

TRIBUNE

C. W. E. MYSTERY

"Tribune" reliably understands that a decision has been arrived at to change the auditors of the C.W.E. The two Ceylonese firms, now performing the functions of Joint Auditors and who have been doing this work since 1951, are among the most reputed among Chartered Accounts in the island. They audit not only the accounts of some of the biggest commercial undertakings but also several state-sponsored institutions. The decision to change the C.W.E. auditors becomes a matter of public significance in view of the fact the tax-payers' money alone has gone into the creation of this organisation.

The reason for the change remains a mystery. In the sphere of commercial enterprise (C.W.E. is one such) auditors are a special institution. Once they are appointed they cannot be changed or removed ex-

cept in terms of section 130 of the Companies Ordinance which lays down rigorous conditions and procedure for the same, except in the case of auditors who retire voluntarily. It is for good reasons, moreover, that the appointment or change of auditors can be effected only at a general meeting of shareholders or by the Director of Commerce performing a statutory privilege. Under the C.W.E. Ordinance, the appointment of Auditors is made by the Permanent Secretary, and in the absence of any provision relating to change it is a question of law whether once the appointment is made the general law relating to Companies would not apply.

Minorities

For no apparent reason (the question of annual fees only being a matter of negotiation), Tribune understands that a decision has been made to change the auditors and a European firm of Chartered Accountants has been approached to do the work. On investigation we found that no reason was forthcoming, but it was persistently mentioned in high places that the race and religion of the auditors who are being sacked are currently anathema to the Minister who presides over the destinies of the C.W.E. There is no evidence however that the Minister has interferred in this matter, and the only inference that can be drawn is that the Permanent Secretary has thought it fit, for whatever his reasons, to act on his own in this matter.

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The reason why the Legislature gave the power to the Permanent Secretary to appoint the Auditors was to remove such matters away from the under-current of politics that may prevail among the Board of Directors, some of whom may also perform executive and managerial functions. Such being the case, the Permanent Secretary has a statutory function to discharge in this matter which is intended to safeguard the rights of the tax-payer and the public. It must be remembered that it was on the reports of these auditors that some of the biggest defects of the C.W.E. were unearthed.

The Prime Minister and the Cabinet must investigate the reasons why the Permanent Secretary should have acted in this manner. Government owes the public an explanation, particularly in view of the rumour that the auditors are being changed because they belong to minority sections of the population. An explanation is also called for to justify the handing over of the audit to a European firm. Is this *Ceylonisation*? Or, is it that in the days of *Sinhala Only* a foreign firm is preferable to a non-Sinhalese Ceylonese firm?

Other questions have also been raised in business and professional circles. It is etiquette among Accountants and Auditors that a firm does not undertake work which has been handled by another without consent or at least due notice. Has this been done by the firm which the Permanent Secretary now wants to entrust with the work of auditing the C.W.E. accounts?

These are questions that are being asked and the Prime Minister will do well to act because questions like these in responsible quarters tend to sap public confidence in the Government.

TRIBUNE

CEYLON NEWS REVIEW
COLOMBO, July 14, 1956

Vol. 3 No. 9

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SUNTHERALINGAM

"Shantam"

19, Milagiriya Avenue,
Colombo-4

2nd July, 1956.

Dear Sir,

In the issue of the Tribune of June 30, 1956, the following observation appears at page 10, Col. 3, Para 2:—

"Suntharalingam seems to stand for a complete sovereign Tamil State, but political observers are uncertain when the next Suntharalingam somersault will take place."

I believe in Robert Burns' saying:—

"O wad some Pow'r the gif
gie us
To see oursel's as others see us!
It wad frae mony a blunder
free us
And foolish notion !!"

I shall be grateful to know the particulars of each and every charge of "somersaulting" including the last which is implied in the observation. I should be afforded the opportunity to answer each charge, if I can.

In regard to what I "stand for" I have given public expression to it in Parliament, in the Press and on the Platform before, during and after the Vavuniya By-Election and General Election. What I "stand for" is contained in the "slogan in Tamil" "தன் அரசு தமிழ் இலங்கை, சமஸ்தியோ, சுயேச்சையோ, செல்வாக்கின்படி". The English equivalent is "Autonomous Tamil Ilankai, Federal or Independent, as Attainable".

