

# STATELESS IMPASSE

## WAY OUT?



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### SPOTLIGHT

## \* Cabinet Secrets \* Poya \* Rent

\* LEAKS. There is much speculation in political quarters as to how Lake House gets its scoops about Cabinet papers and decisions. In the certainty that it will get Cabinet memoranda, Lake House has kept its machines standing by until the early hours of the morning. At one time, it was thought that the "leakage" was from certain official quarters, but this has now been ruled out. A smokescreen was laid that two Ministers, regarded by progressive circles as "reactionaries", were responsible for the "leaks," but all circumstantial evidence and other inside information indicate that these two Ministers are pulling their weight with the coalition government and that the leak is from some other source. This is the million dollar question of the day: who is spilling the beans?

### Clever

The reply of Mr. N. Q. Dias in regard to the Poya Day casual - leave - direct - action - movement which he organised is a masterpiece of clever writing and political strategy. By invoking the blessings of the Triple Gem to meet the harsh statements of Dr. N. M. Perera in regard to Mr. Dias' actions, the Permanent Secretary scored a successful point by a method preached by all religious leaders in the spirit of ahimsa. For the rest, his statement is a plea to restore the status quo ante before the advent of the British and thereby make this country once again "Buddhist." It is difficult to turn back the pages of history without doing serious damage and injury, but what is possible is to restore what has been denied to the Buddhists and secure their

rights without reprisals that would unduly upset the present structure of work and economic activity.

\* RENT LAWS. There has been consternation in all circles and peoples supporting the government that a Committee has been appointed to inquire in to the "hardships of landlords" if the Rent Restriction Act were made to apply to all houses. The Government, in spite of loud protestations about the plight of tenants, has done nothing about controlling rents. And in Colombo and in the major towns, the majority of tenants pay blackmarket rents by all standards. Various devices have been evolved by landlords, aided by both the UNP and even SLFP governments, to help landlords to cheat the tenants and get houses outside the scope of Rent Restriction. Unless this process is reversed immediately, the SLFP will face strong opposition from a large mass of voters who have been exploited by landlords all these years. Whilst one must not be unfair to landlords, it must be realised that all these years they have had it all their own way, and if the Minister in charge of this matter wants any sympathy and support he must expedite the legislation to bring all houses under rent restriction. If any hardship is to be caused to landlords who had built houses under certain misconceptions of their rights, the problem must be tackled by granting them special relief — but certainly not by permitting the exploitation of tenants any more. With the General Elections not very far away, the Government cannot sleep over this matter, nor bestow its sympathy on "landlords."

The Prime Minister must be congratulated on the initiative she has taken to consult the leaders of all the National Parties in regard to the so-called Indian question. There is no doubt that the problem of the persons of recent Indian origin, now resident in Ceylon, and who have qualified for citizenship, cuts across party barriers, and any settlement which does not have the approval of the major national parties is likely to lead to a situation where this problem could be converted into a political Atom Bomb capable of causing racial and economic disasters of great magnitude.

With the general elections around the corner, the Prime Minister would naturally exercise the greatest care and caution in regard to this question which can sway the votes of millions in the Sinhalese areas. The UNP, which has used this question to win and sustain power in the period 1947 to 1956, (and which Senanayakes and Kotelawelas had used for the same purpose during the Donoughmore Period), no doubt realises the full potentialities of this question as an election cry.

Nevertheless, in the best interests of the country, it would be useful and advantageous if the major political parties, particularly the SLFP and the UNP, could agree on a formula which would effect a lasting solution in regard to a problem that has baffled leaders of the two countries for over thirty years.

Knowledgeable circles are convinced that the visit of the Indian Foreign Minister, Mr. Swaran Singh, has considerably helped to ease the deadlock which had blocked any progress for many years in regard to the so-called "stateless". If Mr. Swaran Singh's visit was for the purpose of creating goodwill, he has certainly succeeded in creating a new confidence in governmental circles that New Delhi is willing to approach the question in realistic human terms without getting tied up in knots with abstract legal formulae and obtruse aide memoires adding to the already bitter polemics on the question.

Reduced to simple terms, the whole problem can be summed up thus: there are over 1 million "Indians" of recent origin in Ceylon. (Until the 1963 Census figures are available the number would be a projected one from the 1953 statistics, but estimates place the number about 1.1 or 1.2 million). Of these about 1½ to 2 lakhs have already become citizens under our laws. Of the balance there are over 100,000 Indian Passport Holders, mostly in urban areas and the majority of whom are traders. In the urban areas, there may be also about 50,000 persons who have classified so far as "stateless".

On the plantations, there are just over 800,000 people (nearly 500,000 being children and young persons under 18) who came within the category of the "stateless", and the main problem really centres around these people.

There can be no difficulty about the Indian passport holders. India has not pleaded for their extended stay in Ceylon

except to say when they were sent out they should be treated "fairly". Regarding those who had not qualified for citizenship on the plantations and elsewhere, the Nehru-Kotelawela Agreement of 1954 had outlined a programme and a scheme, but it is clear that this agreement has not worked satisfactorily. The Indian Government, whilst it continued to register persons in urban areas, had virtually blocked such registrations on the residuary number of the "stateless" was settled. New Delhi sought to justify its position by stating that the citizenship laws were harsh and discriminatory, and that the administration of the same was even more unfair.

In 1953, Mr. Dudley Senanayake and Mr. Nehru had very nearly resolved the question with a formula: Ceylon to accept 400,000 as citizens, 200,000 to be granted permanent resident permits and their cases to be reviewed at the end of 10 years, and the rest to be taken back by India. This formula had been torpedoed at the very last stages by interested parties. Unfortunately, the Nehru-Kotelawela agreement of 1954

failed to resolve the problem because both sides seem to have reservations of various kinds even when the agreement was signed. And the term "stateless" has played havoc.

Ceylon has now taken the position that all those who failed to qualify for citizenship automatically are "Indian citizens" but India though it regards them as "Indians" has re-iterated that they are not *ipso facto* Indian citizens until they take certain steps under the Indian Citizenship Act. The real problem today seems to be what would happen to the residuary number on the plantations after India takes back those who want to go back. If Ceylon can provide certain assurances on this score, it may be possible to end the deadlock, but the Ceylon government cannot give any assurances until it is certain of the number of the residuary "Indians" and until all major Sinhalese parties are agreed on the basic details.

That India is prepared to take back all who want to go back (immediately and over the years) is now very clear, but the problem seems to revolve around the question as what rights Ceylon would give the rest who remain behind and this would be largely determined by what is considered the absorbable maximum. This is a matter which the major national parties must determine if a solution is to be found.

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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, Sept. 9th to Sept. 15th.

### WEDNESDAY, September 9

The Daily News had a six column banner headline on the first page that the Health Minister, Badiuddin Mahmud, had made the "same point" in 23 speeches in his Northern tour that there should be a Tamil representative in the Cabinet to solve the minority problems. The Daily Mirror wondered whether it was MURDER OR SUICIDE? "....." was the victim of the third floor death fall, one of a deliberate push or a suicide plunge? The Times reported that the Additional Colombo Magistrate had held that death of Madaviya, the Maradana "Chandiya, while in Police custody was a case of homicide. The paper also reported that the City Coroner had held that the man who jumped from the fifth floor of the Times building had committed suicide. The Observer made much ado of the fact a senior Superintendent of Police Mr. F. N. Jilla, had written to the Prime Minister that the Inspector General of Police was "victimising" him. A report from Trivandram (Kerala, India) stated that the Congress Government headed by Shanker fell yesterday when it was defeated on an opposition vote of no confidence. A Reuter despatch from Singapore stated that the racial riots were continuing and that the death toll was now 13, (the injured over 90 and the number in jails over 750).

### THURSDAY, September 10

The Daily News had another "scoop:" the draft of the amended Press Bill which was discussed by the Cabinet last night. The Daily Mirror also had this same scoop (by the grace of Lake House), but its frontpage sensation was that there was serious conflict between the SLFP and the LSSP regarding certain nominations for the next elections. The Times also concentrated on the new amended draft Press Council Bill and also stated that the Cabinet had decided to nationalise the port of Galle (the Daily News also had this Cabinet leak). The Observer reported that Mr. N. Q. Dias' explanation regarding his action over the last Poya Day had been "accepted" by government (meaning thereby

that Dr. N. M. Perera's outburst was of little avail). Reports from the United Nations (New York) stated that Malaysia's dramatic attempt at the Security Council meeting to brand Indonesia "aggressor" for dropping a few paratroopers in Johore was countered by the Indonesian delegation's plea that it was done as reprisal for British paratroop and guerilla dropping inside Indonesian territory. In Alexandria, in Egypt, Arab kings and heads of states yesterday unanimously agreed on defence measures in regard to exploitation of the Jordan river and its tributaries as a counter to the Israel plan for diverting the river from near the sea of Gallilee to irrigate desert land in its territory.

### FRIDAY, September 11

The Daily News printed on its firstpage a statement in the Samasamajist that the "truth in full measure" would be told by the LSSP regarding the Giridara Mill affair and Dr. N.M. Perera. The Daily Mirror stressed that a three-man Committee had been appointed (Messrs. D C.R. Gunawardera M. S. Alif, and E. R. S. R. Coomaraswamy) to examine the position of those who are citizens by descent and who find difficulty in establishing such citizenship. The Times had a frontpage inspired "leak" attributed to "External Affairs Ministry sources" that Ceylon would demand that India should take back 700,000 of the "stateless" to India. The Observer announced that the Indian Minister of External Affairs, Mr. Swaran Singh, would discuss the question of the US base in the Indian Ocean in the course of his discussions here this weekend. From Addis Ababa came the news that the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) had appointed a nine member Peace Commission, headed by Jomo Kenyatta, to examine the problems in the Congo.

### SATURDAY, September 12

The Daily News had a frontpage splash that at the Tokyo meeting of the World Bank, the President, Mr. George Woods, had declared categorically that under no circumstances would the Bank provide accommodation to Indonesia, Ceylon and the UAR because these countries had "expropriated" foreign property without "compensation within a reasonable length of time." The paper also published the full text of Mr. N.Q. Dias' statement at the Buddhist Association meeting in which he

invoked the Triple Gem on Dr. N.M. Perera for the harsh words he had used against him and set out his reasons for his action on the last Poya Day. The Daily Mirror announced that the UNP would "invade" the North and East with a campaign of public meetings. The Times announced that Ceylon would send a team to Peking "for aid" in view of the World Bank's refusal to give any more accommodation to Ceylon. The Observer declared that the Prime Minister would be "firm" on the Indian issue and that she would insist that there was no question of a "stateless category". A report from Moscow stated that the Indian President, Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, was accorded a ceremonial welcome when he arrived in the USSR on a nine-day state visit yesterday.

### SUNDAY, September 13

The Sunday Observer made a frontpage splash of Ceylon's suggestion that the Indian Ocean should be made a nuclear-free zone. It was reported that this was raised during the Prime Minister's talks with Mr. Swaran Singh. The Observer continued its campaign against the Press Council by elevating a speech made at a meeting in Kurunegala to frontpage prominence simply because a monk had stated that the attempt to curb the monopoly press was a "master plan to destroy democracy". The Sunday Times reported that there had been a "free exchange of views" between the Prime Minister and Mr. Swaran Singh during their talks yesterday. A Reuter flash from Saigon stated that there had been another "coup" in South Vietnam when General Phat had seized power in a bloodless putsch. No further news was available as to whether the new "government" had stabilised itself.

