

NEHRU DEAD

Nehru is dead.

After his last illness, his death had been expected, sooner than later, but his sudden end on Wednesday May 27 came as a shock because there had not even been a hint that he was ill. Instead, reports had stressed that he was as well as he possibly could be in the circumstances, and that his holiday in the Himalayan foothills had done him a world of good.

He was past seventy four, and on next November first he would have been seventy five. This is a ripe old age by any standards for a person who had led so active and hectic a life as Jawaharlal Nehru. At seventy five, such a man, is well entitled to that eternal rest which is the lot of every human being.

Nehru had given of his best for his country and for humanity for a longer span of time than it befalls to most men of stature who emerge to shape the destinies of mankind. Nobody can, therefore, begrudge him the peace that comes of death, but the fact is that nobody wanted him to die just now.

Countless millions in India did not want him to die now. It was not because he had not already done much for them, but because the work he had started had only just begun and there was nobody around him who inspired that overwhelming confidence that the work would be carried on to fulfilment. The problems facing India, like most other emergent countries with ancient civilisations and a complex structure of society, are many. There were the problems of poverty and development, of stateswise separatism and the need for integration, of Kashmir and Pakistan, of the border dispute with China, of political leadership to sustain the unity of India and of many other problems at all levels. Nehru had become a legend, dominating the political scene as he did from the twenties, and thereafter as the unchallenged Prime Minister of free India since 1947. Though several problems remain unsolved and many of them had become worse with the passage of time, the belief had grown that Nehru could find a way out of any difficulty. That is why nobody in India was willing to let Nehru die: not even his worst critics and enemies — no doubt because they were not in a position to take over power as they had been outmanoeuvred out of the positions of vantage by Nehru through what is known as the Kamraj Plan.

Nobody, in India, wanted him to die, but even men like Nehru must die. New leaders will emerge and history will

zigzag along under the pressure of events fashioned by man and circumstance.

But Nehru did not belong to India alone. He was the symbol of emergent Asia. More, he was a glorious harbinger of that new concept of international peace which has

become necessary in the age of the atom and the sputnik. With his death one more leader in power, acutely conscious of the need to avoid conflict, tension and cold war, passes away from the contemporary scene.

Coming hard on the heels of the death of the young



Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike receiving Premier Nehru when he visited Ceylon

American President Kennedy, who was another stalwart who realised the need to avoid war, Nehru's death removes one of the few remaining heads of government who stood between mankind and atomic war. The question which troubles the thinking world is whether Khrushchov in power in Russia and Bertrand Russell without governmental power in Britain can stem the menacing drift to war. Men are in power

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25 CTS

A New Coup?

MAHANAYAKE

As we go to press, we understand that the Mahanayake Thero of Malwatte is issuing a statement in which he categorically denies the statement attributed to him regarding the Coalition. He has insisted, it would seem, that he has no intention to intervene in politics and he is neutral on controversial matters. All the comments on the Mahanayake in this issue have been based on the press reports (with the usual doubts about their veracity!). Next week, we shall examine the Mahanayake's statement and the activities of the daily press.

Political observers in the progressive movement are now convinced that there is a sinister hand behind the total mobilisation which Reaction has more or less successfully secured of all the forces which stand against socialism and the true economic development of this country in the shortest possible time.

A unit has been created within the SLFP, and the UNP has been swung into silent collaboration with it: the daily press, particularly the Times group of papers, have been fed with incessant material against any unity in the progressive movement: the Rajaratnes, R. G. Senanayakes, Felix Jayasuriyas, Munasinbas and the rest of them have been resurrected and they all echo the same cry in different terms: Sir Lalitha, as President of the Buddhist Congress, chewed out a speech which has the stamp of the USIA and the Voice of America: then, the Catholic Auxiliary Bishop of Colombo Saram, much against the desires of the Catholics who like their Church to keep out of polemical politics, started tilting at political windmills Don Quixote fashion: and now, the Malwatte Mahanayake, who had only recently stated that he would not enter the political arena and that he would be neutral on the question of the coalition, (*Daily News* 16/5) has come into the picture with a bang.

The sinister hand behind all these moves is believed to be the USIA and Asia Foundation. Last week, in a special article

we had pointed out that the present USIA head, Dr. Carroll and his assistant Dr. Arndt had been waiting, with much fanfare, upon the Malwatte Mahanayake very frequently as they have been less obtrusively on the priests and prelates of all other denominations. Asia Foundation has been financing so many religious institutions and giving grants to priests to travel that a pattern can be seen in its largesse. In the past Catholic priests like Father Peter Pillai and his henchmen in the teaching profession were sent by Asia Foundation to visit countries like South Vietnam and to sing the praises of the Diem regime on their return to Ceylon.

But, now the USIA has gone all "Buddhist". The Americans have realised that the Catholics cannot pull the wool over the eyes of the Ceylonese people anymore, and they have switched over to wooing the Buddhists. The Lincoln Auditorium of the USIA in Colombo now concentrates on things "Buddhist".

It is necessary to state that on last Saturday when the Malwatte Mahanayake first echoed Sir Lalitha's "danger

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MIRROR

of the

WEEK'S AFFAIRS

An interpretative summary of some of the principal items of news in the daily papers in the English language published in Colombo, May 20th to May 26th.

WEDNESDAY, May 20

The Daily News reported that the talks between the ULF leaders and the Prime Minister had ended in a "complete deadlock" as the PM was unwilling to take the Communist Party into the Government. The Daily Mirror proclaimed in its large frontpage headlines that there was NO BASIS FOR COALITION and that a SLFP-ULF coalition government was "still a distant dream". The Times of Ceylon stated that the prospects of a coalition between the SLFP and the ULF were "very bleak" because the majority of Ministers were opposed to portfolios being given to the MEP leader and the CP. The Observer reported that at the end of the first round of talks the position of the Communist Party was "a snag", but stated that "both sides were hopeful". The official communique about the meeting stated that "there was a friendly exchange of views with regard to the present political situation". The Government of Burma had declared its 100 kyat notes null and void. These two denominations, the highest in circulation, make up more

than half the total currency in circulation. Washington reports indicated that the State Department may order armed intervention in Laos.

THURSDAY, May 21

The Daily News reported that the Government had written to the ULF setting out its position in regard to the coalition cabinet; that it would not be possible to include the MEP leader and the CP in it. The paper also reported that there had been a "clash" at last night's ULF leaders' meeting between Mr. Philip Gunawardena and Dr. N. M. Perera. The Daily Mirror was, as usual, over cocksure when it asserted that the "coalition game is up" because the "Cabinet says no to MEP and CP" and also because the "ULF Splits Wide Open" as there had been an exchange of words between Philip Gunawardena and N.M. Perera in which the latter had walked out of the meeting. The Times of Ceylon shared the same woeful view that "the end of the road to Coalition" was in sight. It even went on to suggest that the Cabinet had rejected the 9-point plan of the LSSP for the coalition. The Observer raised the question whether there would be any change in LSSP thinking and stressed that the "anxious Left" was trying to heal the split. The last neutralist posi-

tions on the Xieng Khoung plateau of Central Laos had fallen to the Pathet Lao, Premier Souvanna Phouma announced in Vientiane yesterday.

FRIDAY, May 22

The Daily News reported that whilst attempts were being made to maintain the unity of the ULF, there was a bid to advance the date of the LSSP Conference which has been scheduled for June 6 and 7. The Daily Mirror stated that Ministerial sources had indicated that another meeting of the SLFP Executive Committee would be summoned to endorse the Cabinet decision not to give portfolios to the CP and the MEP leader. The Times of Ceylon stated that the ULF would draft the reply to the PM this evening. The Observer hinted that the LSSP were preparing to go-it-alone and also reported that Dr. N. M. Perera would not attend ULF meetings until Mr. Philip Gunawardena withdrew the remarks he had cast at him at Wednesday's meeting of the ULF. The Observer also reported that the Communist Party had informed the Joint Central Committee of the ULF that 23 members of SLFP Parliamentary Party, including some Ministers, had handed in a letter to the PM before last Tuesday's crucial Cabinet meeting before the first round of discussions with the ULF leaders threatening "drastic action" if the entire ULF had been taken into the Government. A State Department spokesman had stated yesterday that he could not comment on the report that the US had ordered units of the Seventh Fleet to sail full speed for the Gulf of Tonkin bordering Indo-China.

SATURDAY, May 23

The Daily News reported that the Malwatte Mahanayake had issued a "clarion call" that the country was facing a 'grave danger' and that Ceylon may have to face an unfortunate fate similar to that which the people of Tibet have had to face and that it "now is time for Bhikkus to rally and save Buddhism." He wanted a campaign to be launched to fight "communist indoctrination". Whilst the Daily News stressed that there was a major bid to heal the split in the ULF, the Daily Mirror was certain that the LSSP would go it alone with the Dr. N. M. Perera wing proclaiming the 'slogan' "To Hell with the United Left Front". The Times of Ceylon stated that there was a split in the LSSP on the go-it-alone policy of the N. M. Perera wing. The Observer announced that Mr. Philip Gunawardena would raise the Malwatte Mahanayake's "country in danger" speech at the next ULF meeting. A wave of terrorism had spread in British Guiana as racial and political conflicts had increased and the Governor was considering the question of declaring a state of emergency.

SUNDAY, May 24

The Sunday Observer reported on its front page that the Mahanayake Thero of the Malwatte Chapter told an Observer Reporter that "a coalition is not the remedy for the problems now facing the country. If the present Government cannot solve these problems it must dissolve Parliament and go to the country instead of attempting a coalition". The Sunday Observer also reported that Dr. S. A. Wickremasinghe, the Communist leader, had stated that "Buddhism can only be saved by a Coalition." The Sunday Times reported that the Government Medical Specialists Association and the Association of Medical Specialists want the Government to inform them before July 1st whether they will be granted the salary scales asked for or not. Malaysia and Indonesia have agreed to submit peace talks which are expected to be held in Topok next month. A compromise is understood to have been reached on the question of Indonesian withdrawal from Malaysian Borneo which until now has held up peace negotiations.

MONDAY, May 25

Buddhists the world over, stated the Daily News, will today observe the 2508th anniversary of the Birth, Enlightenment and the Passing Away of the Buddha. Big crowds were expected for Wesak to participate in the religious ceremonies and witness the decorations and the pandals. The Prime Minister in a Wesak message had stressed that "while we endeavour to teach others, we must ourselves walk the MIDDLE

WAY not only in our private lives but also in our domestic and foreign policies. This is why we have chosen to accept a policy of non-alignment but fully committed to the task of preserving peace and good will among all nations." She also stated that in Ceylon where different faiths prevailed the practice of the Buddha's Middle way will ensure to all religions goodwill and respect even as the great Emperor Asoka assured respect to all religions. This would help to create national harmony. The Daily Mirror reported that Mr. Philip Gunawardena had no objections to Dr. N. M. Perera joining the SLFP Cabinet but that he should see to it that the "two reactionary Ministers" he had referred to were expelled from the Cabinet. The Daily Mirror also stated that the C.I.D. had raided the office of Vinivida the Sinhalese weekly now being published by Mr. Dharmasiri Kuruppu, former Editor of the "Sinhale" which was the official organ of the SLFP. Neutralist Commander Kong Lae has appealed for immediate foreign aid to stop the left-wing Pathet Lao offensive which had swept his force off the strategic plain of Jars in Central Laos.

TUESDAY, May 26

The Observer reported that heavy monsoon rain in the South West coastal area in the last few days has flooded many towns and villages. The paper also stated that Ceylon had sold the Mahasena and the Parakramabahu, two vessels belonging to the Ceylon Navy for Rs 266,000 to a firm

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THIRUKKURAL IN RUSSIAN

YURI Glasov, a Russian linguist and researcher in Dravidian languages, deserves highest praise and heartiest congratulations from the Tamil-speaking people of the world for his translation into the Russian language of an ancient world renowned and outstanding masterpiece of Tamil literature "Thirukkural" written by Thiruvalluvar.

Though the "Kural" written in verse consists of 133 chapters with 2,660 lines, divided into three parts namely "Virtue, Wealth and Pleasure", its impact on the Tamil literature and on its readers is immense. The "Kural" with its exquisite precise form explains all aspects of human life and offers advice and answer to innumerable problems which beset a man in his worldly and spiritual life.

Today "Kural" holds an important place in world literature, this is amply proved by the translations that had already been done in various European and Asian languages including Latin, German, French, English, Sinhalese etc.

Yuri Glasov's translation of "Kural" into the Russian language is the greatest tribute that the Soviet people are paying to the genius of the great Tamil poet Thiruvalluvar. The latest translation in Russian proves the literary keenness of the Russian readers to know ancient literatures of the world, written in various languages and at different times.



Mr. Nehru with the GDR Prime Minister

Financial Controller

No professional qualifications

The Financial Controller is said to be responsible *inter alia* for planning and budgetary control, exercising supervision over the Accounts department and also functions as Secretary to the Board. In this connection it is pertinent to refer to the comments made by the Auditor General from time to time in his reports. (Summary at Appendix B) and also by Internal Auditors, M/s Burah Hathy & Co., in their report dated 4.8.59. The Organisation and Methods Division of the Treasury too had made various observations in regard to the reorganisation of the Accounts Department in their report of 20.5.1960.

Taking into consideration all these one can come to the conclusion that all is not well in the Accounts Department whilst the present Financial Controller was functioning as Controller. The Financial Controller had joined Air Ceylon as a Stenographer and functioned thereafter at various times as Secretary to Accountant, I. A. T. A. Officer, Chief Accounts officer till on 12.8.54 he was appointed as Accountant in which post he had continued till he was appointed to function in his present capacity. Although he had gained some experience in accounts he does not possess any professional qualification.

A.G's Adverse Comments

In the above connection we quote below comments made by the Auditor-General in his report for 1957/58 and 1959/60. Those are two examples of adverse comments made from time to time.

1957/58 "Payment on 375 vouchers during the year under review amounting to Rs. 159,552 were not supported by receipts. The Accountant has stated that action is being taken to obtain receipts of these payments."

