SLFP dissidents would walk out, but it is more likely that the headquarters of Rightwing Reaction would decide (no doubt on the advice of the experts from Washington operating here) that it would be better for these anti-coalitionists to stay inside the SLFP and continue the fight.

FOREIGN AID

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tion the U.S. share in Pakistan's exports comprised nine per cent in terms of prices while Pakistan's imports from the U.S. reached 41 per cent in terms of prices. Hardly anyone will dare call such trade an equitable one. Between July 1962 and June 1963 Pakistan's imports from the U.S. comprised 1,558,601 thousand rupees while the country exported to the U.S. but 176,862,000 rupees worth of goods, or one-tenth of the U.S. exports to Pakistan.

It is quite clear that the possibilities of the U.S. are much greater than those of Pakistan. But since the Americans never tire of talking about rendering disinterested assistance to Pakistan they could also find possibilities for buying more Pakistani goods. This is not done, however.

On the other hand, by entrenching itself in Pakistan the U.S. separated the country from its traditional export markets, thus narrowing the possibilities for the sale of Pakistani products. Economic and military assistance have been used as a means of pressure. This bears first and foremost on the countries of the Commonwealth. In this connection, one cannot help recalling the statements of Pakistani President Ayub Khan who said that to give aid and at the same time refuse to open the markets for commodities is the same thing as to give with one hand and take away with the other.

Does such assistance merit gratitude?

In coming weeks, we shall have a great deal to say about the behaviour of the press in recent weeks, but for the moment we can do no better than wish the new government led by the Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike all success.

ULF

It is yet too early to analyse the fuller political implications of the SLFP-LSSP coalition. What is to happen to the ULF? What of the other Left Parties like the MEP and the CP? What of the dissident groups, the Shanmugathan-Kumarasiri CP, the Robert Gunawardena MEP, and the Edmund Samarakoddy LSSP? These are questions which are difficult to answer immediately, but it is clear that every effort must be made to sustain the ULF, and the fact that one constituent unit has gone it-alone with the SLFP is no reason to disband the ULF.

Though a SLFP-ULF coalition would have been the best under the circumstances, an SLFP-LSSP coalition is undoubtedly an accession of strength to the entire progressive movement, and as such should be welcomed by the Left and the ULF. The MEP and the CP should, in our view, approach the question in realistic terms and endeavour to strengthen the ULF in the new circumstances.

It is also necessary to mention that in spite of tensions and bitterness in the Left Parties which has led to the splits, it is necessary to approach the new embryonic Revolutionary Front of the three ultra-Left groups in an equally realistic manner because it must be realised that they are composed of left-minded persons who have their own special views as to how the problems of the country can be solved along Marxist lines — and that they are not pro-imperialist, pro-capitalist persons in the reactionary camp. It is essential that the Rightwing Reactionaries in the country do not exploit the situation that has arisen as a result of these splits in the three Left groups, and for this it is essential to realise that the ultra-lefts are still part of the progressive movement, even though they

may regard the views of the Leftists willing to collaborate or coalesce with the SLFP with scorn and disdain. There is also the further question of the impact of the coalition on the SLFP especially the anti-coalitionists in it. But this is a matter that can be examined only with further developments.

Prime Minister

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think. The pity of it is that it means different things to different persons. Terms are always deceptive. Without an adequate definition of terms, no argument could ever proceed satisfactorily.

The Marxism of Edmund Samarakoddy so laboriously woven into a web of tangled wool by Karalasingam as only a Karalasingam could, in his tormenting article that was lustily displayed in the capitalist press last week, is one thing. The Marxism of N. M. Perera is another. And they are poles apart. So they seem to us.

For Edmund Samarakoddy and his fellow-travellers journeying away round this little microcosm of ours would very soon meet and embrace Rajaratna and his racist camp-followers journeying in the opposite direction. Combined thus, they could certainly form a noisy opposition to the new Government. But nothing more; apart perhaps from proving that our Earth is really round, that our extreme Right and extreme Left when they journey to the uttermost, though opposite, ends will finally meet and embrace each other at one point, as they are bound to do in the present circumstances.