### MONDAY, September 14

The Daily News gave full coverage to the press conference held by Mr. Swaran Singh yesterday. The paper also reported that the Government was planning to take measures to organise an islandwide campaign against kassippu. The Daily Mirror stated that the Prime Minister's daughter would leave on Saturday to join Oxford University: and that her education would not involve foreign exchange as relations abroad were providing the money. The Times reported that Mr. Philip Gunewardena had stated in Galle that although the capitalist newspaper groups like the Times and Lake House had always opposed him, he would do his utmost to oppose the Government's attempts to muzzle the press. The Observer reported that Mr. Anil Moonesinghe had announced at a meeting in Matara that from October poya Days would be holidays and that there would also be a 45-hour week. News reports from Saigon indicated that yesterday's coup by General Phat had been crushed a few hours

after it was started mainly through the Air Force units backing General Khanh. The Air Force chief had threatened to bomb the rebels out of existence if they did not surrender. A report from the United Nations stated that it had no intention of paying for the United Nations operations in the Middle East or in the Congo. From Kuala Lumpur came the news that fears of an open war with Indonesia was growing because British and American newspapers had hinted that Britain was considering striking at Indonesian military bases.

### TUESDAY, September 15

The Daily News reported that the official's talks on the Indo-Ceylon problem which began yesterday and which was to have concluded today had been extended by a day: that though there was a "deadlock on the question of the "stateless", a beginning was made on a discussion on a quota plan to resolve the difficulty. The Daily Mirror pointed out on its

frontpage there was as yet "no law" to stop the Turf Club from holding race meetings because no legislation had been enacted banning horse racing in Ceylon. The Observer said in its main lead that Mr. Leslie Goonewardene who is in Moscow will be operated there to remove a tumour in the kidney. It also reported that the Government made a spot allocation of an extra Rs. 11 million over the weekend for the imports of motor spares and accessories alone. India has offered to gift Ceylon a thousand high bred buffaloes. The Times splashed that the special Flying Squad investigating allegations of bribery and corruption has so far cracked down on six government departments and that the reports on these raids are being prepared and will be submitted to the Prime Minister and the Minister of Finance shortly. The reorganisation of the Federal Party will be the main item for discussion at a meeting of the Working Committee scheduled to be held in Colombo on Sunday.

# Secret Peking Conference

RANGOON, September 8

A major topic of discussion among all leftwing political circles here is about the growing isolation of the Burmese Communists from the mainstream of the international Communist movement not only because of Gen Ne Win's policy of recognising one broad socialist front but also because of the deep-rooted divisions among the Communist themselves. There are several "Communist parties" and groups here, and the conflicts arising from the ideological differences between Moscow and Peking cut across all groups. There is, however, no single Communist "party", though various individuals and factions are said to agree or disagree with Khrushchev or Mao, generally or in regard to particular matters.

This general confusion was brought home by the fact that at the recent secret Conference in Peking of different pro-Mao Communist parties, no Burmese party participated. It is known that representatives of the Communist parties of China, Indonesia, Korea, North Vietnam, New Zealand, Albania and also Peking supporters from Belgium and Australia attended this meeting at the Chinese capital about which only tight-lip whispers have begun to circulate in top pro-left circles here. It is said that Mao Tse-tung personally attended this Conference and emphasised the need to set up a "Communist International" to implement the "revolutionary ideology" now emanating from Peking.

It is reported that Mao and his colleagues are somewhat disconcerted that the overwhelming majority of the Communist parties in the world support Moscow and that they have agreed to Khrushchev's suggestion that

a new meeting of the international Communist movement should take place in Moscow shortly. The latest secret Conference in Peking failed to find an answer as to what should be done immediately to stem this Russian initiative, and it is said there would be a further exchange of views at an enlarged forum during the October 1, (1964) celebrations in Peking to commemorate the Chinese Revolution.

Whether any Communist party or group from Burma would participate, officially or even unofficially at the further secret Conference in Peking in the first week of October is not known. Although the impact of China is great on Burma, it is yet problematic whether the Ne Win Government would want to allow open participation of the Burmese Communists or even the Socialists in the fratricidal cold war that has now caused tremendous harm and confusion in the international left movement.

Tribune Correspondent



# After Ranger, What?

Throughout Ranger's 68 hours 30 minutes flight, the spacecraft was in communication with the earth, sometimes through the Goldstone Station, and at other times through similar dish-type antennas near Johannesburg, South Africa, and in the Australian desert at Woomera north of Adelaide. These stations constitute the "deep space instrumentation facility" of the U. S. space effort. They have the ability to track spacecraft out to the edge of the solar system, 4,000 million miles away.

The stations are spotted around the world roughly 120-degrees apart. This ensures that no matter what area in space may be of interest, at least one antenna will always have it in sight as the earth spins on its axis once each day.

## Worked Perfectly

The communications link from Ranger was a high-pitched, whining signal, quite unintelligible to human ears, but crystal clear to the radio receivers and computers on earth. When the time came for picture reception, Goldstone was the deep-space antenna which had the moon in view. This was no happenstance; the flight had been timed that way at Cape Kennedy nearly three days earlier.

Two substantially identical "Dishes" at Goldstone were zeroed in on Ranger as its television cameras went into operation. Complete duplication of reception and recording equipment was ordered so that if anything happened to the ground apparatus, none of the priceless Ranger records would be lost. As it turned out, all the equipment worked out perfectly.

The signals from Ranger were recorded in a number of ways. They were played on to magnetic tapes for later playback and reconstitution into pictures. They were played through Cathode-ray (television) tubes on to a 35-millimeter camera film which could later be developed and printed. And from time to time "quick look" pictures were made by the Polaroid "instant" methods, using a Polaroid camera hooked up to a television scanning device. The first polaroids from Ranger were actually being examined by scientists at Goldstone before the spacecraft even hit the moon.

A panel of astronomers and geologists, headed by the renowned Gerard Kuiper, set to work examining the Ranger pictures as soon as they became available at Pasadena. About 22 hours later, around 9 o'clock in the evening of July 31, Pacific Time they were ready to give the world a preliminary report and a look at the evidence.

Dr. Kuiper, Professor of Astronomy at the University

of Arizona, is a leading authority on the moon and planets. He discovered satellites of the planets Uranus and Neptune and made the first accurate measurements of the planet Pluto.

Kuiper, a cautious scientist whose caution has lent weight to his words in international scientific councils, made no effort to hide his elation and enthusiasm. "This is a great day for science and this is a great day for the United States," he said. "What has been achieved today is truly remarkable. We have made progress in resolution of lunar detail not by a factor of 20, nor by a factor of 100 (which would have been very remarkable), but by a factor of a thousand."

Later Kuiper was to revise his assessment of Ranger's performance upward, stating that the pictures were 2,000 times more detailed than any ever obtained before. He told the United States Congress at a special briefing on August 5: "I have looked at nearly all these (4,316) pictures. The impact on me as a professional is unparalleled. We have here television pictures, but they look like photographs. Every one of these 4,316 photographs is in focus."

Close examination of the last picture transmitted before impact revealed craters as 40 centimeters (16 inches) across, and probably no more than 25 centimeters (10 inches)

deep. Study of these little pock-marks tells scientists a lot about what the moon's surface is like. In general, the news is good.

## Safe Place

The Maria, or so-called "seas" of the waterless, airless moon apparently are safe places for astronauts to land, although even on the Maria there are danger spots. Sharpness of the tiny craters seen in the final close-up dispels any fear of deep, quicksand-like drifts of dust, however. Dr. Kuiper and an associate in the Ranger experiment, Geologist Eugene Shoemaker, are both certain that the lunar surface where Ranger landed is firm and would be safe for astronauts to walk on. Kuiper has said walking there would probably be like walking on crusty snow.

Immediately after the Ranger flight, 10 pictures — selected by Kuiper and Shoemaker and others as representatives of what the spacecraft had seen — were made public. Six were made by the same camera, F-A, and show progressively more detailed views of the landing area from 480 miles altitude down to three miles.

by

**William Hines**

(Science Editor, Washington Star)

At 480 miles, the scene is not unlike familiar moon pictures taken through telescopes on earth. The terrain is generally flat and some old, worn-looking craters of considerable size, and some smaller craters down to a few miles in diameter. Part of the Mare Nubium (Sea of Clouds) is covered with a whitish, powdery-appearing substance. All this has been seen before by astronomers.

The next picture in the F-A series, taken at 235 miles altitude, shows for the first time details that have never been seen before. This picture gives the first bit of solid evidence to back up a theory held by Shoemaker and others, that two types of craters exist in the moon. These are called "primaries," made by high-speed impact of meteors from outer space, and "secondaries," caused by debris thrown up from primary impacts.

Difference in speed of collision accounts for the difference in crater types, according to theory. The primaries are caused by impacts at a velocity around 15 miles a second; the secondaries are made at speeds of only half a mile a second or so.

At 85 miles, in the third F-A picture, the difference in

This is the concluding part of the article on Ranger VII's performance during its flight lasting sixty eight and a half hours. Now after Ranger, What? William Hines, Science Editor of the Washington Star says that there will come a number of moon shots in the Surveyor and Orbiter Series, which will land gently on the moon with TV Cameras capable of functioning for a month after landing. They will also contain implements which will keep track on important lunar factors, and, what is more is that each spacecraft will contain a small automatic soil analyses laboratory that will dig its probe into the surface of the moon and radio its findings back to earth. We publish this article with acknowledgements to the United States Information Service.

crater types is apparent even to the untrained eye. Some craters (the primaries) are sharply defined, rather deep homes in the surface, with clearcut edges and lips that rise above the surrounding terrain. Others (the secondaries) are shallower, with less defined lips, and with more irregular shapes.

A cluster of craters in the middle of the 85-mile picture proves on examination in the next 34 mile photograph to be a group of secondaries. Traced back though the 235 mile picture to the one made at 480 miles, this same area looks like a sprinkling of whitish powder. This is a part of the otherwise generally level and hospitable "sea" that would be "poison" (Kuiper's word) if selected as a landing place for astronauts.

It is Kuiper's belief that these secondaries are a barrage of debris thrown 200 miles across the lunar landscape at the time the crater Copernicus was created by a massive meteor impact. Copernicus, 56 miles across from rim to rim is one of the largest features of its kind on the moon.

The dangerous area in the 85-mile and 34-mile pictures is clearly the exception rather than the rule, as far as Maria are concerned. Most of the territory covered by the F-A picture series would be safe for landing with the type of craft being built for the Apollo moon mission. This craft will have a certain amount of side-to-side maneuverability, and the Ranger pictures suggest that (at least on the Maria) the astronauts will never be more than a couple of miles from a safe place to land.

There seem to be no unexpected fissures or canyons on the surface of the Maria-not even the sort of small cracks that appear on mud flats of the

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# Sadistic Enjoyment by Police & Army

On 30th June, 1955, I received a letter from the Permanent Secretary that the I.G.P., the Excise Commissioner and Ministry officials would be discussing shortly the question of illicit cultivation of ganja and asking me whether I had any observations to make on the existing legislation on the subject and whether I suggested any change in the present administrative set-up for dealing with this problem. I sent up a comprehensive report. *Inter alia* I stated that "the cultivation of ganja in the jungles of Badulla and Batticaloa Districts was a "lucrative" occupation for the people of these remote, poverty-stricken and backward areas where the chena as a form of occupation was only a guarantee of a bare and precarious subsistence. Though thereby the thin end of the wedge of 'civilisation' has been introduced into the 'wanni', its inhabitants were by no means advanced by any material or cultural standards."