1960/ "Bonus to staff Rs. 48,435 This represents a bonus paid to the staff in respect of the year 59/60. The provisional accounts for the year 59/60 on which the Board decided to pay this bonus disclosed a profit of Rs. 85,105/- whereas these accounts has subsequently certified in audit after amendment revealed a net loss of Rs. 127,462."

The financial situation in certain other years would have shown a different picture had, as outlined in Appendix D, provision been made for landing, housing charges and hangar rentals and Customs duty on fuel and oil in respect of internal operations. The balance (debit) of the Suspense Accounts at the end of the years 1957/58, 58/59, 59/60 and 60/61 have been Rs. 42,680/91, Rs. 234,433/04, Rs. 34,056/-, and Rs. 44,070/- respectively.

The Auditor General has continually pointed out that

this account should be investigated and cleared without delay as irregularities could not be ruled out till this has been done. It would also be pertinent to mention that the services of M/s. Burah Hathy & Co., the then Internal Auditors have been dispensed with subsequently. This decision has been taken by the Board at its meeting on 14.2.61.

The Accounts Division could have functioned more efficiently and much confusion avoided if there was a qualified and experienced Accountant at the helm. The unsatisfactory state of affairs in this division being obvious we cannot comprehend how the officer-in-charge of this division came to be appointed to the post of Financial Controller on a higher salary scale to exercise supervision and control over the Accounts Division. In regard to budgetary control and advice on office methods and systems, for which he also is responsible in his present post, we would invite reference to the preceding and succeeding paragraphs in which we have pinpointed some of the instances of haphazard budgeting without regard to system or procedure. If there was any justification for the creation of a new post of Financial Controller the vacancy should have been advertised among department employees at least so as to find the best and most qualified man for the post.

In this connection we understand that the present accountant holds a diploma in Accountancy (Ceylon), is also a Chartered Secretary. There is said to be another officer in the Accounts department who is qualified as a Chartered Secretary.

In our opinion Air Ceylon does not need a Financial Controller as well as an Accountant. We recommend that the post of Financial Controller be suppressed and an Accountant with suitable qualifications be made responsible for all accounting matters.

There are 3 Ex Radio Officers, Messrs. J. R. Vethavanam, D. L. Sirimanne, and A. Masilamanie, who had been found to be redundant as according to modern practice

This is the third instalment from the Report of the Special Committee on Air Ceylon. It draws pointed attention to the irregularities in the recruitment of personnel and the sad state of affairs in the Accounts Department which functions under the Financial Controller who is not professionally qualified. It recommends that the post be suppressed and an Accountant with suitable qualifications be made responsible for all accounting matters. The Committee also observes in its Report that the creation of new executive posts after the present holder was appointed General Manager is a sad commentary on the stewardship of the Management.

Radio Telegraph work is done by the Captain of the aircraft. They have however been accommodated in various posts (on lower salaries) created after retrenchment in 1961. Mr. Vethavanam is Operations Assistant to the Operations Manager on a salary of Rs. 5760/- per annum on the scale 3600 - 180 - 5760/- per annum. Mr. Sirimanne is a Chargehand in the Engineering Section on a salary of Rs. 4500 per annum on the scale of Rs. 3600 - 180 - 5760. Mr. A. Masilamanie is a Chargehand in the Inspection Department on a salary of Rs. 4320 per annum on the scale Rs. 3600 - 180 - 5760. While we sympathise with these officers in their plight in the context of retrenchment effected in 1961 and the financial position of Air Ceylon we see no reason why privileged treatment should have been meted out to a particular section of the staff. These posts may be suppressed.

Irregularities

Most of the irregularities of recruitment and promotion of staff could well have been avoided if there was a scheme of recruitment approved by the Board for each grade setting out the qualifications necessary, method of recruitment and so on. The absence of such schemes had made it possible for certain unqualified persons to obtain positions where not only experience but also academic and professional qualifications are essential. This situation should be remedied and appointments and promotions considered by selection boards.

In accordance with Government policy all new recruitment to subordinate and minor grades whether permanent, temporary or casual should be through the Employment Exchange. There have been instances in the past where candidates such as stenographers and typists sent up by the Employment Exchange have been rejected on the ground that they were unsuitable and subsequent recruitment made after inviting applications through the medium of the press. This arrangement is not quite satisfactory. There should be no difficulty in arranging with

the Employment Exchange to send in suitable persons with necessary qualifications and experience. Any deviation from this procedure should have the sanction of the Board.

There are posts of Secretaries to various Divisions as follows:- Secretary to the General Manager Rs. 5400 per annum on scale Rs. 3600-180-5760; Secretary to the Operations Manager Rs. 3720 per annum on scale Rs. 2640-180-4800; Secretary to the Manager, Traffic & Sales Rs. 4800 on scale Rs. 2640-180-4800; Secretary to the Accountant Rs. 3900 per annum on scale Rs. 2640-180-4800.

The work of these Secretaries appears to be such that they are stenographers who also assist the Heads of Divisions in maintaining the files which are under their personal custody. We feel that they could easily be replaced by providing clerical assistants if necessary. Some of the staff

in the Accounts and the Traffic and Sales Division could be deployed for the work of assisting in correspondence and maintaining files.

In addition to the Secretaries the following is the cadre of Stenographers and typists.

COLOMBO: Administration: One Stenographer scale Rs. 1200-120-2400. **Accounts:** One Stenographer scale Rs. 1200-120-2400 (attached to Financial Controller); One Typist scale Rs. 1200-120-2400. Two clerk-cum-typist scale Rs. 1200-120-2400. **Purchase:** One Stenographer scale Rs. 1800-120-3000. **Traffic & Sales:** Two Stenographers scale 1800 120-3000 : One Typist scale 1200-120-2400.

RATMALANA: Engineering: One Stenographer scale Rs. 1800 120-300 : **Inspection:** One clerk (doing work of typist) scale Rs. 1200-120-2400. **Stores:** One Stenographer scale Rs. 1200-120-2400. **Traffic & Sales:** One Stenographer scale Rs. 1200-120-2400.

Pool

The Traffic & Sales Division now housed in Hemas Building, Colombo will, we are informed, shift to the General office in Lower Chatham Street very shortly. There should therefore be a pool of Stenographers and Typists in the Head Office for the use of all sections. This type of work hitherto done by Secretaries to Heads of Divisions could therefore be attended to by Stenographers and typists in the pool.

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DJAKARTA & ITS AFTERMATH

NEW DELHI, May 15.

The journey to the Jakarta Afro-Asian preparatory meeting and back has unfolded a string of promising developments.

The Jakarta gathering gave clear indication that the period of indecisiveness and ineptness in New Delhi's foreign policy was over. New Delhi was making a strong bid to reestablish its positions in the Afro-Asian community of nations with a bold and positive approach based on current world realities.

The aftermath of Jakarta has brought confirmation of this trend and the first fruits of success for the new orientation.

One of the important results of New Delhi's drive is to initiate a new process of closer ties with Afro Asian nations. Countries with whom India has a natural affinity, those having socially progressive regimes, come first. The Jakarta Conference itself revealed a refreshing identity of approach between India and Ceylon. The aftermath of Jakarta has been to carry this process further.

Positive Approach

New Delhi's positive approach to the issues facing Afro-Asian nations has already had a commendable impact over a wide periphery. It is now known that while a large number of Asian and African representatives in the Jakarta meeting were unable to take a prompt decision in regard to the question of Soviet participation in the Afro-Asian meeting, their Governments have subsequently been reviewing their position on this question. Significant shifts and crystallisations are already reported. The consensus of opinion appears to be that when the next meeting of the Afro-Asian Foreign Ministers takes place the Indian initiative to bring the Soviet Union into the conference will be backed by a large group of nations, among whom the Arab group headed by the UAR and Algeria will be prominent.

Peking's anxiety over this new development is understandable. To the fact that India stole a diplomatic march over Peking at Jakarta, quite an unexpected thing and with quite an unorthodox approach, the Chinese policy-makers have to reckon with the Soviet Union's own offensive to isolate Peking in the Afro-Asian countries. Premier Khrushchov's visit to Cairo has been a disclosure to Peking about the new currents pervading

the more advanced among the Afro Asian countries. At this rate Peking may be left in the exclusive and splendid company of Pakistan and the other military bloc members when the next Afro-Asian conference takes place.

Precursor

A development of far-reaching consequence, in this context, is the close collaboration growing between this country and the Soviet Union. The decision on Bokaro evidently carried far greater significance

than is apparent. Soviet support for construction of another big public sector project is important in itself for India's economy. But it is also taken here as precursor of an important new aid programme for the Fourth Plan.

More, it is recalled here that the Soviet Union's collaboration for Bhilai marked the beginning of a period of Indo-Soviet collaboration and close relations in the international arena. Bokaro, perhaps, means the renewal of this friendship and beginning of yet another period of Indo-Soviet collaboration.

The significance of this is already clear. Quick on the heels of Bokaro came the agreement for Soviet machi-

inery for the Jetsar large-scale mechanised farm, the second biggest of its kind in Asia. Then came the announcement of Soviet offer for a high-powered transmitter-something about which the Americans created so much fuss and asked for so many humiliating conditions, contained in the now abrogated VOA deal. And now, as revealed by the *New York Times*, has come the news that Soviet military assistance already exceeds all that the United States has rendered to this country.

Peking's policy-makers will have to reckon with the new shape of alignments developing in the Afro-Asian world before setting out on fresh adventures.

Tribune Correspondent

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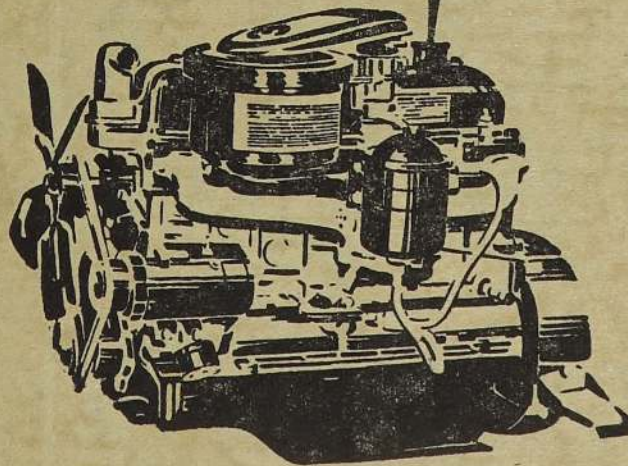
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U S Business Ethics • Vietnam

THE BUSINESS CONSCIENCE is by Lurth H. Hodges (Prentice-Hall Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N. J. 1963) US Secretary of Commerce, and a former Governor of North Carolina.

Mr. Hodges explains why he consented to become head of the Department of Commerce: "I felt we should do all in our power to make the morality of U.S. business a bright example for people in the newly-independent countries...Three weeks on the job and I was fearful that business, instead of impressing the rest of the world, might be in danger of surrendering its good name at home." (p. 14)

His purpose in writing the book was to prevent that. He recalls some of the scandalous revelations known to the reader—the price-fixing conspiracy of General Electric, Westinghouse and several other firms which, he sadly remarks, are "the cream of this segment of our business community," and emphasises that this was not an isolated case; also the steel companies' attempt to raise prices, the TV quiz scandal, misleading advertising, cheating the public by deceptive packaging, etc.

Nor is Mr. Hodges satisfied with the conduct of American capitalists in other countries. He points, in this connection, to the case of Harry S. Stonehill, an American businessman deported from the Philippines. President Macapagal of the Philippines said Stonehill had "established a network of corruption reaching practically to every high government office" (p. 192).

However, Mr. Hodges finds a measure of consolation in the thought that things were worse in past. In 1893, the year of his birth, the "robber barons" were riding high. One of them, Vanderbilt, said: "What do I care about the law—aren't I got the power?" (p. 8)

The present-day Vanderbilts, Mr. Hodges admits, are not far behind their nineteenth century predecessors. In Texas, the practice is to steal your neighbour's oil by digging slanting wells. The State Attorney-General investigated 22 wells and found that all of them were slanted beneath the surface to pirate oil from neighbouring properties. The

amount involved was estimated at \$50,000,000. "This type of operation," the author remarks, "comes close to the piracy that gladdened the heart of Elizabeth the First" (p. 154).

In 1944, at the height of the war, one would have expected not only conscience, but patriotism from America's businessmen. However, an investigation revealed 90,000 violations of Office of Price Administration rulings. Comments Mr. Hodges: "You can't look at these statics and feel terribly superior to the 'robber barons' of 1898" (p. 9).

As head of the Textile Pricing division at OPA during the war, Mr. Hodges was able to expose an attempt by a textile firm to sell the Fighting French cotton blankets though it had been paid for woollen ones. But another firm managed to get around Mr. Hodges and pocket an extra million dollars. After the war this became the subject of many an amusing story.

The incidents cited in the book—and many more recent ones could be added—refute the author's contention that things were worse in the past. Capitalist ethics have not improved, but the techniques of capitalist robbery and deception have.

His study of business ethics logically leads Mr. Hodges to a judgment of the ethics of a society for which business is the be-all and end-all. He writes: "I've become concerned about the soft attitude many Americans take towards crime and punishment. It has become almost disgraceful to impose the maximum penalty for any kind of crime, even murder" (p. 31). The allusion is to the leniency courts show for big-time criminals—the common criminal "often goes to prison while the businessman pays a modest fine" (p. 31-32).

In effect, Mr. Hodges admits that, even today, a man who steals a railway is considered a hero, not a criminal. When those involved in the price-fixing conspiracy were tried, the stiffest sentence was 30 days in jail, "hardly an extreme punishment for men whose conspiracy robbed customers of many millions of dollars" (p. 32). The author suggests that a businessman

who robs the public of a million dollars should be treated with the same severity as the common criminal who steals twenty dollars from the corner drug store.

A former Governor and now Secretary of Commerce, Mr. Hodges is not, of course, an enemy of the businessman. His philosophy is expressed in the maxim: "Good ethics is good business" (p. 190), and he deplores the businessmen's failure to appreciate his good intentions.