The Federal Party has stood only for "Autonomous Tamil Ilankai, Federal". In my humble view a Federal Union postulates the consent and concurrence of at least two constituent units. Today in Ceylon, not one of the Parties, S.E.P. (miscalled M.E.P.), L.S.S.P., U.N.P. or C.P. (not a single one of which, except the last, has any member of Parliament representing Tamil-speaking electorates,) is agreeable to a Federal Union. Federation is therefore not practical politics and is unattainable in the present context. One is therefore compelled, by reason, to take the view that we must constitute and inaugurate an Autonomous Tamil Ilankai, a new Dominion in the Commonwealth with full

legislative powers under the Statute of Westminster, 1931. In the process of constituting and inaugurating the New Dominion, if it is possible to formulate a Federal Scheme to which the rest of Ceylon can be party, so much the better. If not, after the inauguration of the New Dominion, when the time is ripe, negotiations may be entered into in order to secure a Federal Union if possible. If this is not possible, and until it becomes possible, the New Dominion must preserve its Autonomy amounting to Independence.

Of course not one of the parties, S.E.P., L.S.S.P., U.N.P. or CP, will willingly agree to the constitution of a New Dominion, but where they are not willing to "give" we have to "take" - it may be by means of a "war of Independence".

For my part, I have no illusions or misgivings on the subject. The temper and the mood of the Tamil-speaking people of all classes at the present day make two determinations clear:—

- (1) they shall not tolerate or suffer linguistic or territorial or other domination in Ceylon by any Party or Government which does not genuinely and effectively recognise and practise equality of status or of opportunity or of treatment of Sinhalese-speaking people vis-a-vis Tamil-speaking people;
- (2) they are prepared and ready

The first Suntharalingam somersault of any public significance took place when he turned over from the I.C.S. to the C.C.S. From the C.C.S. he somersaulted into Ananda College, and from thence into Chair of Mathematics at the University College. When Suntharalingam was denied the post of Vice-Chancellor he pirouetted into the Law Library at Hulstsdorp and dry farming at Vavuniya. His political somersaulting started when he worked out the permutations that made possible the homogenous Pan-Sinhalese Ministry of 1936. After zigzagging around with D.S. Senanayake, Suntharalingam gyrated into the still-born Swadhina Party in 1947, and from the ill-fated Yamuna Conference he somersaulted into the first Senanayake Cabinet. After swirling around the main Citizenship Bill, he catapulted himself out of the Cabinet with a terrific somersault when the Indian and Pakistani Bill became law. Since that time, he has kept rotating around, and finds himself at times besides the incomparable G.G. Ponnambalam, at others besides the Federalists, and for the rest on a revolving platform that takes him everywhere but rests nowhere, what will Suntharalingam do next? When will he turn his next somersault?

for toil and tears, suffering
and sacrifice.

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just and righteous and their noble
war cannot but result in triumph.

Yours faithfully,
C. Suntharalingam,
M.P., Vavuniya.

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SENADIPATHY WRITES

The Senadipathy of the Tri Sinhale Peramuna has sent us a protest against some of the comments made by a Special Correspondent who wrote a series of three articles on the Language Question and which appeared in our issues of June 23, 30 and July 7. The reply of the Senadipathy is published in two parts.

In this week's instalment, the Senadipathy asserts that the Tri Sinhala Peramuna has nothing at all to do with such secret Societies like the Dutugemunu society, or organisations like the Sinhala Sabha or the Basha Peramuna. The Senadipathy also re-iterates the Tri Sinhale doctrine of *One Nation, One Language and One Purpose*. He also wants a Charter of Fundamental Rights. In next week's concluding part, the Senadipathy among other matters, asserts that Tri Sinhale has obtained no financial support from foreign sources.

The *Tribune* has given so much of publicity to the Tri Sinhala Peramuna, that we are thankful to you for this, though the references were not only always complimentary.

Fair criticism should always be welcome especially in Ceylon during this period of transition to prevent over-enthusiasm forcing us into some false positions.

In two articles headed "Background" by your special correspondent and the other headed "Fundamental Rights" in your last issue certain allegations and misrepresentations appear, which it is not fair to be left uncorrected.

We know you try to be impartial and that is why we are prompted to

write this letter to you and trust that you will publish it in the next issue of the "Tribune."