I found that after my report the Ministry representative whether by design or accident did not attend the subsequent meeting of the Central Board. This subsequent meeting on 13th December was conducted without even a written record of the proceedings and "all present made their own notes for security reasons." Nevertheless the Times of Ceylon gave front page headlines on 16-12-55 that a combined operation of Army and Police would scour Uva and Eastern Province jungles the following day to destroy ganja cultivations in the country and to make the news item more spectacular published a picture of a freshly plucked ganja plant which the Times photographer found "at a taxi stand in York Street, Colombo."

## Fortuitous

How the Times got access to this secret conference and how it was able to get a fresh ganja plant in York Street, Fort, as well as the statistics of Police and Excise detections are far too fortuitous for anyone to believe—except that a secret agency had concocted this photograph and supplied this news item.

The entire operation is teeming with fortuitous circumstances which leads to the conclusion that the planning was done to exaggerate the situation, build up a sense of urgency, cloak it in meaningless secrecy and create an atmosphere of great tension as would necessitate an immediate reconsideration of Excise policy. It would be necessary to enumerate these circumstances in order to clinch my argument.

The Police at Hambantota had made several ganja detections, some exaggerated in grains. Sub-Inspector Liyanage had done spectacular work and in one of these expeditions he had gone with Excise

Inspectors into the jungles and detected ganja plants though there were no accused. Several chenas were also located in helicopter surveys.

The thing that clinched the need to go to Hambegamuwa was secret information supplied by three villagers to the I.G.P. against the V.H. of Hambegamuwa. It was also alleged that unlicensed guns belonging to the Village Headman were given to persons who guarded the ganja chenas. This was on December 17th 1955. Arrangements were made with such secrecy by the personnel that even the Government Agent of Badulla, Mr. Jayanetti, was not informed about it.

Nevertheless the same informants contacted my officers at Badulla and took them to the very chenas where the Army and Police were to arrive for their great Operation. Mr. Emmanuel, the Chief Preventive Officer led the E.S.F. raid and Guard 'Washington' was also in the raiding party. Two plantations were detected with the accused and in one the accused was found in possession of the Village Headman's gun. This raid was on January 9th, 1956. When Mr. Emmanuel returned to Hambegamuwa to fetch a bailman for the accused he was confronted by the Army and Police who had already pitched their tents there. In the words of the learned Commissioner "The material placed before me does not in the least show that the E.S.F. at Badulla had designed a scheme either to compete with Force "P" in the detection or in any manner to render nugatory the very praise-worthy plan of the Force "P" that was going to be put into effect."

## Catholic Action

I feel that the learned Commissioner could not have at that time seen the ignominious

part played by the Catholic Action ridden Army and Police—two units which were shown to be thoroughly anti-national and subversive. If he had more material before him he would have seen that the timing of Emmanuel's raid, the latter's securing employment in Malaya, the finding of accused inside chenas and also of a gun said to be the Headman's, the so-called secrecy behind the operation were meant to show up a case for bringing the E.S.F. under the Excise Department to satisfy the clamour of powerful vested interests.

by

C. Rajasingham

The Army and Police were not there to detect ganja but to show up the E.S.F. for which Mr. Emmanuel was prepared to compromise because he was certain of getting a more lucrative employment outside Ceylon and to allow me and the Government Agent indirectly to face the charges which newspaper agitation and Excise underworld propaganda would have brought against us. The whole thing was pre-arranged for it brought in the V.H. and D.R.OO too with stories of unlicensed guns and ganja chenas with ready made accused persons and nicely exempting the closest Police Stations—Wellawaya, Hambantota, Haputale, Bandarawela and Badulla with their large and superfluous staff and equipment.

But the plan failed due to Army and Police excesses following excessive inbibation of liquor. They wanted to strike newspaper headlines by terrorising the countryside and showing ganja in every bush. The Government Agent was compelled to carry out on-the-spot investigation independently spending more than three days at Hambegamuwa. His report was a complete indictment of the Police cum Army operation more so because as head of the Administrative District he was also an Additional Superintendent of Police. He has stated "If this combined operation is supposed to be some sort of training then in my humble opinion it has failed. If it was an operation to instil terror into the people then I feel that the operation has been successful". He has further stated "People in these areas unfortunately are a peace-loving people if they

OPERATION GANJA, which was the result of the ignominious part played by the Catholic Action ridden Police and Military, was undertaken not to rid the country of ganja plantations, but to give vent to their sadistic enjoyment of inflicting cruelty and for terrorising the innocent and poverty stricken village folk of Hambegamuwa. In this instalment the writer, who is a retired Senior Divisional Preventive Officer of the Excise Striking Force, writes on the circumstances that led to OPERATION GANJA which will always remain a blot on the Police and the Military.

had only one leader I would not have been surprised if the villagers themselves had taken the law into their own hands and murdered some of the Military and Police."

Operation Ganja no doubt had its retribution for it killed a reactionary and corrupt Government though the Army cum Police sadists who pulled out a poor Juwanis' eye, or treated a Headman with inhuman brutality also had immediate retributive punishment. I am one with the village folk of these exploited, poverty-stricken areas that nothing evil should be done in 'Kataragama Mandalaya' for punishment follows sooner than expected. Reading through the Operation Ganja Commission Report one can see how all these evil-minded men of Force 'P' came by their doom even before they left their place of operation. They came there for sadistic enjoyment and liquor bouts and not to uproot the Island's plantations of ganja.

It is by rehabilitating the people through a constructive economic and social programme that ganja or liquor will cease to have a place in our country. The society of that urbanised money-grabbing community which supplied the man-power of our public service, the Army and Police can never be depended upon to make society whole to give our people a mission and hope for the future.

## Cost

Finally one may ask what has been the cost to the country of Operation Ganja. One helicopter had been damaged and removed in parts while the other was damaged and subsequently repaired. No action appears to have been taken on the Report of the Commission of Inquiry. It began sittings on October 8, 1956 and completed same in April 1957. The Report, a voluminous one of 246 pages was presented to the Governor-General on July 17, 1957.

Here is an extract of the proceedings of a secret conference held at Police Headquarters on 13th June, 1958. "Item No. 10. D.I.G. Range Two asked officers to have no fear about Commissions into police actions. He reminded officers of the Commission of Inquiry in connection with Operation Ganja and inquired whether the Department took any steps against the Police officers involved? On the contrary, he said that Inspector Liyanage had got his due promotion and was even handsomely rewarded for his good work. The I.G. also said that several times he had been

asked as what action he was taking against the Police officers involved in Operation Ganja, now that the report was out, and he had always replied that he was looking into the matter whereas, in actual fact, he had not done so yet in the interest of morale at this crucial period.

D.I.G. Range Two said that if anyone's uniform was to be taken out, the uniforms of the senior officers at H.Q. would first have to be taken out."

By a strange irony of fate that is what has happened since.

(To be continued)

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# The Prince, The Knight & Sita Seneviratne

J. W. Maduwanwella who was known, as a result of an incident with certain Princes from Europe, as the Black Prince died in the year 1928.

Almost the last doctor to see him when he was on his death bed was Dr. R. L. Spittel. This was his one and only visit to Maduwanwella Walauva. Dr. Spittel was struck by the immense wealth of this gentleman. In his book "Far Off Things" he says: "There were heirlooms there that would have made the eyes of the collector sparkle with envy, the most valuable part of it being loot from the last king of Kandy the Tamil tyrant Sri Wickrema Raja Singhe whom Maduwanwella's maternal uncle Eknelligoda helped the British to capture—"There was the King's silver plates, cups and saucers and gold betel box: an alexandrite pendant, the size of a halved hen egg so conspicuous a feature of the last Kandyan Queen and the staff of Ehelapola Adigar—"

He further describes the late Maduwanwella Dissawe as "a possessor of 82,000 acres on which dwelt 30,000 tenants. Almost a province was his—by right of Thamba and Olanannas bearing royal signatures handed down by his ancestors". "The manner in which a single person came by such vast acreages is of interest. The Nindagama of Panamura consisting of 54,000 acres in extent was gifted to Maduwanwella's great grandfather by Rajasingha II. "The Nindagama of Maduwanwella 28,000 acres in extent was a gift to his ancestor from Sri Wickrema Raja Singhe the last king of Kandy—"

## Solitary Visit

This is the account Dr. R. L. Spittel from information he had gathered on a single solitary visit to his patient. A few days later Maduwanwella R. M. died.

He left a last will whereby he appointed Sir Francis Molamure his nephew as executor and while reserving life interests in his estate to his widow and his daughter the entirety of his property was divided among certain persons including an undivided 1/2 share of his immovable estate to Sir Francis Molamure his nephew together with all the movable property furniture jewellery etc. Sir Francis Molamure proved this will in D.C. Ratnapura No. 971 (Testamentary). In or about 1933 Sir Francis fell on evil days and he was compelled to take an enforced holiday. The Probate issued to him was withdrawn. Miss Maduwanwella thereafter issued letters of Administration with a copy of the Will annexed. The life interest in the estate being vested in the widow and the daughter no other person was able to get any portion of the income of this vast estate.

In 1947 the U.S.P. came into power with Sir Francis Molamure as Mr. Speaker. By 1950 the widow of the late Maduwanwella was dead and then a very strange thing happened. The A.S.P. at Ratnapura star-

ted moving, and an application was filed in Court to have Miss Maduwanwella certified as a "lunatic." Whether this action on the part of the Police was inspired or not is now a matter of guess work but one thing is certain that Sir Francis now having rehabilitated himself could certainly have claimed the re-issue of probate to himself and regained absolute charge and control of nearly 86,000 acres of land and the income therefrom. Fortunately

Our ROVING INVESTIGATOR has unearthed what might turn out to be a case history of sensational potentialities throwing revealing light on the whole administration of law and justice in this country. It involves three spectacular personalities from succeeding historical epochs. The fabulous J. W. Maduwanwella Dissawe, also known as the BLACK PRINCE, was a feudal aristocrat who was born a century too late, but nevertheless he left his footprints on the shifting sands of one phase of British colonial rule in Ceylon. His nephew, Sir Francis Molamure, the KNIGHT GALLANT, whose unquestioned prowess with women is part of the folk-lore of Sri Lanka in the epoch of the Senanayakes and Kotelawelas, flashed through the political firmament of his day with all the glory of a shooting star that fades too soon. And, finally, (Mrs) SITA SENEVIRATNE anxious to sustain the might of the part fading radala aristocracy of Kandyan vintage in the depressing days of U. N. P's democratic Finalism, talks mightily of REVOLUTION when Bolshevoils have succumbed to the magic of parliamentary democracy.

These three persons have one common link in the vast estate (86,000 acres) and fortune of the Maduwanwellas inherited by the BLACK PRINCE. This article only briefly tells the story of the efforts of the BLACK PRINCE to dispose of his property through a last will and pertument, and the GALLANT KNIGHT and Sita Seneviratne have become involved in it in a way that should interest jurists and students of history

BY

## Our Roving Investigator

there was an independent and strong District Judge and he after hearing the evidence dismissed the application and pronounced Miss Maduwanwella well and sane. Later this same Miss Maduwanwella was appointed Administratrix.