When he tried to discuss business ethics, they turned a deaf ear. They saw no point in disclosing some of the shady sides of business—that might stir up public resentment. Their own philosophy is: "Whatever is good business is good ethics" (p. 44). And needless to say, "good business" means the highest profit you can get.

Business leaders are true to their philosophy. After the price-fixing conspiracy, company lawyers declared that the letter of the law might have been violated, but not the spirit of free enterprise.

Mr. Hodges's own plan for improvement is hardly an effective one. He suggests seminars on ethics and urges every company to work out a code ethics (a model text is appended to the book).

But he probably feels that you can't preach to the business community as you would 'o a Methodist congregation. "Too much inertia must be overcome," he complains. "Businessmen attending a trade association convention are apt to desert the meeting room and adjourn to a convenient cocktail lounge if ethics are discussed" (p. 211)

His appeals for a business conscience are not new; they date back to the very beginnings of capitalism. They have not produced a capitalist conscience—capitalism is based on profit coined out of the labour of the propertyless, in other words, on legalized robbery.

New Times

* * *
THE TWO VIET-NAMS.
Bernad B. Fall. Praeger, New York. 5.75 dollars.

This fat and fascinating volume should be studied carefully by everyone who is inter-

ested in the Vietnamese problem. Prof. Bernard Fall, one of the leading American authorities on Vietnam, has here presented a remarkable picture of the evolution of the Vietnamese struggle first against France and then against the United States. His comparison of the two regimes, their similarities, and differences, the long pen portraits of Ho Chi Minh and Diem bring out the difference between the two leaders and the regimes which they established.

Dr. Fall is extremely critical of the American apologists of South Vietnam. He correctly points out that the rapid deterioration of the situation was essentially the fault of the institutional framework; the removal of Diem therefore would not make any material difference to it. The regime with its emphasis on "personalism" and paternal rule was caught in the dilemma created by its logic. It was aided and abetted by its American friends who argued that in an underdeveloped country the best possible government is a dictatorship provided it is an anti-Communist. Diem and Nhu were thus the prisoners of their system; they have fallen but their system remains.

This can be seen from the fact Diem and his American supporters encouraged the large movement of Catholics from North Vietnam with their slogan that the Virgin Mary has left the land. It created an immense problem for South Vietnam. These refugees had to be settled and in order to do it Diem carried out his pseudo-land reforms. Apart from alienating the Cochinese Chinese landlords this measure failed to achieve anything else.

The peasants were no better than before. It was this failure to offer an alternative to communism, that in Dr. Fall's opinion has led to the insurgency in South Vietnam.

Diem and his American supporters laid emphasis on military measures. They believed that the time for reform was after suppression of the insurgents. They, therefore, did nothing to win the people over; on the other hand, their obsession with military objectives alienated the people. The Strategic Hamlet policy which Diem enforced with great brutality only brought more recruits to the Vietcongs.

The success of a similar policy in Malaya, had fascinated the American strategists but they failed to notice that circumstances in Malaya were different. There, the insurrection was mainly confined to the Chinese, large proportion of the Malay population cooperated with the British. In South Vietnam the position, as Dr. Fall points out, is different. The people are almost wholly on the side of the Vietcongs.

The Americans completely failed to understand the nature of revolutionary warfare. Revolutionary warfare is "the result of the application of guerilla warfare methods and psychological political operations for the purpose of establishing a competing ideological system or political structure." The only object is human beings. The Americans however concentrated on napalm bombing and securing lines of communication. The Vietcong casualties, according to Americans, grew each year, the number of Vietcong forces in the field, however, remained the same.

Dr. Fall's solution for the problem: the creation of a neutral belt of states in Southeast Asia and closer economic relations between North and South Vietnam. But, as he points out, South Vietnam has now become an American problem and it is doubtful whether any such solution would be acceptable. "The most likely course the situation in South Vietnam will take is simply a muddling through." A pessimistic conclusion, but American diplomacy can hardly do better.

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"BUDDHIST LEADERS"

While addressing a number of public meetings recently, Mr. Dudley Senanayake, the Leader of the United National Party has accused Mr. L. H. Mettananda, President of the Buddha Jatika Balavegaya of creating divisions among the Buddhists.

Mr. Mettananda is alleged to have classified the Buddhists into two categories, progressive Buddhists and reactionary Buddhists, and thereby created disunity and dissension among them. The U.N.P. leader is also reported to have posed the question whether Mr. Mettananda classed the Buddha among the reactionary Buddhists merely because he happened to be born into a feudal society.

In the first instance I must vehemently protest against Mr. Dudley Senanayake's attempt to drag in the name of the Blessed One into a political controversy. If Mr. Senanayake knows his Buddhism, he should realize that the Buddha was beyond the ephemeral concepts of progress and reaction.

Mr. Dudley Senanayake is obviously peeved at the speech made by Mr. Mettananda at Sri Seevali Vidyalaya, Bandarawela on 26th April. I was myself present at this meeting and addressed it. I can assure Mr. Senanayake that Mr. Mettananda at no stage in his speech referred either to progressive Buddhists or to reactionary Buddhists. He did, however, refer to reactionary politicians and progressive politicians, which reference has significance only in the sphere of politics. That some of these reactionaries happened to be Buddhists is quite incidental.

I may add that Mr. Mettananda's speech was reported in full and correctly in the Press.

Justified

Although Mr. Mettananda did not classify some Buddhists as reactionaries and others as progressives, I think he would have been perfectly justified had he done so. There have been in the past, and there are still among us various types of Buddhists. There are the progressive Buddhists and the reactionary Buddhists. There are the pious Buddhists and the indifferent Buddhists. There are the genuine Buddhists and the "Themparadu" Buddhists — and there are among us even followers of Devadatta, who, while calling themselves Buddhists and paying lip service to Buddhism, do everything to weaken the Buddhists and to destroy the Buddha Sasana ultimately.

For example, what shall we call these so called Buddhist leaders who were afforded the privilege of drafting the Constitution for Independent Ceylon and who used that privilege to entrench and

enthroned the Roman Catholic Church in Ceylon? It has been proved beyond doubt that these Buddhist politicians went out of their way to consult the Roman Catholic Archbishop and to introduce a new proviso to Section 29 to suit the Roman Catholics. No such consultation appears to have been made even with the Mahanayake Thero of the Malwatta Chapter. This Section of the Constitution has become a threat not only to the religion of the vast majority of the People of Ceylon but also to their language.

Imported Howes

What shall we call those Buddhist politicians, who mockingly asked the Buddhists whether they wanted a fourth refuge in the Government "Anduwa Saranan Gachchami" when they asked for the appointment of a Commission to enquire into the needs and the grievances of the Buddhists?

Again, what shall we call those Buddhist leaders who permitted the higher echelons of the Army, Navy, Air Force and the Police to be packed by Catholic Actionists and thereby endangered the very freedom and security of the Buddhists? These Buddhist leaders were also responsible for placing Catholic Actionists in Key positions in various Government Departments.

What shall we call those Buddhist leaders who imported Dr. H. W. Howes, a well known English Catholic Actionist from the tiny British Colony of Gibraltar and placed him in full charge of the education of our children and gave him full freedom and scope to undermine and sabotage the Free Education Scheme? By acts of overt and covert discrimination and by various types of subtle manoeuvring, Dr. Howes was able to create a situation wherein the Government was committed to spend on a child attending a Roman Catholic School twice as much as on a child attending a state school or a Buddhist or a Hindu or a Muslim school? Even after

the daily Press exposed Dr. Howes' discriminatory activities against the Buddhists and other non-Catholics, he was kept in office by these so called Buddhist leaders. What shall we call such Buddhists?

An what shall we call those Buddhist leaders who could not find a single Buddhist school in the Island when six school dental clinics were first established?

Catholic Action

Again, what shall we call those Buddhist politicians who made the newly created National Housing Department a citadel of Catholic Action and allowed the Catholics the lion share of the housing loans, and also of the flats and other houses built by the Department with public funds, and thus helped to establish impregnable Catholic fortresses in different parts of the Island.

legislation to impose income tax and other taxes on the income from commercial, agricultural and other extra-religious enterprises of the Roman Catholic Church and allowed it snowball its wealth, which in turn was used against the Buddhists and against their religion. Finally when a Bill was introduced in 1959 by the Bandaranaike Government to tax the extra religious incomes of religious bodies these Buddhists opposed it on the ground of iniquity!

Again what shall we call those Buddhist leaders who permitted the National Radio to propagate Christianity daily — when even the B.B.C. as a matter of policy, does not allow any regular religious broadcast, "outside the main stream of Christianity". The Christian Missionary propaganda on the Commercial Service of

disorganised the rapidly growing Buddhist awakening in the country.

What shall we call those Buddhists who threatened to apply tar on the back of Buddhist monks and cut the tongues of Buddhist laymen for the "crime" of ventilating the grievances of the Buddhists and for protesting against the anti-Buddhist activities of these politicians?

What shall we call those Buddhist politicians who ganged up with Catholic Actionists and worked against the take over of assisted schools, which act of take over was a pre-requisite to the organisation of a National System of Education, which would equalize educational opportunities to all children?

What can we call those Buddhist politicians who have deliberately allowed the Roman Catholic Church to reign supreme in our education in our social services, in our Police, in our Armed Services as well in our economy, to the detriment of the under-privileged Buddhists and to create the optimum conditions for a second South Vietnam in Ceylon? We know that in South Vietnam too the support given by the so called Buddhist leaders made it possible for the Catholic Dictator Diem to ruin Buddhism and decimate the Buddhists in that country.

Finally what are we to think of these Buddhist politicians who formulate and shape their policies and principles having always an eye to the block vote of the subjects of His Holiness the Pope. The popes have again and again enjoined Catholics "to think with the mind of the Church" and to vote as the Church dictates". So these Buddhists politicians are even ready to sacrifice the interests of the Buddhists and even the larger interests of the country at the altar of expediency.

What are we to call such Buddhists?

There is an appropriate name for them. They must be called Devadatta Buddhists.

BY
T. U. de. SILVA
Vice - President
Buddha Jatika Peramuna

What shall we call them for using the government laws and government machinery to purchase for the Catholic Action Movement a land situated in Pitakotte, which was in dispute and granting that anti-national and anti-Buddhist Movement loans running up to a million Rupees to build 40 odd houses on this land?

What shall we call those Buddhist politicians who granted distinguished citizenships to Sindhis, Borahs, Parawars and other Indian Capitalists who from early colonial days had obtained a strangle-hold on the economy of our country and who had neither a stake in the country or a love for its people?

The grant of citizenship to these aliens, merely because they enriched the Party coffers was, in effect the grant of a licence to carry their exploitation of the people of this country without let or hindrance.

Again what shall we call those Buddhists who allocated the major portion of our new industries to these distinguished citizens and thereby helped them to build Industrial Empires in our Country?

What shall we call these Buddhist leaders who persistently refused to introduce

Radio Ceylon went on till 1957 when the late Mr. S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, stopped its representation made by the Buddhists.

South Vietnam

What shall we call those political leaders who, while professing to be good Buddhists dropped the apple of discord among the Buddhists by having a General Election during the Buddha Jayanthi year at the bidding of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy; in spite of vehement protests from the Maha Sangha and the leading Buddhist Associations. The General Election held prematurely in 1956 not only destroyed the growing unity and solidarity among the Buddhists but it also

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Missionaries Expelled

for political activities

ALLAH, it is said, was in a happy mood when he carved out Sudan. He must have been, for in total disregard of harmony, he gave us a colourful, multi-faceted and multi-tribal country. If you were to fly over it, you would see barren desert alternating with fields of tall grass, palm groves on the shores of the Nile, dragon trees on the hills overlooking the Red Sea, trim cultivated fields in the Nile valleys in the north, and dense jungle in the south. And yet the south is our richest area—rich in iron and uranium ore, gold and copper, bamboo, coffee, and the ambatch, the world's lightest wood.

The Sudan is an Arab country, but it is peopled by many tribes speaking many different languages. Tribal variety is especially great in the south. In the north most of the people are Moslems, in the south they are "heathens." That was

exploited by the British colonialists.

Divide

Their policy was to separate south from north. The British Governor-General sealed off the southern areas from the north and the rest of the world. No northerner was admitted to the south, and no southerner to the north. Huge territories, the Upper Nile, Bahr el Ghazal, Equatoria and other areas accounting for a third of the country's population, were proclaimed closed regions and turned into virtual reservations. The population could travel only to the neighbouring British colonies of Kenya and Uganda.

In the north, English and Arabic were official languages, in the south only English. Education, such as it was, was in the hands of Protestant and Catholic missions, which concentrated on instilling obedience to the white man and inciting enmity towards the Arabs in the north.

The missionaries, and British businessmen, stayed in the south for years, with no benefit to its population, but with much benefit to themselves. They owned plantations, rode about in automobiles, lived in comfortable cottages.

After 1956

Sudan became independent in 1956. The colonialists were expelled, but not the missionaries. The new government still believed they were helping to bring the people education.

The missionaries shifted from religious to political propaganda. They preached separation of the "Christian" south, from the "Moslem" north and spread all manner of slanderous rumours. Every year their pernicious

activities became more and more dangerous.

So much so that in 1962 the government had to promulgate a law forbidding missionaries to engage in anti-government activities. It did not help. The missionaries continued to incite believers against the government.

Last December and early this year they had an active share in organizing the armed raid on Wau, the capital of Bahr el Ghazal province.

Separatist elements tried to sever the province from the rest of the Sudan. The missionaries helped them in every way they could—supplied them with information, money, maps, automobiles, maintained contact with anti-government elements abroad, and so on.

by

Osman Hussein

That was too much. The government ordered the expulsion of 300 missionaries, 272 Catholic and 28 Protestant. This has been welcomed by the population. But not by the colonialist element.

In London, Rome, Paris and New York the press raised a hue and cry, accusing our country of every conceivable sin. The missionaries were depicted as innocents animated by a passionate desire to "enlighten" the people. What sort of enlightenment they brought all of us know.