When Premier Kotalawala was going to Delhi for a conference with Premier Nehru over the issue of the Indians in Ceylon the country got alarmed and, on the 23rd December, 1953, the *Tri Sinhala Jatika Peramuna* was first formed.

It had not and never had any connection with the Dutugemunu Secret Society or with the later organisations like the Sinhala Sabha or the Basha Peramuna. It stopped its work in February last in order not to get mixed up in the elections as it supported no party as such. It will now resume its work to rid Ceylon of the foreign encrustation.

Not Secret

The Tri Sinhala Jatika Peramuna is by no means a secret society and in the booklet issued by it at its inauguration the objects are clearly stated on the front cover as to work for "One Nation" "One Language" and "One Purpose". The name Tri Sinhala covers all Ceylon and the word Tri means three and

the name implies the three parts of Ceylon known as the Raja, Maya and Pihiti ratas or districts, on a geographical basis. The word Ceylon and Ceylonese has hidden within it racial, linguistic and other divisions implanted in the minds of the people during the foreign domination of Ceylon, whereas the word Tri Sinhala brings into the mind only a geographical division such as for administrative purpose.

Tri Sinhala is not a new name. It is the word used in the indigenous Mahawansa for all Ceylon including the Northern peninsula and the East. So you will see that the Tri Sinhala movement includes Jaffna, Trincomalee, Batticaloa and every national of Ceylon. It is not a separatist movement like that of the Federalists and it does not look at the nationals of Ceylon as separate Tamil nation or Sinhalese nation, Christian community or Buddhist community or Tamil, Sinhalese, Hindu, Muslim, Christian, or Buddhist individuality. The Tri Sinhala looks upon the nationals of Ceylon as people of one-

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THE PEOPLE'S CAR



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Tri Sinhale

continued from page 131

single nation, of equal status and possessing equal rights.

Its attempt is to remove from the minds of the people that they belong to this Group, that Group or still another Group, or that this Group has these rights, that group has those rights and that another group has still other rights. *The idea of Group rights is a negation of the one nation idea.*

During the foreign dominations, and specially during the British Colonial regime, these group ideas of separate rights were fostered on us in pursuance of the imperial principle of divide-et-Impera. *These group ideas must be eradicated from the minds of the people if the one nation idea has to be fostered.*

One Nation

In the one nation ideal there is no room for Tamil fundamental rights or Sinhalese fundamental rights, Muslim and Christian Fundamental rights. A declaration of Fundamental Rights must be of

such rights that are so important and of necessity are common to all the nationals of Ceylon and which rights the administration cannot deny to any individual national be he Tamil, Sinhalese or Burgher. To talk of Tamil fundamental rights, in the one nation context, is a contradiction of terms and a negation of the very idea of oneness contemplated in a modern state. We must not confuse the idea of vested interests with rights.

We have by long use got accustomed to think in terms of these group vested interests that we unconsciously believe them to be rights, as such to be preserved in any unitary form of government!

The fact that there was also association between the Tamils of the Jaffna Peninsula and the Kandyans before the British occupation is an historical fact. There has even been social connections like marriage and even a sort of exchange of population. At the rebellion of 1818 and 1848 large numbers of Kandyans settled down in Jaffna, whose descendants are still there; the only difference being that they have adopted the Tamil language.



Similarly there are in South Ceylon a large number of Jaffna Tamils whose descendants are today Sinhalese. So there is no ground, reasonable or even unreasonable, to make such a fuss as is being made today over the language issue. As an election stunt it has swept the board in Jaffna and the East. How and in what climate this heat will subside is only a matter of time?

To be concluded next week

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Prosperity without Colonies-2

With acknowledgements to the Soviet weekly *New Times* we reprint the second instalment of an article entitled "Can Western Europe Exist without Colonies?" The historical aspect of the dwindling colonial empires was dealt with last week. The three contemporary schools of thought among Western politicians in regard to the future of colonies is discussed this week. The concluding part next week indicates how Western countries can be economically prosperous without colonies.

There are three principal schools of thought in the West on the question of the prospects for colonialism: those who hope to stay the march of history; those who count on outwitting history, and those who recommend bowing to history.

The first group embraces the most inveterate and hidebound colonial monopolists, planters, governors, generals and police chiefs, as well as certain decrepit representatives of the labour aristocracy. These are shadows of the past, but they still possess anything but shadowy power in the shape of capital, armed forces and political connections. They are people who simply prefer to close their eyes to realities in colonial affairs, as in all the other affairs of our time; people, who resemble the slaveowners of past centuries, to whom the abolition of slave labour was inconceivable, or the feudal landlords who resisted to the very last the abolition of serfdom.