Sir Francis Molamure died in or about 1950. He left a Last Will which was proved in D.C. Colombo No. 14470 Testy. He appointed Mr. A.B. Karaliadde an Executor of his Last Will and Probate was issued to him. In the meanwhile it was brought to the notice of the Court that certain valuables consisting of jewellery were spirited between Sir Francis' death and his funeral. The assistance of the Police was sought. The wife of an ex-permanent secretary eventually produced some items of jewellery with the explanation that she had removed these items of jewellery with the intention of keeping them in "safe custody".

The Court then ordered the deeds and the jewellery to be kept in vaults of the Bank also for the purpose or safe custody.

## Anybody's Guess

In 1961 Mr. Karaliadde decided to renounce his pro-

bate. Whether he was pressurised into doing so or not is anybody's guess, but the fact is that he made certain claims or account of expenditure incurred by him during his tenure of office. This claim was vehemently opposed and Mr. Karaliadde decided it wiser to renounce these claims as well, and on 11th May, 1962 he was relieved of his duties as Executor.

Since that day nobody has taken an interest in this Testamentary Case. There is no Administrator appointed. Lady Molamure the widow of the deceased really had no interest in the estate of Sir Francis. She was left only with a pair of carved Rosewood settees, but what about Mrs. Sita Seneviratne who was given a quarter share of the estate. It is true that another Low Country Sinhalese was also a co-heir under the Last Will of Sir Francis. Can it be that Mrs. Sita Seneviratne whose ancestors "had walked with kings" and consequently lost the common touch objects to sharing the heritage of a aristocrat with a humble Low Country lady. Three years have elapsed and the only daughter and child of Sir Francis Molamure has taken no steps to wind up the

affairs of "good old Sir Francis now dead and gone" for the last 15 years.

On the other hand Mrs. Sita Seneviratne has been busy at Ratnapura in the vast estate of "The Black Prince" consisting of according to Dr. Spittel 86,000 acres. She has got herself added as a party to that case but through an oversight she has forgotten to inform the District Court of Ratnapura that in terms of the Last Will of Sir Francis there were two other heirs whose claims to that were possibly as good as her own. She has been challenging the right of Miss Maduwanwella to draw certain monies from Court. She has appealed to Honourable the Supreme Court against the order of the District judge permitting Miss Maduwanwella to draw these monies. While this appeal is pending, Miss Maduwanwella, the Respondent and Administratrix died in 1963.

The record of the case was not sent to the Supreme Court till March 1964. Mrs. Seneviratne, the Appellant, did not inform the District Court of Ratnapura nor the Registrar of the Supreme Court that the Respondent to

the Appeal was dead. The Appellant is represented by a Proctor both in the Supreme Court and the District Court. Proctors are officers of Court and it is most surprising that in this particular instance even the Proctor did not bring this relevant information to the knowledge of the Court. The question is, are these tactics deliberate and are they calculated to delay the closing of these cases. It is interesting to ascertain who is in possession of this vast estate and who is appropriating the income while the appeal continues to be nobody's business.

## No Administrators

It is fortunate that the Supreme Court has powers under the Court Ordinance to inspect any record of any case and prevent unscrupulous litigants making an ass of the law. The Molamure Testamentary Case is now about 15 years old. The Maduwanwella Testamentary Case is at least 30 years old. In both cases there are no Administrators.

Mrs. Sita Seneviratne a protagonist in both cases is at the moment too pre-occupied like a twentieth century Don Quixote tilting at Windmills preaching Revolution in the country in the most unlikely event of there being no General Election next year.

There seems to be much justification for the view held in many quarters that Mrs. Sita Seneviratne should leave the country's imaginary problems alone for the moment and produce a revolution by taking steps to close these two testamentary cases which have languished for these many years for the lack of her tender attention.

Read

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news



# New Trends in China

by ARIEL

COMMENT...

## \* THIRTY DOCTORS

\* **MEDICAL LOBBY TUSSLE.** At a time when Ceylon is experiencing a serious dearth of trained medical personnel to man the country's hospitals, it is indeed tragic that the Ceylon Medical Association and the University of Ceylon should engage in a tussle with the Ministry of Health over the recognition of medical degrees obtained by some thirty odd Ceylonese students who have qualified as full fledged doctors in the Soviet Union and some Eastern European countries. These students, who are due to return to the island towards the end of the year, face the spectre of unemployment if their degrees are not recognised. While the Minister of Health wants the Ceylon Medical Association and the Medical Faculty of the University of Ceylon to recognise their degrees and appoint them as doctors on a par with those who have qualified in the United Kingdom, they are opposed to it on the ground that these doctors have followed their course in foreign languages and that they would be at a disadvantage since they are not used to the standard types of equipment obtained from the United Kingdom with which surgeons here are familiar with and, therefore, it would not be possible for the Medical Council to underwrite their degrees. The Medical Association insists that if their degrees are to be recognised they should submit themselves to an examination to be held by the Medical Council. But very correctly the Prime Minister has ruled against this stipulation on the ground that an examination would be an affront to the countries which have offered scholarships and foreign aid to the Government of Ceylon for training Ceylonese students as doctors. Whatever the reasons adduced by the Medical Association, they are as frivolous as they are puerile. Particularly at a time when the country can ill afford to lose the services of even a single qualified doctor, it is indeed criminal that the Medical Association should raise such flimsy arguments to shut out these doctors who have been trained by the donor countries at great expense. To a person with an open mind it is indeed difficult to understand what useful purpose will be served by insisting that these doctors submit themselves to an examination. These doctors, it should be remembered, and it may be safely assumed have a reasonably good education in English in that they received their higher education in it before they proceeded for training to the Soviet Union and other Eastern European countries. It is indeed clearly to their advantage that they have received their training in foreign languages which will now enable them to read foreign medical journals and keep abreast with the latest medical advances in the countries they have been trained. Though some years ago medical equipment in the manufacturing countries was somewhat dissimilar, in recent times, however, the trend has been towards standardisation. In any case, whether the medical mudalalis like it or not, there is every reason to believe that in times to come the Ceylon Government will be importing the latest and up-to-date medical equipment from as many countries as possible, regardless of their political systems and ideologies, provided it compares favourably with those obtained from the United Kingdom in quality and price. This trend is already discernible because since the advent to power of the first SLFP Government of the late Mr. S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, who followed an open door policy in the matter of trade, the country has since been importing machinery and equipment from countries regardless of their political systems and ideologies if they compared favourably with the United Kingdom in quality and price. Be that as it may, since the end of World War Two medical science, particularly in the Soviet Union, has made tremendous progress, as in the other branches of science, and indeed outstripped the Western world so much so that Western medical scientists have now begun to take serious note of the Soviet medical sciences. While science knows no artificial and man made barriers and frontiers and differing political systems, indeed it transcends them all, here in our country the medical lobby, which consists of a hard core of vultures and super mudalalis, is not only opposed to anything and everything that emanates from the Soviet Union and the Socialist countries, but also wants to keep the medical profession as understaffed as possible so that medicare will continue to be as expensive as before in order to enable the Western trained doctors and specialists to fleece patients to their heart's content. The bane of the country's medical system has been that the successive Governments, which have been in power since independence have yielded far too much to the pressure tactics of the Medical Lobby. It is gratifying, however, that the Prime Minister and the Minister of Health have stood their ground and refused to be brow beaten by it. They should insist that the medical degrees of the thirty odd Ceylonese doctors who have qualified in the Soviet Union and other Eastern European countries should be recognised without any condition whatever and placed on a par with those who have qualified in the United Kingdom.

The international Communist movement continues to receive the shocks every government and ideology has been subject to in the contemporaneous upheaval in thought and action which is today going on a global, national and parochial scale.

The full text of Palmiro Togliatti's memorandum, (written just before his death), which has been published in Rome as well as in Moscow, is not yet available for critical comment, but there is no doubt that the ferment which was started by Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin's bureaucratic tyranny in 1956 has not yet fully effected the necessary transformation in the USSR and other Eastern European countries.

### New Light

In the meantime, a recent interview which was given by Mao Tse-tung in Peking to a group of rightwing Japanese Socialists has thrown new light on Mao's thinking and logic.

It is reported that Mao Tse-tung began his talk with statements about the so-called intermediate zone. This theory had come into being as early as 1946. In its original form it boiled down to the following: the Chinese leaders divided the whole world into three parts or zones. The first—American imperialism, the USA. The second—the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The third zone, as if lying between them (hence—intermediate),—mainly the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Now Mao Tse-tung is introducing a correction into this "theory". He had declared that the USSR "entered into a complot with the United States to struggle for world domination," he actually combines the two main zones into one. This scheme leaves him with two zones: "Soviet-American" and the so-called "intermediate" which actually includes China as well. The division of the world into two opposing social systems, recognised by all Marxists, thus disappears.

According to the Chinese theoreticians, the intermediate zone represents revolution and progress. As regards the Soviet Union, they, according to this theory, "entered into a complot" in order to struggle for world domination. Hence the conclusion is drawn on the necessity of the struggle of the intermediate zone against American imperialism and, at the same go, against the Soviet Union.

Obviously the usual Marxist class approach does not satisfy the Peking theoreticians. They brush it aside completely. Their "intermediate zones" include on an equal footing both the countries fighting against imperialism, for their national independence and the imperialist states: both the working class, the working

tries and the ruling bourgeoisie. In other words, "horses and people all mixed up" as a poet said, thus Chairman Mao mixes together in the intermediate zone the exploiters and the exploited, the oppressors and the oppressed.

In the interview it was stated: "all the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America come out against imperialism. Europe, Canada and other countries also come out against imperialism." Not the working people of Europe and Canada alone, but the whole of Europe and the whole of Canada, including capitalist monopolies, the reactionary bourgeois parties, the French "ultras", the Bonn revanchists and the like.

Commenting on this a Marxist commentator states: "In accordance with the intermediate zone theory the course of events in the world is not determined by the struggle of antagonistic classes and opposing social systems but by the struggle of some powers and geographical regions against others. This theory actually ignores the nature of the social system of this or that country. Not only does it merely ignore the class approach but replaces it by a super-nationalistic approach prompted by the purposes of the great-power policy of the CPC leaders.

"Guided by such an approach, the Chinese leaders are playing their dangerous political game. Since they regard the socialist camp as an obstacle on the way to the realisation of their hegemonistic schemes with regard to the national-liberation movement, they are trying to cut off this movement from the world system of socialism. This is why they construct the first intermediate zone of the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, including China. Since the Chinese leaders looking for rich economic partners and potential allies in the international arena among the developed capitalist countries, they include nearly the whole capitalist world into the intermediate zone and issue it a mandate of a "fighter against imperialism."

"Besides, Chairman Mao now and then issues personal mandates to those imperialist countries with which Peking is flirting with particular zeal. It was but yesterday that Chinese propagandists referred to General de Gaulle as a 'fascist and a bandit'. But it was enough for him to hint at the possibility of a rapprochement with Peking and the General became one of the most active fighters against American imperialism. This is

not enough. The Chinese leaders clearly hint in a number of pronouncements that France may restore her influence in Asia.