In the long years of their rule, the British did not open a single secondary school in South Sudan, or build a single factory. Only in recent years, after expulsion of the colonialists, did we begin schools and hospitals, and a railway from Wau to the country's capital. The Soviet Union is helping us build a big canning plant at Wau.

The colonialists and their missionaries would have liked to prolong their stay in South Sudan. They were told to leave. That is why the Western press is so furious.

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

This prince of men, this Lord on earth,
Has sadly passed away
And those weep and mourn for him,
His noble mind did sway.

Though born in wealth and happiness,
In luxury and grace,
He spurned them all and soon became,
A champion of his race.

In those bad days of British rule
And imperialist might
Under Mahatma's leadership,
In that long glorious fight,

To shake the servile links that bound
His country to the Crown
His spirit was the guiding force
That brought the alien down.

And when soon after India won
Her cherished liberty,
It was this modern Colossus
Who ruled his great Country,

But in that hour when truth prevailed
Over colonial might
He treated yet the erstwhile foe,
With magnanimous sight.

For seventeen years his sterling mind
The destiny did guide
Of Indian people, young and old,
With justice on his side.

To co-exist with all the world
In friendly, lasting peace,
And be a light to one and all
And fighting minds appease—

That was the goal of his great life,
A life of grace and charm,
A life that gave his best to all,
To tired minds, a balm.

The Pancha Sila principles
To him were always dear
And nonalignment was a dream
He ever felt so near.

Though nurtured well in luxury,
Of noble, Brahmin blood,
The Socialist ideology
Engulfed him like a flood.

To aim all sons of Indian soil,
Whate'er their race or creed,
Were entitled to equal right
As men of Indian breed.

And though beneath his stern, strong face,
There lay a heart of gold,
When evil showed its ugly might,
He could be justly bold,

And so it was when Portugal
The unjust spoils did keep
Of Goa—part of Indian soil—
He drove them to the deep.

He fought for right, he condemned might,
A noble prince was he,
Perhaps the like of him will not
Be seen in history.

And we who mourn his grievous loss—
A loss to everyone—
Take comfort in one gladdening thought,
His race was truly won.

His body may be laid to rest
His soul—it has not past,
The spirit of great men like him
Will through the ages last.

The lofty thoughts, the gallant life,
The greatness of his mind,
Will live and inspire all the world,
A light for all mankind.

E.R.S.R.

Mirror of the Week's Affairs

continued from page 2

in Honkkong. These two vessels had been bought from Israel and the British Navy and had cost the Government over Rs 2 million. The Times of Ceylon reported that the ULF was still considering the draft reply to the PM and that a proposal was being discussed to have another MEP nominee instead of the leader Mr. Philip Gunawardena. The paper also reported that the Mahanayake of Mal watte had decided to openly enter the arena to fight the Communists. He had in a special interview to the Times stated that in the past he had been reluctant about expressing political views but now he has decided to break the silence. He would tell the people about the dangers inherent in Communism, he had added. Sheik Abdullah who is on a visit to Pakistan had started his long awaited talks with President Ayub Khan yesterday. Russia has agreed to give the UAR a new long term loan of 252 million ruble (about £ 100 million) France differing sharply with the United States and Britain today supported a Cambodian complaint in the Security Council and proposed leaving Indo-China border troubles to the existing International Control Commission.

COMMENT... * MALWATTE * POLITICS * YANKEE

* MAHANAYAKE. Last week we had occasion to point out that the Auxiliary Bishop of Colombo de Saram had chosen to enter the political arena with a speech echoing the Voice of America. For some time now, the Catholic Church and Catholic Action had endeavoured to keep out of politics overtly though their covert activities were still suspect by many. The fact that Bishop de Saram had chosen this particular time to come into the field of polemical politics is an indication that the leopard in the Catholic Church in Ceylon cannot shed its spots however much many of its realistic religious adherents seek to exorcise their Church of the dangerous political incubus that taints its religious character. But even before the Auxiliary Bishop had had time to embark on his next gladiatorial adventure into politics, the Lake House and then Times group of papers headlined statements ascribed to the Mahanayake of Malwatte that he too had chosen to enter the same political arena echoing the same Voice of America. Tribune has always taken the position that priests and prelates of every denomination should keep out of politics if they expect the immunity which tradition has bestowed on those who have dedicated themselves to the service of man in the religious field. It can certainly be argued that religion and politics have many inter-connections, but the priest or prelate who chooses to mix his religion with politics cannot expect any quarter in the vicious and hard-hitting game that is politics. And the Mahanayake of Malwatte has therefore been subject to the same treatment this week in the Tribune to which the Auxiliary Bishop had to contend with last week. More is bound to come if these priests and prelates seek to lead a Holy Crusade against the progressive movement.

* BUDDHARAKHITA. It is well to recall that the last Buddhist prelate, who entered the political field with the zest and vigour which the daily newspapers claim that the present Malwatte Mahanayake has done, was Buddharakhita Thero of the Raja Maha Vihara of Kelaniya. The fate of Buddharakhita is still very much before the public and any Buddhist prelate who ventures into the field of active politics must remember that history has a way of repeating itself with variations to suit varied circumstances. The Mahanayake of Malwatte has, it would appear from a number of speeches, reported in the Daily News unburdened himself about the "evils" of the Paddy Lands Act and the possibilities of nationalising tea estates. The public has a right to ask how much paddy lands is owned or controlled by the Mahanayake, or whether he has interests in tea or rubber plantations. Property beyond the actual needs of a temple creates vested interests, and if there was one thing which the Buddha fought against, it was vested interests: be it, the vested interests of the Brahmin, or of caste, or of wealth. Let the public know the actual assets which the Malwatte Mahanayake seeks to safeguard and then it would be possible for the public to judge the value to be attached to the words of the Mahanayake. Buddharakhita, not satisfied with the lands and income of the Kelaniya temple, sought, like the prelates of the Catholic Church in certain countries to enter the field of capitalist enterprise in shipping and construction contracts through joint stock companies covertly financed by him and this brought him heavily on the side of Big Business. This took him further into the field of partisan politics in the economic sector from the religio-cultural field; and from this to party politics and the conspiracy to assassinate the Prime Minister was an inevitable consequence of uninhibited ambition.

* AMERICAN. Correspondents in this issue have pointed out the dynamics of priests and prelates who seek to impinge on politics through the daily press of this country. It has also been pointed out elsewhere that the USIA and ASIA FOUNDATION seem to have been working overtime to help mobilise the forces of Reaction in every sector to prevent the forward march of this country towards a socialist objective. From Sir Lalitha to the Mahanayake of Malwatte, from Auxiliary Bishop de Saram to the Rajaratnes and R. G. Senanayakes, from surfeit of anti-coalition articles in the Times group of papers to the collection of the 23 signatures from SLFP Ministers and MPs, discerning political observers see the hand of the USIA and Asia Foundation. The Government has very wisely decided to have no more Peace Corps Volunteers, but it seems to be blind to the activities of Asia Foundation. This organisation has recently issued a booklet in which its handouts for the last year, are listed but this is no indication of the influence it wields in high and low places. At crucial times like the present when a coalition is in the offing, the Asia Foundation personnel can (and do) play sinister roles. The Government must also be congratulated for refusing permission to the US survey ship Pioneer for investigating the submarine trench in Trincomalee. With the Seventh Fleet, with its quota of Polaris and other nuclear armed submarines in the Indian Ocean, Ceylon cannot take any chances of the Pentagon working out plans for the use of Trincomalee for any of its warlike activities. As part of the Embassy, the Government can do little about the USIA but the progressive movement should be alerted about its dangerous tentacles. For one thing, it is time that the VOA agreement should be scrapped. The refusal of aid is certainly good enough ground to suspend the VOA agreement.

Press, Prelate & Politics

by
James T. Rutnam

It was only last week that we upheld His Reverence the Venerable Amunugama Rajaguru Vipassi, the Mahanayaka Thero of the Malwatta Chapter of the Siyam Nikaya, as an example of a prelate who would not be a political bhikkhu. We had good grounds for saying so. For soon after the venerable prelate's election to his high office, he let it be known that he was opposed to monks taking part in politics. This was applauded by a large section of the people, both Buddhists and non-Buddhists.

We have also known that this large-hearted, compassionate High Priest was determined to remove sectional differences in this country, that his attitude to the Tamils, for instance, was influenced by loving-kindness and a recollection that his own life was saved by a Tamil surgeon. This was certainly a refreshing wind of change, so urgently needed in this country, as without such a this type of benign atmospheric change, there was every fear that a calamity would befall our beloved motherland.

We have also observed that since the Mahanayaka Thero had given vent to his noble Buddhist sentiments, he had at critical moments of political controversy in the recent past, appeared to be a little slow and hesitant in emphasizing his earlier views. This we thought could be due to pressures from without. We had, however, hoped that here was a prelate, learned, and revered by the people, who would spiritually symbolise in his words and ways, a standard and a rallying point for the diverse elements that form the population of this Punya Bhumi, this blessed isle of Sri Lanka.

Bewildered

But we were bewildered by the headlines and reports that were being daily issued from the monopoly press during the last few days, attributing to the venerable High Priest views and opinions which are not only contradictory to the stand he had taken soon after his elevation, but which are, to say the least, so patently irreconcilable taken together, and incomprehensible, uncharitable, and indeed unbuddhistic, if we may say so in all humility.

Who is the Buddhist monk, even the least among them, who would breathe fire and brimstone and say that he "will fight the Reds openly"? But the Times of Ceylon says that this gentle Mahanayaka Thero did utter these words. And the Times, our countrymen, is an honourable news-

paper. Nevertheless we do not believe it. We cannot believe it.

For the record, however, let it be noted. The Times of Ceylon in its issue of the 26th May, in trumpeting headlines on its first page not only stated that the Mahanayaka Thero "will fight the Reds openly", but also that he was (in the Mahanayaka's ipsissima verba) "categorically opposed to Coalition move". Could this be true? Did the venerable High Priest really say so? Whom are we to believe? Was this disciple of the Blessed One the same as the one that declared in the Wesak number of the Times of Ceylon of the 23rd May as follows:

"Let us on this day dedicated to the Compassionate One, forget all petty thoughts based on caste, creed, race, community and political ideology, and let us suffuse the entire world with the warmth of compassion and loving-kindness so that all beings may attain earthly happiness and the ultimate bliss of Nibbana.

What noble words! What hope they give to this strife-torn world! And yet, as referred earlier, on the 26th May the Times published a hymn of hate, 'fighting the Reds openly' etc. etc., as coming from this earnest, peaceful, gentle, compassion-animating High Priest. Whom are we to believe?

Is the forgetting of all "petty thoughts based on creed and political ideology," (we repeat political ideology) reserved for Wesak Day only? Must compassion and loving-kindness be extravagantly expended only on the day of the birth of the Enlightened One?

The Sunday Observer of the 26th May joyfully headlined on its first page "Mahanayake tells the Government after his Buddhism is in danger speech, Coalition won't do—go to the Polls, says Prelate." But this report also said that the Mahanayaka boldly declared, "Whatever the disaster, the Buddhist Sasana would flourish for five thousand years unhampered in

this island." Then surely if Buddhism would flourish for five thousand years, it is certainly not in danger. Or must there be some danger for Buddhism, to flourish for five thousand years? This is all confusion worse confounded. We are perplexed.

Tibet

The venerable Mahanayaka Thero is also reported to have made some reference to Tibet. We know how the UNP tried to bring the Dalai Lama to Ceylon to misdirect the people against the present Government. We also know how our Government, successfully resisted this diabolical attempt to make political capital out of a religious issue.

Buddhism in Tibet is quite different to Buddhism in Ceylon. In Tibet, isolated from the rest of mankind by natural barriers, sited on the roof of the world in the Himalayas, the mass of the people lived in abject poverty and unmitigated serfdom, hewing wood and drawing water to satisfy a set of ruthless task-masters formed from a corrupted, priest-ridden, feudal society of idle professional imposters. In all religions, interpretations vary, and abuses occur in the best regulated temples and churches. In the sacred name of Religion many a crime has been committed. Those at the receiving end of such tyranny do not look at Religion in the same satisfied way as those who wax fat at the other end.

Has the Mahanayaka Thero taken a cue from the UNP to cast a slur on resurgent China which has today awakened from the slumber of centuries, and which now stands like a Colossus in Asia? M. R. Ratnajinendra, a very diligent student of Buddhist development wrote of China in the Wesak Edition of the Ceylon Daily News of the 25th May as follows:

"In China, an outline history of Buddhism in the Asian countries and a history of the relations between Buddhists in China and other Asian countries have been compiled by research societies under the aegis of the Chinese Buddhist Association. Other works by these societies include the translation into English of Chinese Buddhist writings, and the translation of the history of Buddhism in India and in Ceylon. The work of excavating research and printing of

continued on page 16

BUDDHIST SANGHA

Victim of Catholic Action

In the Third World, which is now emerging of which Ceylon is an integral part, capitalism is now becoming increasingly discredited in the eyes of the people and there appears to be a spontaneous urge for Socialism based on the realisation that capitalism cannot solve any of the pressing and urgent problems confronting the emergent and developing countries. Economists regardless of their political ideology, estimate that with a mere average annual expansion rate of about four percent of a country's revenue, it will take between eighty to one hundred years or so to catch up with the industrial nations of the world.

This realisation is now leading even conservative and capitalist parties in the Third World to adopt some of the basic principles of Socialism even though it may not be to their liking. In Ceylon, too, this realisation is manifest in that the capitalist United National Party has to proclaim Socialist slogans in order to be heard.

Same Tactic

But how thoroughly dishonest the UNP is, is seen from the fact that when the Prime Minister, Madame Sirimavo Bandaranaike seeks the cooperation of the United Left Front to transform the socialist dream into reality, the UNP raises the "Red Peril" to Buddhism, the very same tactic that the Vatican raises in the Catholic countries. That the UNP should raise the identical threat to religion, which is echoed by the daily press, particularly the *Times of Ceylon*, is not in any way surprising because it is under the deadly grip of the political arm of Catholic Action and Big Business Reaction.