These 18th-century-type militant colonialists consider that Western Europe cannot surrender its colonies and must be prepared to wage savage colonial wars, whatever the cost. In other words, their view is that history in the colonial world must be brought to a halt. This was the attitude of the British tin and rubber monopolists who for eight years kept alive the hopeless colonial war in Malaya, for which Britain had to foot a bill of 400 million pounds. It is the attitude

of the Portuguese colonial Buonapartes who believe they can keep their hands on Goa against the will of 380 million Indians. It was also the attitude of the French colonialist diehards in North Africa who resisted the granting of independence to Tunisia and Morocco.

Invisible

It is quite obvious that the policy of these bellicose West-European colonialists is hopeless and doomed. They will gain nothing, and will lose the last they have. Actually, however, they are acting not so much on their own initiative, as on the prompting of others. Foreign interests impel them forward and seek to profit by their failures and disasters — interests which seemingly act less crudely, their aim being to outwit historical progress by inventing a new form of colonial rule — an *invisible* colonialism.

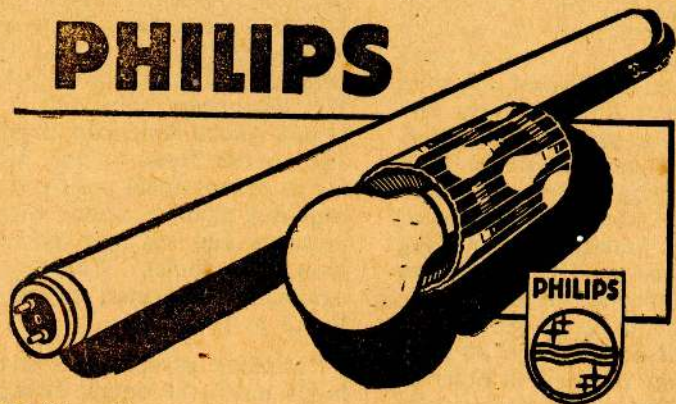
The inventors of this new colonialism likewise refuse, in deed, if not in word, to recognize the equality of former colonial and semi-colonial peoples. Like the colonialists of the old school, they are determined at all costs to preserve

the exploitation of semi-slave coloured labour, and to deny political independence to the Asian and African peoples. Nevertheless, the new colonialism professes to be a resolute opponent of colonial empires. It has no objection to the liquidation of the colonial possessions of the West-European powers, provided only that their place is taken by a new and universal colonial system administered from one centre — Washington.

This is the whole secret. It explains why the "new" colonialists, on the one hand, assist the old colonialists, in their struggle against the subject and liberated peoples (in Indo-China, the Middle East, North Africa) and, on the other hand, just as systematically strive to oust them from these areas. The deeper Western Europe is involved in conflict with the former colonial countries, and the sharper the conflict becomes, the greater will be America's chances of winning the colonial heritage. This, manifestly, is the aim of its risky gamble. But it should be remembered that the gamblers are the same people

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SOVIET VIEWPOINT

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who boast their skill in hovering on the "brink of war".

Plan

The claimants to Western Europe's colonial heritage have worked out a complete plan for replacing the old colonial empires by a new, uniform and "invisible" system. The plan is to substitute for, or super-impose upon, the decrepit machinery of the frankly colonial and semi-colonial régimes the machinery of "defensive" military blocs. The Asian and African countries are to be members of these blocs, while the United States is to be the strategical leader, lessee of military bases, diplomatic guardian, supplier of arms and "economic aid", permanent creditor and investor, concessionaire of valuable natural resources — in a word, the dominating power in each of the countries of the given bloc without, however, enjoying the title of colonial suzerain. Since these military blocs are planned to stretch in a continuous chain from Morocco to Japan, the "invisible" neo-colonial system is intended, in fact, to embrace, or at least to surround, everything that ever belonged to Western Europe in Africa and Asia.