"Examples of this kind are also found in the talk with the Japanese socialists. Japan is a developed country, Mao Tse-tung says, she may help us in many respects. In political respect we also must support each other. This invitation to co-operate is immediately substantiated by a mandate issued not to the country as a whole but to its ruling class. "The Japanese monopoly capital belongs to the second intermediate zone", Mao Tse-tung says "Even this capital is displeased with the USA, and some of its representatives openly come out against the United States. Although the monopoly capital of Japan now depends on the USA, time will pass and it will throw off the American yoke." Thus it follows that it will be not the Japanese people, not the working class who will throw off the yoke of their own and foreign oppressors, as the progressive representatives of the Japanese working people say, but the monopoly capital will throw off the yoke of its American counterpart.

"Thus the French and Japanese monopoly capitalists are classed with the anti-imperialists. And what will happen if tomorrow the United States' monopolies find it advantageous for themselves to revise their policy of non-recognition of the PRC and offer it economic co-operation? Will they also be issued a mandate of the fighters against imperialism? Will it then be necessary to include the United States into the intermediate zone too?" Such, in brief, are Mao's view on the current realities of the world situation.

### Territorial

Mao Tse-tung's pronouncements on the territorial question patently show how far the Chinese leaders have gone in the cold war against the world. He is not just claiming this or that part of Asian or Soviet territory but is portraying his claims as a part of some "general territorial question."

This programme did not appear today or yesterday. In 1954 a textbook on modern history was put out in the PRC with a map of China showing her as she was, in the opinion of its authors, before the first opium war. This map included into China, Burma, Vietnam, Korea, Thailand, Malaya, Nepal, Butan, Sikkim; in the North the border ran along the Stanvoi mountain range cutting the Far East territory from the USSR; in the West a part of Kirghizia, Tajikistan, Kazakhstan (up to Lake

continued on page 7



continued from page 6

Balkash) was also included into China. Sakhalin also was shown as Chinese territory. If one is to believe the textbook all these lands and countries were "state territory of China" and were taken away from her.

At that time it seemed that a publication of such a textbook was a result of oversight or the provocative activities of nationalistic elements. But the subsequent events refuted this conjecture. Maps showing various parts of the Soviet Union and other countries neighbouring with China as Chinese territory continued to be published in China.

Chinese representatives lately began mentioning with increasing frequency hundreds of thousands of square kilometres of Soviet territory which allegedly belong "by right" to China. The recent issue of the Peking magazine Lishi Yanchu (number four, 1964) contends that Russia allegedly has "captured vast lands to the North of the river Heilunzyan and to the East of the river Ussuri"..... "Russia has annexed at various times vast lands in Sinkiang and in the Northeast area."

Now Mao Tse-tung declared in his interview "About a hundred years ago the area to the East of Baikal became the territory of Russia and from then on Vladivotok, Khabarovsk, Kamchatka and other points are the territory of the Soviet Union. We have not yet called for an account on this roll!"

A Soviet commentator said: in this connection. "By what right, however, are the Chinese leaders claiming lands that did not belong to China? They refer to the fact that many hundreds of years ago Chinese troops came to these areas and that the Chinese Emperor collected tribute from the local people. Indeed, were not such a serious question involved such "historic arguments" could not be called otherwise than childish.

"The history of mankind is full of examples of the emergence and fall of states the resettlement of peoples during which the borders between states changed more than once. By resorting to the method of "historic reference" in the question of borders one can prove anything. For instance, one can prove that England is French territory because she was once the possession of a Duke of Normandy. One can prove, on the contrary, that France is an English possession because in our time, during the 100 - Year War she was nearly completely conquered by the English. With the help of such argument one can also prove that the borders of the PRC pass only along the line of the Great Wall of China which is less than 100 kilometres away from Peking. Indeed, the border of China did once pass there and the Wall itself is testimony of this.

"But even if one takes the references to 'historic rights' seriously it will come out that in this case they do not correspond in any way to facts. As is known, in the middle of the 17th century China's possessions reached only to the Hingan Mountain Range, that is considerably to the South of the river Amur. The territories to the north of Hingan were populated by local indigenous tribes (Evenks, Daur, etc.) who were subjected from time to time to raids by the Manchurians. There was no indigenous Manchurian and Chinese population in the Amur area. The process of the definition of actual borders took place with the development by Russia of the northern half of the Amur basin and of the southern part by China. More than a hundred years ago this state of the border was fixed in the Aigun and Peking treaties.

"No one is arguing: the Tsarist Government carried out a predatory policy just as the Chinese emperors carried out themselves to the extent of their abilities.

"At various times someone was stronger and took the upper hand over the others. This resulted in a certain change in the settlement of the peoples. But the working people did not think about any territorial gains. They worked on the land they had to live on, watering it with their sweat. One can only be amazed that there are people questioning the right of workers and peasants to the land where they are living and working from ancient times only on the grounds that once upon a time one emperor defeated another and then himself suffered defeat.

belonging to the Soviet Union of a territory of more than one and a half million square kilometres think of how these claims will be taken by the Soviet people who are living and working on this land for several generations and consider it their homeland, the land of their ancestors.

"That is why we say that the present border has developed historically and was fixed by life itself, and the treaties on the border are a basis which cannot be disregarded.

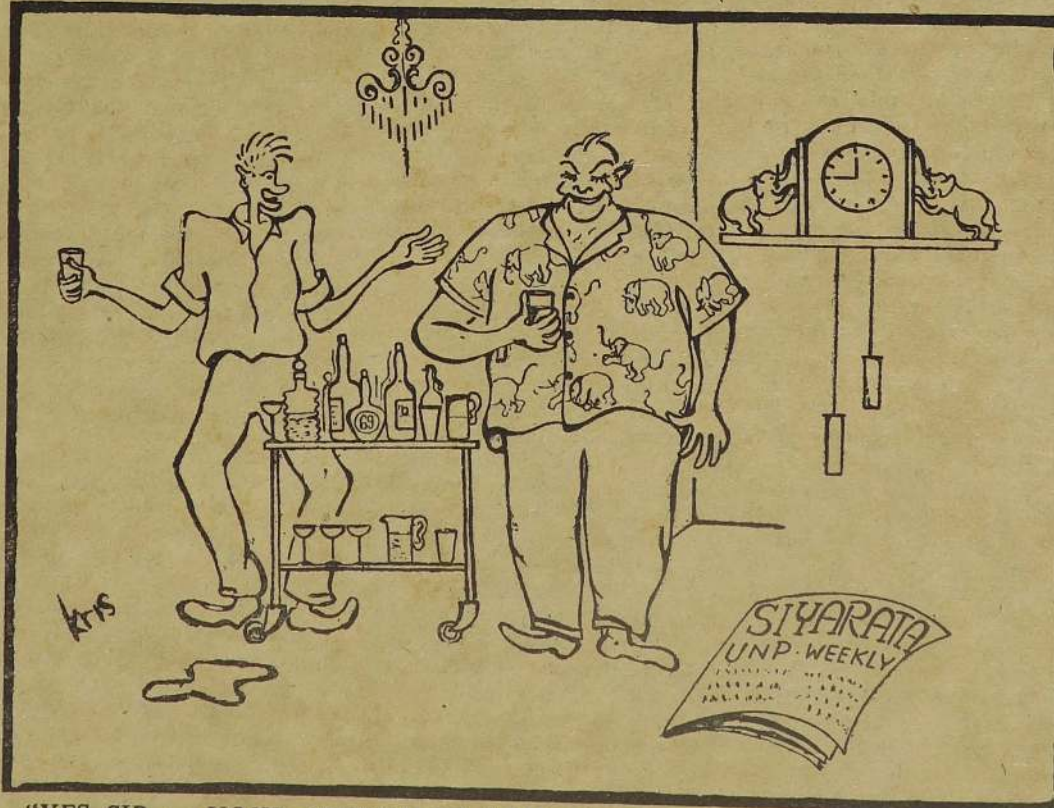
"The CPSU headed the struggle of the working class and toiling masses of Russia against Tsarism and routed it to the end. It is well known that in the very first years of its existence the Soviet Government liquidated all the unequal treaties with China. Continuing the Leninist policy, the Soviet Government gave up the naval base in Port Arthur and handed over free of charge to the PRC Government all its rights in the joint management of the Chinese-Changchun Railway with all the property belonging to the railway. Lenin wrathfully condemned the capture of Port Arthur by the Tsarist Government and the infiltration in Manchuria. But it was no other than Lenin who said..... Vladivostok is far away, but the town is ours.

"The Soviet Union is an absolutely new state formation which emerged as a result of a voluntary unification of Soviet republics created on the ruins of the Tsarist empire. And whereas the borders of Tsarist Russia were determined by the policy of imperialist invaders, the borders of the Soviet Union formed as a result of a voluntary statement of the will of the peoples on the basis of the principle of free self-determination of nations. The peoples who joined the Soviet Union will never allow anyone to encroach upon their destiny themselves."

To be continued next week  
Mao & Mongolia

Well Known

"Do those who question the



"YES SIR, — YOUR SPEECH ON TODDY AND TEMPERANCE WAS MOST CONVINCING"



★ LSSP Counter Attack

The LSSP launched its counter-attack on the campaign against the Finance Minister, Dr. N. M. Perera, with a powerful indictment of the character assassins in last week's issue of the Samasamajist. All the daily papers referred to this explanation, but the Daily News gave it the biggest frontpage publicity. The press campaign on the Giridara affair has slowed down considerably after this LSSP broadside.

For the record, it would, be interesting to quote in extenso the Daily News (11/9) report of what appeared in the Samasamajist.

"That the rice milling section of the Giridara Mills was leased out from the outset to Mr. N. R. Vitharana, nephew of Comrade N.M. (Perera), is also true, and since the entire business of rice milling, which is carried out in a completely separate section of the Giridara Mills, has also been conducted entirely by the lessee, the allegation, or rather the insinuation, that N. M. has broken the law concerning contracts with Government which are prohibited to members of Parliament, is entirely untrue and known to these character assassins to be untrue"

It further states that, 'the motley crew who have come together in this campaign of character assassination include not only the UNP and its notorious ally, the monopoly press, but also the lunatic fraternity constituted by the JVP..... a section of the MEP, the so-called ULF and of course, the dissident Sama Samajists whose self claimed revolutionariness has propelled them into the arms of capitalist imperialist reaction.'

"The Samasamajist states that the motion tabled in Parliament on 'this question will of course be met and pulverised on the floor of the House..... The facts will speak for themselves. That the Giridara Mills in the Dompe electorate, which is represented by Mr. Felix R. Dias Bandaranaike, M.P.; and Minister of Agriculture and Food was bought some time last year by Comrade N. M. is true. He has so stated in Parliament. That the Giridara Mills has a section which does rice milling is also true. But that the rice milling section was leased out from the outset to Mr. N. R. Vitharana, nephew of Comrade N. M. is also true.....' the Samasamajist states adding the paragraph quoted above.