However, it is indeed sad to reflect that the Buddhist Sangha, which has so far adopted a cautious policy of not aligning with either of the Right, Left or Centre, seems to have fallen a victim, wittingly or unwittingly, to the machinations and the wily propaganda stunts of the Catholic Action and the UNP. Need we warn the Sangha and the Buddhists of this country that Catholic Action is only biding its time to turn this country into another South Vietnam to smash Buddhism, to Vaticanise it and to make it a puppet state of the Anglo-American imperialists, in which the UNP will play probably the role the Diem regime did.

Prostitution of religion by Big Business and the UNP is not going to take the country anywhere. The postwar history of Europe has proved to the Vatican, the arch enemy of progress, in the most unmistakable terms that the upsurge of Socialism can never be checkmated by prostituting religion and projecting it as the implacable enemy of religion. Despite the severe regimentation of the mind of Catholics in predominantly Catholic countries such as Poland and Hungary, whatever Vatican historians might say, have accepted Socialism. Italy, the heart of Catholicism, today has the largest Communist Party in Europe. It is only sheer political expediency which has now forced the Vatican to evolve a *modus vivendi* to co exist with Socialism while all the time plotting to secure its violent overthrow. No gloss can cover that hideous and naked truth that the Vatican believes and practises the Machiavellian principle that the end justifies the means.

As we said a while ago, there is a spontaneous urge for Socialism in the Third World. It holds no terrors to the common man, be he a Buddhist or a Catholic. He knows that his deliverance can only come through Socialism which alone will guarantee him a better life on earth and the basic and vital necessities of life and put an end to the misery of exploitation of man by man. He knows that it is under Socialism that he can practise his religion or pray to his God on a full stomach.

Giant Problem

The Venerable B. Siri Sivali, Professor of Buddhist Culture and Dean of the Buddhist Faculty of the Vidyalandara

University, writing in the *Wesak Supplement of the Ceylon Daily News* of May 25 put this point very succinctly in his article entitled "Realistic Attitude Towards Karma". He wrote, "Religion feeds the mind. Economic development satisfies the needs of his body. But the man of religion faces the giant problem when he is deprived of material needs. The reason is clear. Poverty is so cruel that it could make a man forget religious principles altogether." He went on to cite in his article two cruel instances of poverty which made men to forget their religious principles. The Catholic Bishop of the United States, Fulton Sheen, said, "One cannot pray to God on any empty stomach."

By

Punchisingho

Between the UNP, the Vatican-organised Catholic Action, and the daily press, the mouthpiece of both, there is basically no difference. They all share the same identity of interests which is to preserve and safeguard at all times the interests of the capitalists, monopolists and to help the reactionaries both local and foreign, to stem the forward march of our country. They know that the concentration of wealth and money in the hands of the capitalists play a decisive role to keep the common man in perpetual subjugation. Hence they are now projecting Socialism as a peril to Buddhism to prevent the unity of the progressive forces. In order to achieve this sinister objective, the Catholic Action dominated *Times of Ceylon* which has always been highly antagonistic and inimical to Buddhism, has now emerged as its champion and doughty defender. In its issue of May 23 it published an editorial headlined "INCOMPATIBLE" in which it posed the question, "Can Buddhism Co Exist With Marxism In The Same Country?"

Journalistic Chicanery

In posing this question, the *Times* has only resorted to journalistic chicanery to cheat the Buddhists that it is solicit-

Nehru

continued from page 1

in many countries today who believe that war is necessary for resolving the problems of man, but will Nehru's friends like Nasser, Nkrumah or Sukarno step into the breach caused by Nehru's death and help to save mankind from an atomic holocaust that will destroy man?

In Ceylon, as we know him, grief is universal. The Prime Minister's immediate departure for New Delhi and the measures taken to express the sorrow on the day of the funeral was only a token reflection of the deep impact

of their religion, whereas in truth it is seeking its total extinction and ultimately to Catholicize Ceylon. Perhaps more than any other religion Buddhism by virtue of its philosophy, its adaptability and accommodative spirit can peacefully co-exist with the spirit and the substance of Socialism. To Buddhists Socialism contains within it the highest aspirations embodied in the Noble Eight Fold Path of the Buddha.

As against Buddhism, Catholicism is the very antithesis of Socialism. Catholicism is capitalist in content; its aim is to amass as much wealth as possible; to make the rich richer and the poor poorer. The Church is one of the most powerful capitalistic organisations in the world. The assets of the Vatican alone amount to eleven thousand million dollars. In Italy it owns nearly eighty percent of the arable land. Its investments in foreign banks, insurance companies and industrial combines the world over amount to several thousand million dollars. In Ceylon it is the richest organisation among religious bodies.

That is not all. The aim of the Catholic church is also to crush all religions and to Vaticanise the entire world. Not without reason, *Tribune* has in recent times drawn the attention of its readers, particularly the Buddhists, to the massive efforts made by the minority Catholic Church in South Vietnam to Vaticanize the country with the help of Catholic dictator Diem who, supported by American dollars and arms, indulged in bloody massacres of Buddhists and the ruthless suppression of their religion. The patriotic South Vietnamese Buddhists are still valiantly fighting for the national liberation of their country from the American yoke and for religious freedom from the Vatican.

It would indeed be a sad day for Ceylon if the Buddhist Sangha and the Buddhists were to swallow hook, line and sinker the sugar coated pill of the Catholic Action and the UNP that they are saviours of Buddhism and in the process subvert the unity of the progressive forces which the Prime Minister is now seeking to ensure to take this country forward.

made by the death of the Indian leader. Nehru was a friend of the late S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike and they both shared many ideals in common. Regret on Nehru's death is tinged with a sense of disappointment that many outstanding problems between India and Ceylon remain unsolved, and all know that solutions would have been easier with Nehru alive and in power. But death does not await such problems to be solved, and history has deemed it fit that Indo-Ceylon problems should be resolved without Nehru.

It is yet too early to write about Nehru. He was the dreamer, the visionary, the leader of men, the statesman who wanted Utopia. He was also the politician, the shrewd clever tactician, who helped to fashion a political party which won India freedom and which has ruled the country for nearly 18 years. But, whatever he was, Nehru was not an administrator, and this has left its impress on New Delhi as it is today, and in this lies the seeds and germs of much of what is to happen in the near future. Under the shadow of Nehru, the old and the new bureaucrats have wielded actual power in New Delhi, and from this, more than anything else, will flow the history of today and tomorrow in India.

Nehru is dead, and this marks a new phase in the history of modern India. Nehru is dead, and he joins the ranks of the great who have made India what it is, Asoka, Akbar, Gandhiji and the rest.

A New Coup?

continued from page 1

to religion" Voice of America chorus, he had two special ceremonies with the Yankees: first he was with Asia Foundation which has organised some kind of Buddhist exhibition, and next a show at the Lincoln Auditorium entitled "Buddhist Art in the USA".

Whilst it is true that foreigners should not be held responsible for the foolish and stupid actions of our nationals, yet it must be stated that the largesse which Asia Foundation is permitted to distribute is a source of corruption which has sinister implications.

In every country where a Rightwing coup or putsch has been engineered in recent times, the cry which the reactionaries raised parrot-like was about the "red peril" against religion—just what the *Times*, the Auxiliary Bishop, Sir Lalitha and the Malwatte Mahanayake are doing now Coups in Brazil, Laos, Guatemala, Ecuador, South Vietnam, etc. etc., were always heralded by loud shouting about the "communist threat" and the need to "save the country". The greatest vigilance must be exercised to see that a new coup is not in the making, and every single unit, including those in the SLFP, which Reaction has brought into the foreground recently must be carefully watched.

Sheikh Abdullah

KARACHI, May 20

Disappoints

Ended Tame

Pakistani leaders

The marathon debate in the Security Council that has just ended has only brought cold comfort for Pakistan. Mr. Bhutto's performance which started in February with a bang ended last Thursday with a whimper. Buoyed up by the big movement that was touched off by the theft of the sacred relic, Mr Bhutto had evidently thought that the prize was within his grasp and he had only to appear before the Security Council to be handed over Kashmir on a platter.

By the time the last round of the debate was held Sheikh Abdulla had been released and had even accepted an invitation to visit Pakistan. This evidently made it impossible even for the most unashamed supporters of the Pakistani case to insist that an abnormal situation was prevailing in Kashmir necessitating the intervention of the Security Council. Thus the debate ended tamely with a summing up by the President of the Security Council, Mr Seydoux, which merely stated that "members had expressed concern that the two countries should establish good relations and that the dispute should be amicably settled".

But affairs in Kashmir took a rather unexpected turn. The sacred relic was restored and returned to the Hazratbal shrine within a few days. Even as Mr. Bhutto was declaiming against India in the Security Council and announcing that the people of Kashmir had risen in revolt a peaceful "deedar" was taking place in Hazratbal. This had left the Pakistani leader looking quite silly and this should have marked the end of the debate. But thanks to the support extended by certain Western powers the matter was kept pending and the debate was again resumed.

Turning to the local scene there is a feeling of uneasy suspense here on the eve of Sheikh Abdullah's visit. By the time these lines are in print he will have begun his talks

with President Ayub. While it would be perhaps rather hazardous to speculate on the likely outcome of the talks it might be useful to refer to some of the problems facing the present leadership of the Pakistan Government as they prepare for the coming round of negotiations.



Having built up the Sheikh all these years it is now difficult for them to belittle his importance. And yet the Sheikh's utterances and movements since his release have not been very well received here by the ruling circles. This

has been reflected in the press coverage he has been receiving. While his first speeches immediately after release were given banner headlines in the Pakistani press there has been a gradual tapering off in the extent of publicity accorded to him. Papers have refrained from making any editorial comments and even the news of his decision to accept the invitation extended to him by President Ayub has been rather coldly received in the context of some of the latest pronouncements of the Sheikh. When President Ayub first extended the invitation it was probably meant more to embarrass and expose India than anything else. There had been a feeling that the Government of India would probably refuse him permission.

In the early period following the release of the Sheikh wild stories of his impending re-arrest and even of plans to have him murdered in New Delhi were prominently displayed by Pakistani papers. But more and more a feeling of puzzled concern seems to be pervading official circles.

Hard Put

After the VIP treatment accorded to him by Prime Minister Nehru and the facilities extended to him to visit all parts of the country and meet people representing different schools of thought in the country the Pakistan Government would be hard put to refuse him similar facilities in Pakistan. But the Sheikh's visit to Azad Kashmir or East Pakistan could prove highly embarrassing for the Government. The complete absence of any pretence of democracy in Azad Kashmir, the simmering discontent often flaring up into revolts in the frontier areas of West Pakistan, the treatment accorded to Khnn Abdul Ghaffar Khan, one of the old comrades-in-arms of the Sheikh is hardly likely to make the Sheikh view Pakistan in a favourable light. The only effect of a personal acquaintance with these ugly realities of the Pakistani scene with which the Sheikh is already perhaps broadly aware can only be to make him incline even more towards India.

The Sheikh has hardly made any secret of the fact that he is definitely opposed to Kashmir going over to Pakistan. The visit of the Sheikh can only strengthen these convictions and the Pakistani leadership could not be unaware of it.

Again East Pakistan represents the *bete noir* of the rulers of Pakistan and the Sheikh's visit to that region can only give a fillip to the struggle for democracy going on in that part of the country. The people will not fail to contrast the treatment accorded by India to one who has been quite outspoken in the expression of views contrary to those of the Government of the country with the way the Pakistan Government deals with the opposition in the country.

Taking all things together the Sheikh's visit is likely to result in many sleepless nights for the present Government and the irony of it all is that they will nevertheless be forced to wear their best smiles and accord a big reception to him while all the time cursing under their breath the strange quirk of destiny that has led them to this impasse.



FORWARD TO SOCIALISM

LAOS

Victim of cold war intrigues

The rightist attempt to usurp power in Laos and the world-wide expression of sympathy for the neutralist Government of Prince Souvanna Phouma have once again brought that little country to the centre of the stage in South-East Asia.

With an area of 91,500 square miles and a population of one and a half million, Laos is one of the independent States carved out of the former French Colony of Indo-China.

VICTIM

Geography has played an important role in shaping the history of the country. Bordered by China on the north, Burma and Thailand on the West, Cambodia on the south and by the two Viet Nams on the east, Laos throughout the 1,400 year old history has been a victim of powerful kingdoms which rose and fell around it.

When the Japanese overran South - East Asia on the outbreak of the second world war, they occupied Laos also. But on April 15, 1945, when the tide of war had swung against the Japanese, they set up a Laotian Government. And the country enjoyed independence until April, 1946 when the French reoccupied it.

By the treaty of July 19, 1949 Laos was made a self-governing State within the French Union; yet the French army continued to use its territory in the drive against the Viet-Minh nationalists led by Dr. Ho Chi Minh. The Laotian Government had King Sibavongvong as its constitutional head and Prince Souvanna Phouma as its Prime Minister. But owing to the presence of French forces on Laotian soil and the king's pro-French attitude. Prince Souphanouvong, brother of Prince Souvanna Phouma, refused to recognize this government and with the help of the Viet-Minh organized a Free Laos Movement (Pathet Lao). With their base in North Vietnam, which was held by the Viet-Minh, the Pathet Lao carried on a number of successful raids into Laos and gained control over two provinces.

RENEWAL OF HOSTILITIES

The International Armistice Commission constituted under the Chairmanship of India, under the Geneva Agreement of July 1954, persuaded the warring factions to settle their differences through peaceful negotiations. The French forces left the country and the Pa-

thet Lao troops, which had reached within 12 miles of the royalist capital, Luang Prabang, withdrew to the two north-eastern provinces. The Government of Laos promised to hold free and fair elections and not to join any military alliance. Two representatives of the Pathet Lao were also included in the cabinet.

After the elections of May 1958, conditions began to deteriorate again. Prince Souvanna Phouma failed to form a government and resigned. M. Phoni Sanai-Kone, who formed the new Government with the help of the right-wing parties totally excluded the representatives of the Pathet Lao. This led to the renewal of hostilities.