Redoubtable Leadership

The Daily Mirror was obliged to publish in its columns last Wednesday that D. S. Goonesekera, Minister of Labour, on being interviewed had declared, "If any Minister or MP of the SLFP wants to quit the Party on the issue of the proposed Coalition or any other issue he must resign his seat too; for every member of the Party, at the time he was

How the new SLFP-LSSP Cabinet will function is yet to be seen. The LSSP has the key Ministry of Finance, and Dr. N. M. Perera has an opportunity to put his talents to the best use and show what a Left Finance Minister can do in a nationalist government in an under-developed country. Nobody expects wonders, and everyone realises that he has a tough job ahead. The LSSP has also got two other key Ministries and nobody can say that the LSSP has "caved in" or "surrendered all along the line."

In our next issue, we shall examine the 14-point minimum programme which is the basis of the coalition government. But, in the meantime it can be said that the swearing in of

given nomination, had pledged to resign his seat in case he wanted to quit the Party." Well and truly said. This seems to have opened the eyes of the fourteen brave men who had dared to intimidate the Prime Minister. Not all the brave would risk their seats, you could be sure.

We rejoice that the determined wishes of the Prime Minister have materialised. We rejoice that the talent and incorruptible patriotism of the progressive forces outside the SLFP parliamentary group have been fully mobilised to play along with the SLFP, and under the proved and redoubtable leadership of the Prime Minister, a decisive part in the regeneration of our country.

FILMS

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Now having lost her love and her son, she was thinking of her future, whether to take up anew the life of gaiety or to break up the past life totally. Her redemption came as a message from the Lord of Peace and shook her whole being. The words of Lord Buddha opened her eyes to do good to others and to purify her mind of all impurities. At the lotus feet of Lord Buddha she finally found her heaven of rest and bliss. She donned the yellow robe and went about preaching to

the Coalition Cabinet has raised new hope in the progressive camp while there is dismay among the reactionaries. The reallocation of departments and ministries also seems to provide a better basis for work, but there is no doubt that anti-coalitionists and bureaucratic saboteurs will continue to do their worst.

Rightwing Reactionaries and Big Business are bound to strike back, and the US Lobby with its SEATO-CIA subversive units will get extremely busy immediately organising desperate measures to check the growth of the progressive movement in this country. Increased vigilance is essential at this juncture, and this is a matter to which the greatest attention should be paid by the government and all progressive parties.

Land Acquisition Act (Chapter 460) Notice under section 33
Reference No. 2/42/5637

N1098— I, Haputhantirige Leelaratna Gunasekara, Government Agent of the District of Kegalla in terms of section 33 of the Land Acquisition Act (Chapter 460) hereby give notice that the undermentioned amount being compensation for the acquisition of the land described in the schedule hereto have been paid into the Court of Request of Kegalla to the credit of the case stated against it to be drawn by the persons entitled to.

H. L. Gunasekara,
Government Agent, Kegalla District.

The Kachcheri, Kegalla
5th June 1964.

SCHEDULE

Description of Land.
Lot No. 57 in P. P. A. 978 called Hitinawatta situated in Bodawala village, Othara Pattu, Beligal Koralle, Kegalla District, Sabaragamuwa Province.

Case No. Amount
Rs. 70/-

C. R. Kegalla
Case No. 22994.

GOVT. NOTICE

Toddy Rent Sales-Kandy District 1964-65
N1091—Tenders close on Wednesday, July 8, 1964. Further particulars can be obtained from the Government Gazette of June 12, 1964 or from the Kandy Kachcheri N. Wijewardane, Government Agent, Kandy District.

Kachcheri,
Kandy.

the world the message of peace and deliverance:

Buddhan Saranam Gacchami
Dhammam Saranam Gacchami
Sangam Saranam Gacchami