"The Samasamajist continues:— It is a simple fact that if there is any truth in the allegation of interest in a contract with the Government the correct place and the only place where this can be proved and acted upon is in the Courts of our land. Parliament has not the jurisdiction to sit in judgement on the competence of a member who has been declared duly elected by the returning officer and who has taken his oath. There is a good and simple reason for this which will be easily appreciated. If Parliament gets such power, there is nothing to prevent a majority unseating the minority. In any event there is the very good principle that only the Courts can interpret the law for the purpose of depriving a person of his rights. Why don't these gentlemen go to the Courts?" the amasamajist asks, adding: InS the Courts you must prove what you allege. Elsewhere, of course you can asseverate and get away with it amongst the unthinking, the ignorant and those who are only too ready to believe ill of others. Comrade M.N. Perera has already given the gist of the matter in Parliament. But the truth does not interest the smear-bombers..... However, the people are interested in the truth: and the truth they will have in full measure when the issue is finally joined in Parliament. We do not expect the slander mongers to rest satisfied with the defeat which lies in store for them. Neither will the people rest satisfied with the Parliamentary confutation of the slander mongers. They will go on to take their revenge on the character assassins. This kind of campaign has a habit of boomeranging on the campaigners themselves. And so it will be in this case too," the Samasamajist adds.



LETTER

# TEMPERADU BUDDHISTS

Sir,  
• The Cinnamon Garden Buddhists and a section of the capitalist clergy are making a big hue and cry against the Tree Tapping proposal of the Finance Minister Dr. N. M. Perera.

These so called Buddhist leaders are against the poor man having a nutritious and undiluted drink of Toddy, but they are not against the people drinking Whisky, Gin, Beer, Stout, Wine, Arrack and Kasippu.

They say that if this proposal is implemented there will be a Toddy tavern under every tree. But these capitalist Buddhists pretend to be blind and keep their mouths mum when members of their class and relatives have drinking spots in every street.

Just look around and you will see that every street is full of bars. In the streets, you have the licensed liquor shops. (Miranda's, Paiva's, Victoria's, Corera's etc.) You have a bar in every prominent hotel. (Galle Face, G.O.H., Ceylinco House, Bristol, Metropolitan, etc.) You have a bar in every cinema hall. (Regal, Olympia, Savoy, Elphinstone etc.) You have a bar in every sports club. (Sinhalese Sports Club, Tamil Union, Govt. Sports Club, Municipal Sports Club, Atlanta, Stadium, Oriental Club etc.) You have a bar in every Rest House right throughout the Island. You have a bar in every Army, Navy, and Air Force Canteen, and you get air conditioned bars and attached bars to the walls of the dining rooms in the mansions of Colombo 7. But these leaders do not speak about them nor protest against their existence near to the sacred spots of the Buddhists, like the Queens Hotel Kandy and the Prince of Wales Hotel Kandy, which is only a stone's throw from the Dalada Maligawa, which is venerated by millions of Buddhists throughout the world.

When the Indian capitalist Mahadevan opened his "ambassador" Toddy factory and when the people rushed to bars and taverns for this brand of Toddy these Temperadu Buddhists and Bauddha Balavegayas and the capitalist Press, the so called defenders of religion did not write articles or protest against it, but instead carried large one page articles and supplements, asking the people to drink bottled Toddy for its purity and cleanliness. Why were they silent then? Were they bribed?

Why don't these so called leaders and their kind ask for prohibition of foreign liquor into our country which is draining our foreign exchange. They will not campaign against it because their capitalist kith and kin are their election

agents and are Indent Agents, Commission Agents and Importers and Distributors of Foreign Liquor and the big capitalist shops like Cargills, Apothecaries, Mirandas, Victoria's, Casie Chetty's etc., are holdings, where U.N.P. capitalists have shares and vested interests.

The UNP leader Mr. Dudley Senanayake, says that under the Finance Minister's Tree Tapping proposal, that there will be a toddy tavern under every tree. But they are blind to the fact that it was the UNP Government that ran taverns in the network of Railways in Ceylon, stretching right throughout the Island from Dondra to Jaffna and Batticaloa to Colombo, where Whisky, Beer, Gin, etc., was and is freely available to the rich people who travel in the trains. A knighthood was conferred on Mr. J.A.D. Victoria, the man who ran this business venture and then went a step further and blessed him with the title of Distinguished Citizen of Ceylon (Ceylon Citizenship Act.) and thus helped in the imperialist commercial policy of killing the local Toddy industry (Vinegar, Jaggery, Treacle etc.) and counter imposing foreign liquor on the people of Ceylon.

Every day we read notifications in the Gazette and Newspapers announcing the opening of new liquor bars and taverns and licensing the sale of liquor in shops and calling on the public for objections if any. But none of these so called Buddhist Associations or Balavegayas or the UNP Temperadu Buddhists have raised objections to this policy of alcoholizing the country. They do not open their mouths and dare not oppose the foreign and local liquor dealers and the renters who are their capitalist friends and relatives. Nor have they opposed the kassippu dens which have sprung up in every town, village and hamlet.

This hypocrisy of the so called Buddhist leaders, the Bauddha Balavegayas and the capitalists and clergy, and the Press must be exposed for they do not represent, nor speak the views of the mass of the Buddhist public and the writer himself who is a Buddhist and a teetotaler.

All right thinking and intelligent people of this country who have the interests of this country at heart must be thankful to Dr. N.M. Perera for attempting, for the first time in a National Budget, to tackle the larger problems of this country in a realistic and practical manner and rising above petty and narrow outlook in the making of the Nation's National Policy.

Lennie de Silva

Hanwella,  
3-9-64.

moscow  
news letter

# Mao & the

# Jap Socialists

MOSCOW, September 10

China's chauvinistic border policy came in for trenchant criticism in the Soviet press last week. From the reactions it has aroused in the rest of the world it would seem that the exposure has turned out to be the most telling argument against China's negative policy after its opposition to the Moscow test ban treaty.

The provocation was Chairman Mao Tse-tung's interview with Japanese socialists widely published in the bourgeois press. It was so full of slanderous and false statements that the Soviet press had at first serious misgivings about its authenticity. It was only after verification that it took upon itself the task of rebutting the statements. The interview contains broadly a discussion of the Chinese concept of the "intermediate zone", the Chinese attitude to the polemical debate, to borders in general and their own trumped up claims on the Soviet Union and other neighbouring countries.

## "Intermediate"

The "intermediate zone" theory assumed that the course of events in the world is determined not by the struggle of antagonistic classes and opposing social systems but by the struggle of some powers and geographical regions against others. This is clearly anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist and as "Pravda" said in its editorial of September 2nd, not only does it merely ignore the class approach, but replaces it by a super-nationalistic approach promoted by the purposes of the Great Power policy of the CPC leaders".

In the "intermediate zone" China places besides herself, among others, monopoly capital of France and Japan while slanderously declaring that the Soviet Union had "entered into a complot with the United States to struggle for world domination". Thus the forces represented by the "intermediate zone" is posed against both the US and the USSR. The question naturally was asked in the Soviet press as to what would happen if tomorrow US monopolies found it advantageous for themselves to revise their policy of non-recognition of the PRC and offered it economic cooperation. Would they then qualify to be classed in the "intermediate zone" alongside the

monopolists of France and Japan? Nothing more was required to show up the absurdity of this concept.

Regarding the polemical discussions and the problems of the international communist movement, the Chinese attitude reflected in Chairman Mao's statement was to call it a "paper war" which did no one any harm. "Pravda" said: "We cannot agree with the Chinese leaders' assessment of their own actions. Their struggle against the CPSU, the world communist movement, the USSR and other socialist countries is not a 'paper war'. As regards its ferocity, its scale and methods, it does not differ from the cold war of imperialism against the countries of socialism."

The expansionist policy of Chinese leaders is based firstly on so called historical facts of the distant past and secondly on the theory of the fair distribution of population. History is full of instances of the rise and fall of nations. At one time Chinese frontiers did not extend beyond the Great Wall which was a hundred kilometres from Peking. Does it follow therefore that China has no rights outside that limit? As for the Soviet borders, "Pravda" stated emphatically that they had evolved historically and were based on the voluntary association of peoples and territories. The Soviet people would never permit any encroachment.

"Pravda" also disclosed how in 1954 Peking leaders wanted Premier Khrushchov's approval to make Mongolia a province of China. The Soviet leader naturally refused to discuss the question on the ground that the destiny of the Mongolian people could not be decided by Peking or Moscow but only by that country's working people. It showed the scant respect that China had for the independence and sovereignty of smaller nations as far back as 1954.

There are two kinds of territorial questions. One is represented by the striving of the people to liquidate the remnants of colonialism, exemplified by India's liberation of Goa, Indonesia's claim to West Irian and China's right to Taiwan and Hong Kong. The other stems from attempts to revise historically-formed borders including borders formed after the rout of Hitler. No one will tolerate this kind of revision and any attempt to re-carve the map of the world arbitrarily will lead to the most dangerous consequences.

Obviously, the Soviet press inferred, the object of the Chinese leaders in raking up the question of borders of states formed after the second world war was to sow mistrust and animosity between the peoples of the socialist countries. The Chinese support for the demand for handing over Kurille islands in the Pacific by the Soviet Union to Japan is similarly anti-Soviet in motivation. In making the statement that the Chinese leaders did, they were playing into the hands of not only the Japanese but also the American militarists.

The argument about the fair distribution of population is similar to the slogan of "Lebensraum" raised by Hitler. When socialism triumphs on a world scale and when productive forces achieve a high level everywhere, the process of rapprochement between nations will result in the gradual disappearance of differences in living conditions and state frontiers will lose their importance. Only in these conditions can the solutions of the problem of the more even distribution of people in the world become possible. To raise this question now, when opposing social systems exist, and when the objective process of the consolidation of statehood and sovereignty is under way, is extremely harmful.

In a nutshell, the statements of the Chinese leaders are not actuated by considerations of ideology or unity, but by Great Power chauvinism and hegemonism in the realisation of which they find the Soviet Union to be the one obstacle.

D. SCHWARTZ



# Agency Houses & malpractices

We have read with interest the so-called "challenge" of Mr. C. R. Bois, Chairman, Agency Section, and Vice-Chairman of the Planters' Association of Ceylon, challenging you to make specific charges regarding the allegations of malpractices by Managing Agency Houses.

We consider it the height of unwisdom, impudence and brazenness on the part of Mr. Bois and his Agency Houses to have dared to challenge your very well informed and masterly statement in Parliament on this subject.

## First

We are happy and proud of the fact that at long last you are the first Finance Minister, who has 'hit the nail right on the head' and exposed the racket that has been going on for decades behind closed doors, ever since the introduction of this Colonial System devised for the economic and financial exploitation of the people and the wealth of this country through the medium of Foreign Agency Houses, which were and still are exclusively controlled, directed and dominated by foreigners, whose only real interests were

and still are to syphon the major and substantial portion of our profits and wealth into the Agency Houses, and thereafter repatriate same to the shareholders of the Agency Houses who are almost exclusively foreigners living abroad.

We herewith submit for your information and official use the enclosed documents with full particulars, which will conclusively prove the abuse and misuse of power by some Managing Agency Houses and some of their unscrupulous Directors who will not stop at anything to achieve their own selfish and nefarious ends.

The proper and legitimate function of an Agency House should be to function only as an Agent and/or Secretary of a Company. But what in reality has been happening in

Ceylon is that the Agency Houses are in absolute power and are a law unto themselves and they are the king-makers who dictate every thing to the Estate Companies and their so called Directors, who carry out every wish and behest of the Agency House concerned to which they owe their back-door appointment and subsequent confirmation as Directors of the Company.