After the appointment of a fact-finding committee by the UN Security Council and the installation of the neutralist Government headed by Prince Souvanna Phouma the situation took a turn for the better. But the latest moves of the rightist army faction threaten to undo the progress achieved and throw the country again into turmoil.

The ancient history of the country is lost in the mist of the past. Before the advent of the Thais, it was inhabited by the primitive tribes, Mors, Meos and others who still constitute one-third of its population.

MOIS

The Mois in their turn had come to Indo China from Indonesia. A hardy, semi-savage people, they live in the forest-clad highlands of Laos and Vietnam where they were pushed to centuries ago by the Thais. Mois are excellent hunters and their region abounds with tigers, leopards, elephants wild buffalo, deer and other games. Many of these tribesmen eke out their living by capturing and domesticating young elephants. But the Mois are essentially agriculturists.

The matriarchal system prevails among certain Mois clans. The men respect the women-folk, and if they want to drink rice wine or buy anything they must obtain permission from their wives. Fortunately, the wives are generous. However, if they grow too imperious, the husbands may assert themselves.

The spotlight is now on Laos. The United States has openly hinted that it would intervene on the side of the Rightwing forces (which have swallowed up the neutralist forces after the recent *coup*) if the Pathet Lao does not succumb to the demands of the Right. If this threat is carried out, as it will be in all probability, it only means a further extension of the war in the Indo-Chinese peninsula. We publish, by the courtesy of *PATRIOT* New Delhi, an article on Laos and its people. It has a great deal of information and will help people to understand the present situation.

At sacrificial feasts the mothers drink the rice wine first; the daughters and granddaughters follow them in turn. The men come last.

Because there are more men than women in the tribe, brides have bargaining power. If a girl likes a boy, she with the permission of the head of her family goes to his house with betel and cakes and gives the proposal. If he accepts the gift, their betrothal is announced. But among the Mois clans which observe the patriarchal system, the man does the wooing.

The Meo tribe is Chinese in origin. It is divided into several groups, the black, white, red, and flowery, according to the clothes worn by their womenfolk.

The bulk of the population follows Buddhism. Laotian Buddhists belong to the Hinayana sect. Most of the men-folk serve in monasteries for a part of their lives.

Laotians boys and girls celebrate an interesting festival known as 'love-court'. Carrying a gorgeous structure of silver-paper preceded by dancers and flower-bearers, the young men parade before a decorated platform, where gaily attired girls sit in a row. The colourful ceremony, is held on a moonlight-night.

Marriage in Laos is a simple unostentatious affair unlike a funeral ceremony. Laotians show great honour to their dead. The funeral rites start with a grand feast. Then the body is carried in a decorated

by

S. S. HASAN NAGVI

The Thais, who migrated from Southern China after their kingdoms were broken up by Kublai Khan, from two thirds of the population of Laos. They are racially akin to the Siamese, Cambodians and the Shans of Burma.

TEAK FORESTS

Laos is a land of high hills and low steppes. Its northern region has mountains and river valleys which abound in teak forests. The low-lying areas of the south are mainly used for rearing cattle. The timber is floated down the Mekong river to Saigon, the Capital and seaport of South Vietnam for export. Originating in the snowcovered mountains of China the Me Kong forms the natural boundary of Laos with Burma and Thailand and provides an important means of communication.

Agriculture is the mainstay of the population. Production includes rice, maize, oilseeds, tea, rubber, sugarcane and opium, perhaps the most prized crop. The country's rich mineral deposits are mostly unexploited.

Under populated Laos is extremely backward in economic development. When peace returns to Laos the foremost task before its government would be to develop its natural wealth.

The biggest traffic jam in Luang Prabang takes place when the place elephants march to the river to take their daily baths or pause before

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Aswan High Dam

changes face of UAR

MOSCOW, May 14.

It is May in Moscow now. I take up my pen to write a "Letter from Moscow" and,

LAOS

continued from page 11

a temple to be fed with bundles of grass and have incantations whispered in their ears.

INDIAN INFLUENCE

Laos like other Indo-Chinese states is a mosaic of Indian and Chinese cultures. The Laotians have racial ties with China, but India is their cultural parent.

Indo-Laotian links date from the beginning of the Christian era. By the end of the second century B.C., Indian migrants had settled in Thailand, Cambodia and Cochinchina (South Vietnam). Gradually their culture began to flow in other parts of South East Asia including Laos. Even today the Indian influence is visible in Laotian religion and philosophy, arts and architecture.

looking back at the recent events, try to decide which of them is most likely to hold the Tribune reader's attention. I always try to choose a subject which will be of interest and importance to our friends in Ceylon. Frankly, it is often very difficult to make this choice, since so much happens in Moscow nowadays. But today the subject of the "letter" seems to be knocking at the door. I shall write about Aswan, of course.

Some may ask: and is there any connection between Aswan, which is thousands of kilometres away from the Soviet capital, and the "Letter from Moscow?" There is, I shall answer. The Aswan High Dam is being built with Soviet assistance in the UAR. Nikita Khrushchov, head of the Soviet government, attended the opening ceremony at the invitation of Gamal A Nasser and, finally, the Egyptians' jubilation over the damming of the Nile was a happy event for the Soviet people as well.

As we have learned from Mme. Sirimavo R.D. Bandara-

naik's telegram to N. Khrushchov, dated May 14, the people of Ceylon also congratulate the Soviet Union on the opening of the High Dam in North Africa, that the Ceylonese and their Prime Minister regard this event as a symbol of the accomplishments that can be attained by peaceful cooperation among the peoples for the weal of the present generations to come. With wisdom, so characteristic of Mme. Sirimavo Bandaranaike has correctly noted the significance of the Aswan Dam construction for the cause of peace, for the young, developing states her warm greetings have shown to the Soviet people once again that Soviet assistance is important and necessary for the peoples, that it is appreciated.

menace of attack passed away, it granted its assistance to the UAR in the construction of the Aswan dam by opening a credit to the sum of 100,000,000 Egyptian pounds, supplying equipment and blue-prints and sending about two-thousand workers and specialists to Aswan.

Great Opportunities

Four years ago, the echo of explosions on the Nile heralded the beginning of the construction. A few days ago, with Nikita Khrushchov present, the

by

B. Novikov

Necessary for Economy

The history of the construction of the Dam is rather interesting. It goes without saying that the Dam is absolutely necessary for the economy of the United Arab Republic. It is also self-evident that its construction, including the barring of the Nile, this giant of a river, is a labourious job calling for great experience.

It is quite clear, therefore, why the Cairo Government had asked the developed countries for assistance. It turned to capitalist countries at first. And they gave their consent to taking part in the project, but as became clear later, the imperialists merely counted on bending Egypt hand and foot by their promise and then, by suddenly abandoning the Project, on crushing the young Republic's hopes and plans.

And that was what they actually did, having "fortified" their action by an armed attack in the Suez Canal zone. In those alarming days of 1956 many thought that the Egyptian revolution would be forced to give in. But not the Egyptian people alone but the freedom loving peoples of the whole world rose up against the aggressors. Mankind's conscience rose up against the aggressors and they were forced to retreat.

It is common knowledge that the Soviet Union made an important contribution to the cause of curbing the aggressors.

But the USSR did more than that. Later, when the

Nile was curbed and the first section of the Aswan High Dam went into operation. The second section will be completed in 1968 with the result, as Gamal A. Nasser pointed out, that areas sown to crops will considerably expand in Egypt,

the output of electricity will be increased and great opportunity will be provided to the country's economic and social development.

Incidentally, don't the Tribune readers think the Aswan history resembles very much the history of another gigantic project, a steel plant in Bokaro? Just as the United Arab Republic before her India was also given a promise from the Americans who broke in this case, too. The affair was being unsettled for several years finally it became clear to all that the US was merely blackmailing the Delhi Government, trying to make it change its policy, now the mill in Bokaro will be built by the USSR who will do it without any political terms.

This is the history of the Aswan Dam and this is the history, rather brief as yet, of the Bokaro Plant.

It all shows the nature of Soviet assistance. At present,

continued on page 15

The Prince & the Barber

SOME time ago a Washington barber by the name of Rene Nezet refused to wait upon a customer. Why? The fastidious hairdresser didn't like the gentleman's colour. It was black, so Mr. Nezet showed him the door.

Had the customer been an ordinary American Negro, he probably wouldn't have been surprised. But he was from farway—from Uganda. At home, Prince Godfrey Katanywa is a VIP. He had come to Washington at the invitation of the international Development Association to study civil administration.

Little wonder, then, that the Prince resented the treatment and hastened to protest to the State Department. The State Department, it turns out, employs a special official to take care of complaints lodged by non-white diplomats, since such things, and even worse, occur in the United States everyday. This official, Assistant Protocol Chief Pedro A. Sanjuan, suavely apologized to the Prince, dropped a cliché about his profound sympathy, and at the same time intimated that, unfortunately, there was nothing he could do about it.

The Prince, somewhat assuaged, remembered that he was in the United States to study civil administration and asked Mr. Sanjuan whether it would be possible to make Nezet cut his hair when the civil rights bill, now the subject of heated Senate debates, was passed.

Mr. Sanjuan thought for a moment, sighed and said No.

"Then why does the American press given so much publicity to the bill and affirm that its passage will put an end to segregation?" the Ugandan Prince asked.

Well, Mr. Sanjuan explained, we have to go about it little by little and cautiously. The bill is to abolish segregation at hotels, sports grounds, theatres, filling stations but not at such public catering establishments as boarding-houses, shops and institutions like Nezet's.

The African Prince was thus given a lesson in civil administration. Whether he was satisfied or not, we don't know.

ANOTHER "PEACE CORPS"

The United States is to have another "Peace Corps," manned by businessmen. Late in April a group of well-known financiers and industrialists led by David Rockefeller, President of Chase Manhattan Bank, announced the organization of the Executive Service Corps.

The U. S. press says Rockefeller and the other Wall Street tycoons are now looking around for retired top business executives prepared to volunteer for service in other countries. The plan is to send several hundreds of them, for periods ranging from three months to two years, to newly developing nations in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Their job will be to advise local businessmen on the American way of making money. Rockefeller says the ESC hopes to place up to 500 such volunteers in 30 developing countries by the end of 1965.

Though the American press claims that ESC is a private organization, Washington is directly involved in the venture. Newsweek magazine writes: "The State Department, through its Agency for International Development, is providing organizing cadres and the government will supply initial financial backing."

Why should American businessmen be so anxious to help their brethren in emergent nations? The answer is that the U.S. monopolies are concerned not only for their assets in these countries, but for the future of private enterprise in general. For if anybody, the Wall Street financiers know that capitalism is being rejected in many countries that have launched out on independent development. Their peoples reject private enterprise and all it stands for. That might mean the collapse of Wall Street's hopes to impose neo-colonialism on these countries. Hence these frenzied attempts to bolster capitalism in developing countries. And hence the businessmen's "Peace Corps" as a means of keeping alive exploitive systems in countries awakening to a new life.

Mc Namara's Illusions

Special emergency troops of US Navy, who arrived from the Philippines, extracted from the mud of the Saigon river the US aircraft carrier *Kard*, sunk by South-Vietnamese guerilla fighters, and sent it to be repaired. With the present level of mechanisation in pontoon and diving techniques task did not prove burdensome. But it can be said with full certainty that the intention of the Pentagon to use military methods in extracting the American policy in South Vietnam from the morass it has stuck in, will end in failure.

It is known that one of these days US Defence Secretary

Robert McNamara made a post haste visit to Saigon, where he had confidential talks with General Khanh. The trip was far from very pleasant, particularly if we take into account the fact that the Secretary had to wear a heavy armoured vest for fear of being hit by a bullet from a guerilla fighter. Before flying home the chief of the Pentagon stated that the war would be long and hard. However, back in Washington McNamara again rekindled his "optimism". At a conference which lasted three days in the White House he put forward a new plan, which in his opinion would enable the USA to end the jungle war in victory.

All boils down to the simple demand to increase the number of US troops in South Vietnam, and also to use new trumps: to undertake mass air raids on areas where the main forces of the guerilla fighters are concentrating.

by

A BATURIN

This plan has been submitted to the Congress. Of course, it is difficult to foresee the decision Congressmen will make. But there is no doubt that they will have much to think over

before giving their consent to such steps. After all, every sane person realises that even by means of the most ruthless bombings it is hardly possible to deliver an effective blow on the guerillas hiding in forests. This will only cause tremendous losses among the people living in villages. But this tactics of "scorched earth" will arouse a wave of indignation among the population. And if at present American estimates put the number of fighting patriots in South Vietnam at 30,000 it would double or treble in such a case. Besides, people won't permit the massacre of absolutely innocent people.

Now it is no longer the time when colonialists could with impunity use weapons and impose their will. Mankind will brand as criminals those who are resorting to genocide, severely condemned by the United Nations.

Slithery Path

The building up of US armed forces in South Vietnam and the extensive use of bomber aircraft can lead to very dangerous consequences in the international field, too, and quite understandable, therefore, is the apprehension voiced by the *Washington Post* and *Times Herald* that the USA must not step on a slithery path which would involve it in a big war. Nothing can be easier than to free an evil spirit from its bottle, but it is enormously difficult to drive it back again

The programme of additional aid to the Saigon regime, now considered by the US Senate, will bring no political dividends either. The US has already spent 3,000 million dollars in South Vietnam, yet their war machine is still making no progress. McNamara has himself admitted that the guerilla fighters are winning one victory after another and control the better part of the country's territory. Will another injection of 55 million dollars, be able to make fortune smile at the Pentagon? Clearly, it won't. As is emphasised by the *New York Times*, the increase in aid is too over due.

Official US calculations put us casualties in South Vietnam at 1,100 people. And it stands to reason that the expansion of the "dirty war" promises still greater losses. In the name of what does McNamara and his kind want to burn to ground South Vietnamese and villages and community centres, to send thousands of American soldiers to die? The Defence Secretary says that it is done for the sake of saving South Vietnam. The false nature of this "argument" is only too obvious. The reason for the tragedy of this country lies not in the actions by guerillas who are fighting for the just cause, but the policy of the United States which is trying to suppress at all costs the South Vietnamese popular movement for freedom.