In actual practice, every single Director of these public companies operating in Ceylon under these Managing Agency Houses, owe their back-door appointment in the first instance to the goodwill and approval of the Agency House Director or Directors, who are invariably on all the Boards of Directors of the Companies under their management. In fact the Chairmen of the Boards of Directors of these Estate Companies are invariably the Agency House Directors who subtly initiate, inspire and influence the other Directors on matters of policy affecting the interest and welfare of the Estate Company and its many shareholders.

after advertising the sale, against the advice and wishes of long-standing shareholders, with the aid of 'blank' proxies and Powers of Attorneys which had been given in advance by trusting and innocent shareholders.

2. Estates are bought without reference to shareholders by the Directors of the Estate Company who are creatures of the Agency House interested in the purchase.
3. The Boards of Directors of Estate Companies are 'rigged' with 'yes men' of Agency Houses, who are thereafter amenable to the wishes of the Agency House concerned, and they will never fight for the interests of the shareholders when there is a conflict of interest between the Agency House concerned and the shareholders of the Estate Company.
4. The Agency Houses are so powerful that Auditing Firms and Legal Firms ap-

by

**W. W. JAYASINGHE & R. WIJAYA INDRA**

Many of those other Directors who have crept on to the Boards of these Estate Companies through the back-door with the goodwill and blessings of the all-mighty and all-powerful Agency House Directors, are under an obligation to the Agency House concerned, and will therefore toe its line and will not dare to go against the wishes of the Agency House concerned. These 'appointed' Directors function more or less as rubber-stamps, and are used by the Agency House concerned to mislead gullible and ignorant shareholders into sending in their Proxies to support uneconomic and unprofitable ventures, which are not in the best interests of the (scattered) shareholders, but will earn substantial profits to the Agency House concerned and/or juicy commissions in sterling to the Managing Director who successfully places the order for expensive machinery from overseas, after prematurely condemning existing machinery which again is sold locally cheap for a consideration to pre-arranged buyers.

Some of the other malpractices indulged in by some of these all-powerful Agency Houses are as follows:—

1. Estates are sold at a cheap price after manoeuvring and manipulating the sale, long

This is an extract of a memorandum addressed to the Minister of Finance, Dr. N. M. Perera, by Messrs W. W. Jayasinghe and R. Wijaya Indra, both of whom are shareholders of many tea and rubber rupee companies, on the Agency Houses and the malpractices indulged in by them.

5. The Reserves of many of these Estate Companies which had been built up over the years, are suddenly utilised by the Directors (i.e. in effect, by the Agency House and its Directors) without any reference to the shareholders (to whom these Reserves actually belong) on questionable investments in other Companies and/or on loans granted without adequate guaranteed security to firms and business houses which are friendly with them. A portion of these Reserves is utilised to buy shares in inter-locking Investment Companies which come to their rescue at voting time when there is a serious clash between Directors and shareholders who are opposed to certain vital decisions of Directors, which shareholders realise are detrimental to the best interests of shareholders, although the Agency House may derive substantial financial benefits from such decisions, if implemented.

6. The Agency Houses are so powerful and influential that so-called reputable firms of Auditors who enjoy the monopoly of Auditing the accounts of these Estate Companies year after year, toe the line laid down by these Agency Houses and approve the Directors' accounts to shareholders giving them the least possible information and in such a manner as to confuse them and keep them in the dark.

7. The cost of production (C.O.P.) in many Rupee Companies is inflated by the Agency Houses to such an extent that it is about 25 % to 50%

continued on page 10

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## Agency Houses

continued from page 9

higher than that of Sterling Companies similarly situated. One of the reasons for this is the fact that the majority of the shareholders of the Rupee Companies are now Ceylonese or Asians whereas the Sterling Companies shareholders are almost exclusively Europeans.

8. The 14 foreign Agency Houses operating in Ceylon and their Directors virtually control all the Plantation Companies operating in Ceylon, and the Directorates of all these Plantation Companies are 'rigged' with Agency House Directors and their nominees, many of whom function as their stooges, and some of whom are rapidly climbing up the Agency House ladder by betraying and sacrificing Ceylonese interests!! Policy decisions are made by

these Agency House Directors, and their selfish policies are faithfully carried out by their (Stooge) Directors whom they had 'appointed' and placed on the Boards of Directors of the Estate Companies which are in their 'clutches'! From this it can be seen how the Plantation Economy of our country is still directed and controlled by a mere handful of about a hundred foreigners in Ceylon who are functioning as Foreign Agency House Directors in Ceylon. These handful of foreigners are controlling the marketing of Ceylon produce exported, which according to the Minister of Agriculture's Budget Statement in Parliament amounted to only Rs. 1,645 millions, whereas in a FREE MARKET (not controlled by a 'RING') the total value realised from our exports should have been much more.

# After Ranger, What?

continued from page 3

earth when the sun dries them out. Kuiper has suggested that this may be because the airless moon has been subjected to continual bombardment by cosmic dust ever since it was formed 4,500 million years ago. Even a slow rain of abrasive material, over a period as long as this, could have a profound erosive effect.

The fifth picture in the F-A series shows a lunar feature that has never been observed before. In the sixth and last photograph this feature is shown in greater detail—just enough detail to make its real nature a tantalizing riddle.

The first photo was made from an altitude of about three miles, and covers an area little less than 3,000 yards on a side. In the upper left hand quadrant of the picture (all the photos are oriented by putting the shadow-crescents in the craters to the viewer's left) is a crater about 700 feet from north to south and 400 feet from east to west. It contains an irregular object that has been described as a large, jagged rock as much as 300 feet long in the north-south direction.

Already the first new discovery on the moon is stirring up controversy, just as Galileo's discovery sparked argument. Some scientists believe the mysterious object inside the crater is a rock cast out of Copernicus at the time of its creation. But if this accords for the new feature, other scientists ask, why don't other secondary craters also contain rocks? And if the Copernicus theory is wrong, then what did cause the mysterious crater? A meteor from outer space could not account for it; such objects strike at far too high a velocity just to embed themselves partially in the lunar surface.

Geologist Eugene Shoemaker said just after Ranger's impact that there is enough new information in the pictures to keep scientists busy for three years. Perhaps the answer to the new crater's riddle may be found; almost certainly, other matters of interest and of controversy will arise.

Meanwhile, the space age goes on, and so do Ranger and other programs aimed at exploration of the moon. As mentioned earlier, there are two more Rangers. Selection of landing sites has not yet been made by NASA, but space scientists now believe aiming techniques have been perfected to the point where targets for investigation can be

chosen well in advance. Dr. Shoemaker has said he would like to see pictures of the inside of Copernicus. Geologists generally share his wish; such pictures would provide many hints about the nature of the moon's interior.

## After Ranger, What?

After Ranger will come a number of moon shots in the Surveyor Series. These spacecrafts will land gently on the moon, instead of crashing to destruction. The Surveyors, which will weigh 2100 pounds at escape from earth orbit instead of only 800 pounds, will have TV cameras capable of functioning for a month after landing. They will also contain instruments that will keep track of temperatures, solar radiation, micrometeorite impacts and other important lunar factors. What is more, each Surveyor will contain a small, automatic soil analysis laboratory that will dig its probe into the surface of the moon, extract a small sample, analyze it in a mass spectrometer, and radio its findings back to earth.

Surveyor will probably be in full swing by 1966, and about the same time another moon

program called lunar orbiter will be getting under way. Orbiter, as its name implies, will be a television-equipped spacecraft that will circle the moon at an altitude of about 80 miles, sending back photos for long periods. It will be, in effect, a "mapping satellite" of the moon. As has already been seen from the 85-mile photograph taken by Ranger VII's F-A camera, valuable information can be obtained by pictures made at this altitude. This is especially true if prior evidence from Ranger VII and the two remaining Rangers gives information of value in interpreting new data from Orbiter.

Ranger, Surveyor and Orbiter are preliminaries for Apollo, pre-flight stages of which are already under way. By 1967 Apollo crews will be flying long-duration missions in orbit around the earth, and some time before 1969 it is likely that a three-man Apollo flight will be made out to and around the moon without a landing attempt. The actual landing of astronauts according to Dr. Edward C. Welsh of the National Aeronautics Space Council, is tentatively scheduled for the last half of 1969.

Concluded



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# Production News

\* **DUE SOON** — Shanti Films "SASARAKA HATTI" (A Way of Life) produced by E. P. Rodrigo at Vijaya Studios, Hendala, and directed by S. Ramanathan, has been passed by the Censor Board without any deletion. The movie is due for release in the Cinemas Limited circuit in the early part of October.

\* **NEARING COMPLETION** — Re-recording of R. T. Films "SAMAJEYE APPIE OKHAMA SAMANAI" (In Society We Are All Equals) is in progress at Ceylon Studios, Colombo. The trailer of the movie is now being screened in the Ceylon Theatres Limited circuit, and the film will be released soon. The picture is directed by Herbie Seneviratne for Producer Director and Studio owner Robin Tampoe.

\* **RE-RECORDING** — Editing of R. R. Films "SITHAKA MAHIMA" has been completed by Edwin Leetin, and re-recording is scheduled to commence next week at Ceylon Studios, Colombo. It is produced by R. Rajabali, directed by M. S. Ananda and photographed by Lenin Morias. The film has music by R. Muttusamy and lyrics by

Karunaratne Abeysekera and W. Wilfred Silva and A. J. De Soysa. Sandhya Kumari, Asoka Ponnampereuma, Rita Ratnayake, Christie Leonard Perera, Joseph Seneviratne, Nalini Abeyapala and others are in the cast. Songs in the film are rendered by playback singers H. R. Jothipala, Sujatha Perera, Mohideen Baig and Mallika De Silva.

\* **EDITING IN PROGRESS** — Editing of Paradeepa Chitrapati Limited's, Production No. 1, yet untitled, is being done by S. Ramanathan at Vijaya Studios, Hendala, and re-recording will commence shortly. The picture is scheduled to be released by October this year through Cinemas Limited circuit. The added feature of this social film includes melodious music set to tunes by Premasiri Kemadasa, the authentic sets, and the acting of Jayasoma Abeysinghe, who acts as comedian in the movie. The picture is directed by Ariyadasa Peiris and W. Wilfred Silva.

\* **TITLED "SUJAGE RAHASA"** — Ceylon Entertainments Ltd., fourth production, starring Jeevarani Kurukulasuriya and Ananda Jayaratne, has been titled "Sujage Rahasa" (Suja's Secret). The film now nearing completion at Vijaya Studios, Hendala, under the direction of P. Neelakanthan is being produced by Jabir A. Cader, with

music by T. R. Papa and lyrics by Karunaratne Abeysekera. The story, screenplay and dialogues are by Cyril P. Abeyaratne.

Ravindara Rupasena, L. M. Perera, Leena De Silva, Sandhya Kumari, Dharmasiri Ranatunga, Vijitha Mallika, Mable Blythe and new-comers Roy De Silva, Roy Handapan-goda and George De Silva play important supporting roles. Cinematograph of this movie, which was shot on location at picturesque Kitugala, is by G. Dorai, and L. S. Ramachandran will commence editing the film shortly at Vijaya Studios, Hendala.