Khanh

It is his new plan McNamara pins his hopes above all on the American bayonets, counting with their aid to keep in power the Saigon placeman Khanh. But the Secretary should know the famous phrase by Mac-Mahon, French marshal of last country, who said that "you can do everything with bayonets, only you cannot sit on them."

1,000 unsolved Murders

For the American underworld the name Al Capone commands the same respect as the name Rockefeller in oil, or Morgan in high finance. For it was Al Capone who, in the 1920's, turned gangsterism into high-profit Big Business.

Al Capone died of syphilis in 1947, but he had lost his control of gangsterdom much earlier: in 1931 he was imprisoned, not for banditism, but for income tax evasion.

Has anything changed in Chicago in the past fifteen years? The question was put to a top Chicago crime reporter, and this was his answer.

"As bad as it was fifteen years ago? Why, it's ten times worse."

A prominent American lawyer told Saturday Evening Post correspondent Bill Davidson that the situation in Chicago "is worse than in any other American community. The (crime) syndicate is so solidly entrenched and is so monolithic in structure that it is almost impossible to root out. It has worked its way into nearly every facet of the life of the city."

The syndicate leaders live in \$100,000 to \$500,000 mansions in the wealthiest, most respectable suburbs alongside industrialists and business executives. For example, no less than 54 known gangster bosses live in River Forest, a rich suburb of Chicago.

The syndicate structure follows that of big industrial or financial corporations. Like Standard Oil or General Motors, it has a president, vice-presidents, division heads and so on. At the top of the pyramid is Momo Salvatore Giancana. He began his career in the twenties controlling shares in at least three linen-and diaper services, a dozen hotels and motels, three meat wholesale firms, four auto agencies, a car parking service, eight banks—and that's not the complete list.

However, most of the profit comes from such traditional fields, started by Al Capone, as prostitution, narcotics, gambling, extortion. Everything, in fact, which in America comes under the name "racket".

The syndicate keeps a tight control on nightclubs, especially the more dubious ones, and, as in the days of Al Capone, nightclub owners are expected to buy all their supplies from the syndicate and pay its agents a rake-off in addition. The syndicate has even managed to take over some of the local trade unions.

All that is no secret to most Americans. But no serious attempt has yet been made to wipe out gangsterism. The Chicago syndicate relies on a combination of terror and close ties with politicians, the police and the court.

The syndicate's chief legal, political and financial adviser is Murray (The Camel) Humphreys. A few years ago he was arrested for income-tax evasion, but a few

days before the trial the chief prosecution witness, living Vine, was found dead. The Chicago "Camel" managed to pass through the "needle's eye" of American justice. The case was quashed because of "insufficient evidence."

Paul (The Waiter) Ricca runs the syndicate's narcotics and gambling enterprises. Ricca began as an Al Capone aide, was tried for extortion, sentenced to ten years and served three. The Department of Justice ordered his deportation, but no country will have him, and Ricca continues his profitable business.

Gus (Slim) Alex is in charge of bordellos and striptease joints. Felix Alderisio is the syndicate's chief muscle man, and Fiore Buccieri its expert on loan sharking.

That's the syndicate's top echelon. It employs a small army of lawyers, has generously-paid friends in the police and the courts. These top bosses do not, of course, take part in risky jobs, such as assassination. That's left to a corps of 500 "muscle men."

The syndicate has been greatly expanded since the days of Al Capone. According to Richard B. Ogilvie, the sheriff of Cook County (of which Chicago is part), it is "a vast two-billion-dollar a-year industry."

And this, according to Davidson, is where some of the money comes from: "You cannot go into a restaurant in Chicago or its suburbs in Cook County and be sure that you are not eating syndicate beef, drinking syndicate beer and whiskey, using a tablecloth and napkin supplied by a syndicate linen service, parking your car and checking your hat with syndicate-owned concessions, even drinking out of glasses cleansed by a syndicate-owned sterilizing machine."

The police and the courts take care to protect the syndicate against encroachments by the federal and state authorities. Not so long ago State detectives raided one of the syndicate's strongholds—they were fired by the police for illegal parking. Or this typical incident: State detectives got hold of two of Giancana's top aides and after a short scuffle the gangsters begged for mercy. But then the police appeared on the scene and arrested the detectives and held them until the gangsters escaped.

With this formidable protection, the syndicate can operate without let or hindrance. None of its top bosses, including Capone himself, have been punished. If they were arrested at all it was on charges of income-tax evasion.

Any Chicagoan who tries to oppose the syndicate runs a great risk indeed. He might share the terrible fate of Athur Alder, a nightclub operator suspected of betraying the syndicate. He disappeared in January 1960 and two months later his mutilated naked body was dragged out of a sewer. The murderers were never found of course.

This was Chicago's 941st unsolved murder since 1919. The number is now probably above the 1,000 mark.

Air Ceylon

continued from page 3

According to the above statistics there would then be five stenographers and two typists in addition to two clerks-cum-typists in the pool. A similar arrangement could be made at Ratmalana where there are three Stenographers and Typists. In this connection the decision by the Government to switch to the Sinhala medium in the transaction of business with effect from 2.1.64 has also to be taken into consideration. With the Sinhalese work daily increasing the utilisation of Stenographers and Typists not proficient in Sinhala would be further reduced. We observe that at a recent meeting the Board had decided to purchase 14 Sinhala typewriters in addition to the three already existing when there is only one Sinhala typist at present. We would suggest that the purchase of these typewriters be staggered according to the availability of qualified staff.

The present practice of employing casual Stenographers and typists to attend to the work of those who are on maternity or annual leave should wherever possible be discouraged.

The allocation of duties in the higher grades should also be revised with a view to eliminating duplication of functions as is evident from the number of assistants (instances given below) with various designations in each sections. The senior staff where ever possible should be given lists of their duties with a view to promoting the efficiency of the organisation.

ADMINISTRATION: Assistant General Manager; Secretary to the General Manager; Administrative Assistant to the Assistant General Manager. **ENGINEERING:** Assistant Chief Engineer; **OPERATIONS:** Assistant Operations Manager/Assistant and Chief Pilot; Operations Assistant; Secretary to Operations Manager. **INSPECTION:** Inspector **ACCOUNTS:** Assistant Accountant (to be in 1964/65); Secretary to Accountant; Two Chief Account Officers **TRAFFIC & SALES:** Assistant Manager (Traffic); Assistant Manager (Sales); Secretary to Manager (Traffic & Sales); Passage Supervisor; Cargo Supervisor of the above We have elsewhere recommended that the posts of Assistant General Manager, Assistant Chief Engineer, and Operations Assistant be suppressed. We also do not see the need for a post of Assistant Operations Manager Assistant Chief Pilot although at present it carries the same salary scale of a Pilot. The senior Pilot can always act for the Operations Manager when necessary. We have also already dealt with the

posts of Administrative Assistants to Assistant General Manager and Secretaries to the Senior executive in paras 24 and 34 respectively.

Sad Commentary

The General Manager in one of his reports to this Committee states thus, ".....It is still possible to improve conditions if a complete overhaul is carried out in the ranks of the executive staff ignoring for a moment traditional procedures. 15 years of tradition has no doubt burdened this Corporation with executive staff whose only qualification has been seniority all the fact that they were pioneers in aviation." This indeed is a said commentary on his stewardship itself, as new executive posts which are obviously redundant and which have been referred to in the preceding paragraphs have been created after he was appointed General Manager. Some of these posts have been filled and other promotions effected by the appointment of persons with little or no qualifications as for example the Financial Controller and the Assistant Chief Engineer without paying due regard to the claims of others who are more qualified.

Considering all its aspects we are of the view that Air Ceylon is overstaffed in all sections (other than the Personnel Division) of the organisation. We have been told the present staff was found to be necessary due to the low output of work and absenteeism but will not consider these the only reasons as proper handling of staff could have achieved a greater measure of cordiality and co-operation between the administration and staff.

It would be worth recording in this connection the comments of the General Manager in one of his communications to us. He says, "Recently a series of discussions were held with the Heads of Departments and other supervisory staff and all concerned admitted that although theoretically the present cadre was in excess of our requirements they could possibly manage with less. The reasons being in order of priority; 1) below average output per man hour; 2) extremely poor disciplinary standards; 3) high absenteeism,what these executives fail to realise was the fact they themselves were largely responsible for these state of affairs. Although theoretically it is also possible to reduce the cadre of subordinate staff this is not recommended for good practical reasons. Low output, indiscipline and bad moral cannot be cured with retrenchment."

We on our part would observe that acts of commission and omission on the part of the management itself have contributed to this state of affairs. The many instances of mismanagement quoted in this report have created a sense of frustration in the staff and the morale is certainly very low. From what we have gathered from our interviews the large

majority of the staff have lost confidence in the administration. Weak Administration

This brings us on to the important aspect of employer employee relations. From the evidence placed before us pinpointing various defects in the set up and from the instances of mismanagement and injustice done some of which we have referred to in this report we are convinced that the administration has proved to be weak. Much of the dissension, dissatisfaction and discontentment, prevalent among the various sections of the airline could very well have been eliminated and their co-operation obtained with a little foresight-cum tact-cum goodwill on the part of the management.

Although we feel that there should be a complete revision in the cadre and salary structure, we do not advocate the retrenchment unless it is very essential but have submitted in this report certain proposals which if implemented would result in better utilisation of aircraft equipment and personnel. If retrenchment were to be inevitable every endeavour should be made to accommodate in other Corporations those who are redundant.

In the case of the nigher posts which we have recommended be suppressed (other than that of the Assistant General Manager) we cannot think of any other positions in the organisation where they could fit in on their present emoluments at present. It would, therefore, be very desirable that immediate steps be taken for the suppression of such posts. On the suppression of the posts the holders may be paid compensation or found suitable employment in other Corporations.

We observe that a decision has been taken by the Board on 28.5.56 that all increments irrespective of dates of appointments in each case are to be taken up for consideration on 1st April each year. This decision is being implemented from 1st April 1957. This apart from placing certain employees at a definite advantage over others has involved the Corporation in additional expenditure. For example an employee who is appointed or promoted just after 1st April would have his next increment considered after the lapse of nearly a year whereas one who is appointed or promoted just before or a couple of months before April will have his next increment considered in much shorter time.

This seems to be a procedure introduced for the sake of administration and accounting convenience without regard to its effect on the finances of Air Ceylon. The better procedure would be to consider the next increment one year after the date of recruitment or of appointment to a higher grade and we recommend that this be followed in all cases in the future. All cases as envisaged in Financial Regulation 1120 in the case of Public Servants may be dealt with on the same or similar lines.

With the reintroduction of the system the work of the

Personnel Division should increase as call up dates etc. have to be maintained. The Management does not appear to have attached sufficient importance to this Division when compared with similar divisions in other Corporations. The duties of the personnel officer as set out by the Management are outlined below.

"PERSONNEL DEPARTMENT AND INTERNAL SERVICES"

The Head of the Personnel Department is charged with advising the Management and furnishing functional guidance to the heads of the executive and other staff functions by developing and applying sound systems and practices for personnel administration and industrial relations. He will assist in all matters relating to the recruitment, remuneration, promotion, demotion, resignation and retirement of staff and in other connected matters (pension fund, health scheme, disciplinary procedures etc.) He is in charge of the internal services. He will maintain and develop the requisite organisation including a system of personal files for all employees".

* (Refers to maintenance of building, and installations etc).

There is only one Stenogra-

pher and a Sinhala-cum-Translator Typist to assist the Personnel Officer. The main duties of the Translator-cum typist is to translate the Sinhala correspondence and type Sinhala letters of the entire organisation and with this work gradually increasing daily very little could be expected of him by way of assistance. The Clerk-cum-relief Telephone Operator although in Appedix A is shown under the Personnel Division actually assists in the Accounts Division when not engaged at the Telephone switch board. The Personnel Officer cannot be expected to give of his best nor can he be expected to develop sound systems and practices when there is inadequate given to man a division which has to deal with all establishment matters including labour disputes relating to a staff of nearly 300 employees stationed at various places. We are surprised that the Management has paid little regard to this aspect which affects ultimately the welfare of the staff as well. We recommend that immediate steps be taken to provide the necessary clerical assistance to this Division. We do not consider it necessary to recruit new staff but the staff found redundant elsewhere could be transferred to this section and better utilised.

To be continued

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ON THE SCREEN



ASWAN

Continued from page 12

the USSR assists 38 countries in the construction of 480 largescale enterprises, including the Bhilai Mill and a Power Plant in India, plants in Nepal, a Power Plant in Afghanistan and the Tjilegon Metallurgical Plant in Indonesia. As for Soviet assistance to Ceylon, I think the readers are aware of it themselves, just as of the fact that the Soviet union renders assistance at a time when it itself is confronted with many problems requiring much expense.

Soviet Aid

But the Soviet Union agrees to render this assistance because it knows very well what difficulties the peoples of formerly colonial countries have to overcome. The Soviet people's sense of international duty was always strong, and, as N. S. Krushchov said at the ceremony of the Nile's damming, we shall continue our cooperation with the young developing states, helping them to lay the foundation of national economy, which is essential for strengthening economic and political independence."

And just to think that in these conditions today there are people, and not from the imperialist camp only, but the so-called revolutionary marxists, who do all they can to throw mud at Soviet assistance to the developing countries according to the Peking leaders, Soviet assistance is insignificant, on the one hand, and simply unnecessary, even harmful for the people, on the other. What a state of moral degradation must be reached by those who can say a thing like that!

sisters at the marriage ceremony was done at the instigation of Bhaskar's wily uncle, with the intention of acquiring Bhaskar's father's property.

Kind-hearted and generous Bhaskar condones the fraud and brings her home, much to the disapproval of his father. From here the story centres around the point of the old man trying to offset the affectionate bid of his daughter-in-law to conquer him. Ultimately, the old man mellow and Kalyani wins his blessings and affection.