\* **LIGHTNING & THUNDER SET COST RS. 12,000** — On two massive sets covering the entire Sound Stage at R. T. Studios, Wellampitiya, shooting is progressing at a steady space for R. I. Films "SUDO SUDU." The sequence features Gamini Fonseka returning home from the battle front at Singapore. The scene was shot in artificial rain amidst lightning and thunder created by special effects equipment imported from Japan. The Production Executive informed that the creation of this particular set alone cost the Studios Rs. 12,000 and it is the biggest set up to date erected with modern lighting effects in the Studios, since it was opened for commercial production.

Four songs of the movie have been recorded at R. T. Studios, and about two thirds of the picture completed. It is produced and directed by Robin Tampoe. The film has in its cast Gamini Fonseka, Suvineetha Weerasinghe, Boniface Fernando, Jessica Wickremasinghe, Herbie Seneviratne, Dharmasiri Ranatunga, Herbert Amarawickreme L. M. Perera, Piyadasa Wijekoone and other well-known stars acting as Army personnel in the movie.

\* **SPECTACULAR SCENES SHOT** — Colourful scenes of

the Ratnapura-Sabaragamuwa annual day Parahera set against the background of brilliantly-caparisoned elephants, the sidewalks and pavements packed with worshippers, featuring Joe Abeywickrema, the main star of the film selling beetle, were on location recently for Serendib productions "SARAVITA" (The Betel Seller).

In a further shooting schedule, an office room scene with Piyadasa Gunasekera as Jackie, a crook of varied notorious activities, and his dealings with a Kasippu dealer Marcus, portrayed by Wally Nanayakkara, was shot on a site at Rajagiriya. On the same set a fight to a finish between these two personalities was also picturised, where Marcus finally dies of gun shot injuries.

In another out-door shooting spell, the Navagamuwa Devale festival scenes in all its splendour and the ceremonial dances performed by the Kapurula as Pattini were shot for the film, to be incorporated later with Joe Abeywickrema. Weather permitting out-door shanti scenes will be shot with Sobini Amarasinghe on a site at Rajagiriya, otherwise, interior orphanage sequences will be picturised inside a palatial house in the same area. The movie is being directed by Mike Wilson and Tissa Liyanasuriya, and produced by Sesha Palihakkara.

\* **MAIDEN VENTURE** — Ganga films, Production No. 1, yet untitled social drama, based on the misunderstandings between the family and a friend in the Army, is almost half complete. This film with a straight forward

plain story does not have any unwanted comedy scenes, but has six songs, four of which have been already recorded. The songs were rendered by Amaradeva and new-comer Amitha Wedisinghe. Music is by Amaradeva and lyrics by Uahagama Sekera.

Out-door shooting of shopping scenes with Clarice De Silva and Gamini Fonseka in and around Colombo, and sequences at the Zoological Gardens, Dehiwela, is to commence shortly, after which a song will be picturised with Clarice on location at Anuradhapura, by the side of Nuwara Wewa. The highlight of the film, a train derailment scene, is to shot on location between Polgahawela and Anuradhapura, with Clarice, Gamini and Wijeratne Warakagoda. Shooting of interior scenes of the film are in progress at Vijaya Studios, Hendala, and Ceylon Studios, Colombo.

The others in the cast of this movie are Iranganie Perera, and new-comer Sita Kumari. The picture is being produced by Proctor V. D. S. Fernando, directed by Ananda Jayaratne and assisted by Michael Subasinghe. It has dialogues by W. F. Fonseka and cinematography is by Daya Wimalaweera.

\* **FAST PROGRESSING** — Meena Movies, Production No. 2, "SATUTHAI KANDULAI" (Happiness and Tears) is progressing at Ceylon Studios, Colombo. This social film has in its cast Dommie Jayawardene, Asoka Ponnampereuma, Eddie Jayamanne, Joe Abeywickrema, Rohini Jayakody, Rukmani Devi, Boniface Fernando and others. The original story and dialogues is by the late Sagara Palanasuriya, the author of "Sudo Sudo." The movie is being produced and directed by W. M. S. Tampoe.

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Wan Films'  
**PATACHARA**

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**GAIETY**  
Bina Rai — Asha Parekh in  
**GHUNGHAT**

6th WEEK 1  
**SELLAMAHAL**  
Chandranantha in  
**ITHU SATYAM**

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Eastmancolour  
with: Shammi Kapoor  
Music by Shanker-Jaikishan

**CENTRAL**  
8th WEEK 1  
Sivaji ★ Savithri  
**PADITHAL MATTUM PODHUMA**



Joe Abeywickrema and Anula Karunatileke in a hilarious scene in Cinemas Limited, "CHANDIYA" (Hoodlum) which is progressing at Vijaya Studios, Hendala. The movie is directed by Titus Thotawatta and produced by K. Gunaratnam.



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PEOPLE'S BANK - 3

# Directors' Loans

## Bank of Ceylon also

In the criticisms levelled against the People's Bank, one matter which received the widest publicity and the most massive headlines was the one which dealt with the loans taken by certain Directors of the Bank. In fact, this question was first mooted last year, when selected parts of the confidential Bank Inspection Report were "leaked out" and the loans to certain Directors were singled out for press criticism.

The Central Bank had only dealt with certain "banking aspects" of these loans, but in a series of articles in this paper it was shown that the Central Bank had itself misconceived its role by taking certain items out of context in order to mount a campaign against the People's Bank. Based on the extracts from the Central Bank Report, the Dawasa and the Observer had gone to with scathing headlines, but when the real facts were pointed out the matter was dropped.

This year, too, the whole question about the People's Bank was resurrected with many new charges. The criticism that the People's Bank existed to grant loans to SLFP MPs was discussed in the previous article and in this article the question about the loans to certain Directors will be examined. Much of the criticism on this score has already been answered in Parliament, but there are certain aspects which need emphasis.

### Specially Picked Out

The charge was that certain Directors had helped themselves to certain loans in an irregular fashion, and Dr. Kelegama and Mr. Shahabdeen were specially picked out for criticism when even Mr. Vincent Subasinghe, the Chairman, had also taken a loan. A firm, (Insurance Consultants Ltd.), in which Mr. Linus Silva, another Director had interest had also been granted a loan with Mr. Silva as the guarantor.

In this connection, we have always stressed that Directors of banks, more than anyone else, should borrow from their banks rather than any other Banks. And, for this reason, the loans taken by the three Directors and the one granted to the firm in which another Director was interested, were perfectly legitimate. In fact, it is known that when the question was first mooted, the Board had written to the

already knew about these matters. Strictly speaking, however, in order to avoid criticisms of this sort, it might be useful to use red tape to the fullest, particularly at a time when daily papers are anxious to over-reach themselves with in attacking a Bank which is one of the proud achievements of this Government.

### No Irregularities

The "irregularities" which the daily papers claimed had vitiated the loans to certain Directors are no irregularities at all. This has been amply shown in the answers and statements made in Parliament. The daily papers had made a song and dance that "two loans" had been granted to Dr. Kelegama, but it was

Minister of Finance, (then Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike), and asked him for his views on this matter, and it was on record that the Minister had granted the necessary permission stating that it was desirable that Directors should borrow from their Banks.

BY

## TRIBUNE Investigator

In spite of this, certain interested critics had sought to make much of the fact that these loans to Dr. Kelegama and Mr. Shahabdeen were not "formally" put before the entire Board and "minuted." The loans were under Rs. 15,000 and such loans were usually dealt with by the General Manager. However it was claimed by the critics that in the case of Directors it should have been done, but it is obvious that when the permission was sought from the Finance Minister it was known to the entire Board as to which Directors wanted the loans, and as such it was unnecessary to inform the Board in a "formal" manner when in reality all the facts were known. According to the rules of the Bank these loans need not have been sanctioned by the Board, and there was no attempt, therefore, to formally inform members of the Board who

shown that it was the same loan which was increased from Rs. 10,000 to Rs 20,000, but the banking entries were slanted to induce those who did not know banking practices to think that two separate loans amounting to Rs. 30,000 had been granted. This "charge" had been fully answered in Parliament and in Tribune last year, but this did not prevent critics from raking it up once again. And there is no doubt that at the appropriate season next year, the same thing will be done once again.

To understand these loans in the proper perspective, it is essential to know that in the Bank of Ceylon, too, the Directors have always borrowed from the Bank. Until 1962 the Bank was a state-sponsored Bank and after that it was a state bank. In reply to Mr. Lakshman Jayakoddy M. P. who had asked questions about the loans taken by

## EVELYN RUTNAM

1912 - 1964

We much regret to record the death on the 13th September of Evelyn wife of James T. Rutnam, a frequent contributor to our columns. Evelyn Rutnam was 52 years old and was married for 32 years. She was a Sinhalese lady, a daughter of the late Mr. and Mrs. S. P. Wijayarathna of Colombo. The most remarkable thing in the transparent success of her married life was the fact that it was a union of a Sinhalese and a Tamil in these days when supposed communal differences are emphasised by designing politicians.

As is well-known James Rutnam, although not belonging to any Party, has decided political views and these have often been ventilated vigorously in our columns under his own name. But politics does not seem to have interfered with personal relationships, and the large gathering that came to their residence and the General Cemetery, Kanatte, to pay a final tribute to the gracious lady, who was largely responsible for this human understanding, was a cross section of every type and condition of men and women in this country irrespective of race, religion, caste, creed, class or age.

Evelyn Rutnam, who moved unobtrusively in every circle, never losing the common touch, presided at a home at Cinnamon Gardens, Colombo, which was known to her friends as Freedom Hall where the white and the black, the brown and the yellow, the high and the low, the pious and the impious, the gay and the reserved, the loyalist and the rebel, all met on a footing of equality and broke bread together.

S. P. A.

Directors of Bank of Ceylon, a certain amount of information had been tabled in the House of Representatives on December 3, 1963. Certain other information is also now available which makes it clear that the Directors of the Bank of Ceylon had also followed the very commendable practice of borrowing from their own Bank.

Among the Directors of the Bank of Ceylon who had availed themselves of the facilities provided by the Bank were: (These figures relate to the period at 31.12.63 or thereabouts).

H. V. Perera, direct overdraft for Rs. 106,390 and loans to Collettes Ltd for Rs. 3,618,971; R. T. de Silva, direct Rs. 43,054 and to other companies in which he was interested Rs. 18,660; Falil Cafoor, overdrafts for Rs. 100,000 and loans to other companies in which he was interested totalling nearly Rs. 10 million. Among the officials who were Directors who had loans were: S. C. Fernando, overdraft for Rs. 200,000; V. L. Virasinghe, loan of Rs. 5,500; and Shirley Amarasinghe, overdrafts of Rs 2,500

when he was a Director, (he had overdrafts for Rs. 2,750 and 2,500 before he became a Director). These overdrafts were guaranteed by the businessman Clarence Amarasinghe who was a constituent of the Bank. (Much ado was made about U. K. Edmund guaranteeing the loan to Dr. Kelegama).

No doubt, by the end of 1964 these loans would have been further liquidated, but the point which is stressed in this connection is that it is the usual thing for Directors to take loans from the very institutions over whose destinies they preside.

All the attempts to distinguish the loans on grounds of alleged "irregularities" taken by certain Directors of the People's Bank, are unfair, and betray a political motivation. For that matter, it would be possible to criticise any loan to any person however rich or powerful he is, but the true facts must be impartially examined if a correct picture is to be obtained. All the hullabaloo about the loans of the People's Bank to the directors was only a futile attempt to make a mountain out of molehill.