The story is by Sailesh Dey and R. Sudarsanam's music is another bright feature of the picture.

S. V. Ranga Rao, S. S. Rajendran, M. R. Radha, S. V. Subbiah, C. K. Nagesh, Master Dasarathan, P. Ranjan, R. Vijayakumari, C. S. Pushpalata, C.K. Saraswathi, R. M. Manorama and guest artistes V Nagiah, S. A. Asokan, D. V. Narayanswamy and S. V. Ramadas are in the cast of picture.

passed before his eyes, and choked with tears, he uttered in a most ghostly voice, "Slain by my hands, my son, my son, you fall, My beautiful, My brave, The Pride of all." Rustom then seized his own hair, and tore his face and beard with his hands, and cursed and wept, but he could do nothing to bring back the life of the son he had slain.

Starring Prithviraj, Suraiya, Premnath, Mumtaz, Sajjan, S Nasir, Hiralal, P. Kailash, Shah Aga, Azad, Lillian, J. Kamal and others, the movie has music by Sajjad Hussain.

★ "EHLAI PANGALAN" now being screened at the CENTRAL, EROS and five other centres in the Ceylon Entertainments Limited circuit, is a heart-warming entertainment with heart-rending realities and uproarious comedy, and the soul-searing drama is based on the misery misfortunes and frustrations of people living on the road pavements and in slum hovels.

Gemini Ganesh, Ragini, Nambiar, Balaji, Pushpalatha, Nagesh, Manorama and Asokan are in the cast of the picture which has lyrics by Kannadasan and music by K. V. Mahadevan.

★ Murugan Brothers' "NANUM ORU PENN," an A. V. M. Productions presentation, now running at the KINGSLEY, PLAZA, NAVAH and six other centres in the Cinemas Limited circuit is a social drama with a difference, devoid of weeping sequences but highly emotional.

The story—Kalyani and Malathi are two sisters belonging to a poor family. Besides being illiterate, Kalyani is dark, while her sister is both educated and fair-skinned. Their elder brother succeeds in getting Kalyani married to Bhaskar, the elder son of an aristocrat by initially showing to him fair skinned Malathi and substituting the real bride at the marriage ceremony. The change over of the

from his wife and his son born is named Sohrab, and she ties a seal to his arm.

One day with a murderous sword of vengeance King Afrasiyab of Turan who swore to kill Sohrab, but Tehmina hid the child and thus Sohrab was saved. Then onwards Sohrab was brought up without the knowledge of his father, and was known to be the son of Rustom only to few faithful nobles of Samangan.

Sohrab is a young warrior like his father Rustom. The treachery of King Afrasiyab, who had sworn to kill Rustom, brought Sohrab into his cruel trap and the young warrior was matched against his own father in a deadly duel, neither of them knowing their true relationship. In the duel, which is said to last three days and three nights, the earth trembled in fear, the skies were torn with lightning and the air was filled with dreadful deeds of the warriors. Rustom uprooted trees and used them as javelins, and flung ancient stones to kill his son. On the third day, destiny triumphed, the deadly hour came. Rustom with a war cry pierced the young heart. The heavens rang out with a death knell of the chilling cry, and slowly in silence Sohrab sank down to earth. Rustom saw his seal on Sohrab's arm. Dark clouds

2nd WEEK!
KINGSLEY PLAZA NAVAH
R A J (Negombo)
VIJAYA (B'Caloa)
WELLINGTON (Jaffna)
SRI KRISHNA (Trinco)
JUPITER (Kurunegala)
TAJMAHAL (Kalmunai)

S. S. R. — Vijayakumari
Radha—Nagesh in
NANUM ORU PENN
Indian President's Award
Winner for the best film

8th Week!
GAMINI
Cinemas'
DHEEVERAYO

CAPITOL - SAPPHIRE
WEMBLEY (Kandy)
Cinemas'
ANGULIMALA
(Technicolor)

10th Week!
MYLAN
M. G. R. — Saroja Devi in
PERIYA IDATHU PENN

Air-Conditioned
LIBERTY
NOW SHOWING!
Jack Lemmon - Lee Renick in
DAYS OF WINE AND ROSES

CENTRAL-EROS - Pamankade
Gemini Ganesh
Ragini—Nambiar in
EHLAI PANGALAN



The Prime Minister Madame Sirimavo Bandaranaike with Mrs. Indira Gandhi, daughter of Mr. Nehru.

★ Ramsay Productions' "RUSTOM SOHRAB" opening this week at the RITZ CINEMA, is a spectacular historical drama produced by F. U. Ramsay and directed by Vishram Bedekar.

The story taken from Fir-dausi's "Shah Namah," is about Rustom, a warrior endowed with supernatural strength, who uses it to defend the Persian King and his empire from his belligerent neighbours. When he meets Princess Tehmina of Samangan, he impresses her with feats of strength such as lifting uprooted trees and twisting a coin with his fingers. He wins her love and marries her. But they are soon parted when he is called to protect the Persian monarch from enemies. He leaves behind Tehmina as an expectant mother. The defence of the country keeps him away

EMPIRE
Rex Readon—Nancy Gates,
Jana Devi (Maureen Hingert)
THE RAWHIDE TRAIL

Air-Conditioned
MAJESTIC
Robert Taylor in M.G.M.'s
GUNS OF WYOMING
(in Eastman Colour)

REGAL
Richard Widmark
in
The Secret Ways

3RD WEEK!
ELPHINSTONE & ROXY
Ceylon Studios'
SULALITHA SOBANI

3rd WEEK!
GAIETY
Sivaji Ganeshan in
KUNKHUMUM

8th Week!
SELLAMAHAL
M.G. Ramachandra in
DHARMUM THALAIKAAKUM

2nd WEEK!
Air-Conditioned
SAVOY
Walt Disney's
ABSENT-MINDED PROFESSOR

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Press, Prelate & Politics

continued from page 8

Buddhist scriptures engraved on stone slabs found in Fangshan county, near Peking has been completed and a research-department in Buddhist literature in the Chinese, Tibetan and Pali languages has been added to the China Buddhist Theological Institute, founded seven years ago."

This, then, is the China which some of us had visited; quite different from the China wishfully imagined by UNP propagandists. We understand that the Mahanayaka Thero has been invited to visit China. Let him go. Let him see with his own eyes. We have no doubt that the venerable prelate will return with a greater and more sympathetic understanding of China'. The late lamented Rev. Sorata, Vice-Chancellor of the Vidyodaya University, visited the Soviet Union a few years ago, and his impressions formed on the spot were quite different from the fairy tales of religious intolerance and oppression circulated by the enemies of the Soviet Union.

It must be admitted that despite the fact that our former Prime Minister, S. W. R. Dias Bandaranaike had received large support from the Buddhist clergy in the 1956 General Election, we have no record to show that Malwatta or Asgiriya had veered round to him from their traditional support for the UNP. With the new Mahanayake Thero we thought we had discovered a change in outlook. But the organised move made during the last few days by the UNP and its henchmen in the Press to abuse the position of the Mahanayaka Thero by dragging him into the dust, din and dirt of controversial party politics is a disquieting portent. We sincerely trust that the Mahanayaka Thero will not lend his patronage to the desperate attempt on the part of our right-wing reactionaries to make one last bid to destroy the Revolution that was ushered in by S. W. R. Dias Bandaranaike, and which has brought such inestimable relief and hope to the masses.

One of the best services that the Mahanayaka Thero could do for this country is to assist in the eradication of sectionalism. His own Siyam Nikaya could open its doors to deserving novitiates from all castes, not necessarily from those who belong (or masquerade as belonging) to the Goigama caste.

The Lord Buddha's words in this connection were as follows:

na jacca vasalo hoti na jacca
hoti brahmano
kammana vasalo hoti kam-
mana hoti brahmano

No one is by birth an outcast, nor is any one birth a Brahman; by deeds is one an outcast and by deeds is one a Brahman.

But in Ceylon although a man from Siam or Burma could be ordained a monk in the Siyam Nikaya, not all deserving Ceylonese can enter through these gates which lead more swiftly to Nirvana. No relation of such vociferous Buddhist publicists and propagandists as Lalita Rajapakse, Cyril de Zoysa, N. Q. Dias, Professor Rajasuriya, C. E. Godakumbura, or L. H. Mettananda would be allowed to step into the Siyam Nikaya. Why? Because they belong to other (and so-called lower) castes. This is a crying shame and a disgraceful blot on the so-called Buddhism of the Siyam Nikaya.

Dhamma

It is forgotten that at one stage in the history of Hinayana Buddhism, Tamils were some of the most devout Buddhists and exponents of the religion. The only Buddhist epic worthy of its name was written by a Tamil in the Tamil language, and the dhamma could again be brought within the ken of the Tamils in Ceylon and South India, if only our chauvinist Sinhalese brothers would realise the essential teaching of the Lord Buddha, that of the brotherhood of Man.

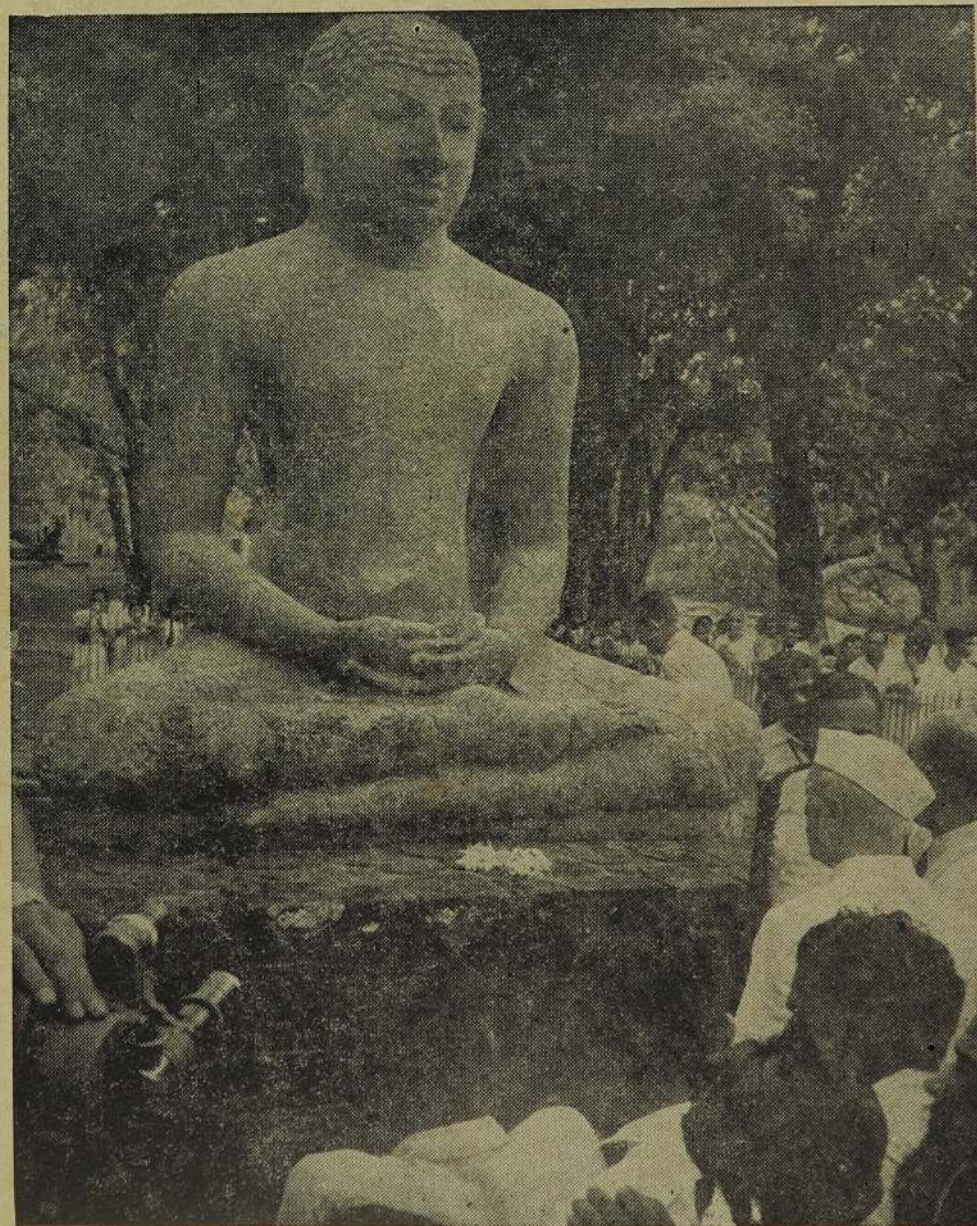
The other day J. R. Jayawardena a recent Buddhist convert from Christianity who represents a Colombo consti-

tuency composed of all races and creeds and who is always on the look-out for crooked slogans, made a most damaging remark that the Governor-General should be a Buddhist. Well and good. But what of those who are not Buddhists but who nevertheless are equally good patriots and nationals of this country and who will not change their religion for any love of gain? Is there no room for them in the higher echelons of national service in this country? As Jayawardena would know, it is not very difficult to become

a Buddhist these days. But whom would one prefer, an honest Marxist or a bogus Buddhist?

It was very refreshing to read the message of our Prime Minister sent on Wesak Day to the nation. It was a message of goodwill where she spoke of the Middle Way that ensures Peace to all. The Middle Way has never been the middle path between the Right Path and the Wrong Path. The Middle Way is not a compromise. It is the way of understanding and of self-restraint.

There was never a greater Buddhist than Asoka. Our Prime Minister has done well by declaring that she is proceeding along the Asokan Way, the way of tolerance and goodwill by which, with the help of dedicated, informed and capable leaders of the Progressive Movement in this country, she would be able further to emancipate the masses and liberate them from the last vestiges of feudalism and neo-colonialism. In this great mission, the Mahanayaka Thero could play a memorable part if he chooses to.



Mr. Nehru found solace and consolation in the Samadhi statue of the Buddha in Anuradhapura. Our picture shows Mr. Nehru reflecting before this statue.