The "new" colonialists want to deceive both the West-European powers and the subject countries. To the former, they promise assistance against colonial revolutions and against imaginary "Soviet and Chinese aggression". It is on these grounds that the United States is trying to draw France, Italy and Spain into the projected Mediterranean bloc, and to secure their help in bringing in Morocco and Tunisia. On these same grounds, the United States' is penetrating deeper and deeper into the British sphere of influence in the Middle East, endeavouring to gain complete control of the Baghdad pact, which Britain initiated in order to strengthen, but which has actually seriously weakened, her key imperial positions.

Promises of lavish financial and military aid are offered to the former colonial and semi-colonial countries as an inducement to dissolve themselves in the invisible colonial empire of military blocs.

It was in this way that Pakistan, Thailand, and the Philippines were lured into SEATO; and the same method was employed to draw India, Indonesia and Burma into this bloc.

Military Blocs

But this financial aid, the bulk of which is assigned for military purposes, leads to militarization of the countries inveigled into the blocs, which further undermines their backward economies and makes them still more dependent on the new colonialists. Military expenditure now eats up about 50 per cent of Pakistan's, and 48 per cent of Thailand's national budget. To the subject nations this "invisible" colonialism is even more ruinous than the other kind.

This plan for a new and universal colonial system in the shape of a chain of Asian and African military blocs is unrealizable. Just as history cannot be halted, so it cannot be deceived into swerving from its course by a mere change of signboard. What counts is not the form, but the substance of the colonial system; and its substance is not altered by the fact that the viceroy of a colony is called the head of a military mission instead of a governor-general. The "invisible" colonialism is visible to all. This is shown by Asian hatred for SEATO and the Baghdad pact.

In the final analysis, it is not history the American claimants to the colonial heritage are deceiving, nor their West-European partners or the Asian and African peoples, they are deceiving themselves. Their venture is hopeless. The Asian and African peoples did not throw off the rusty West-European chains only in order to don gilded American handcuffs. The United States is only weakening its international position by pitting itself against nations whose importance and strength are steadily growing. James Warburg, the American Financier, recently declared in the press:

"Nothing except sheer stupidity holds us to the course of supporting the rickety remnants of European colonialism".

Western Europe cannot retain its colonial possessions either by its own efforts, or with the support of the United States. What, then, awaits it when its colonies are lost?

To be concluded next week

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WEEK by WEEK in CEYLON

RADIO

This week, the communique of the Commonwealth Premiers Conference faded into insignificance in Ceylon in view of the controversial Agreement on Bases and the *furor* which has arisen in Ceylon over the Food Minister's Radio Talk on Friday July 6. The throwing open of four of the more important Hindu temples in the North to untouchables, however symbolic it may be in the context of a social revolution, is an act of momentous consequence. The Kuppyawatte by-election for the Colombo Municipality which resulted in an MEP victory (with the NLSSP second and the UNP a poor third) was taken to mean that the MEP star was still on the ascendant. •

The Premier's return from London and the Budget Speech of the new Finance Minister have brought into sharp focus all the accumulated economic and political problems that await solution.

Bases

At the time of writing these notes it has not been possible to examine all the statements and comments made on the new defence agreement on the bases in detail. The Premier himself believes that this is the first step towards the British quitting of the bases. Dr. Colvin R. de Silva of the NLSSP in a statement alleged that the British had got everything they wanted in addition to making Ceylon foot a major part of the bill. His own interpretation is that by this Agreement Ceylon becomes no more than a care-taker for the British.

J. R. Jayawardene, for the UNP, took credit for the fact that even the present agreement was based on the 1947 Defence Agreement and boasted that the earlier Agreement vested full sovereign powers in Ceylon to ask the British to quit. He stated that what the MEP had done was to regularise in writing the verbal agreement Ceylon had with the British in regard to bases, with this difference that Ceylon has now to foot the bill.

Mr. Chelvanayakam, Leader of the Federal Party, was cautious and declared that until all the documents were available it was impossible to make a statement (he however indicated that he felt that the *status quo* in regard to the bases was being continued under the new agreement). The Propaganda Secretary of the Federal Party, Dr. E. M. V. Naganathan, however, lashed out furiously at the British. "We are, therefore, sorry that the British have given away their *de jure* rights over the bases," he declared. Dr. Naganathan emphasised that members of his party "had been opposed to the continuance of foreign bases in Asia" (he did not refer to the party decisions), and stated "we have in Ceylon today a worse type of imperialism than that represented by the bases, the imperialism of the Sinhalese. The old British colonial masters seem preferable to us to the new masters." According to Dr. Naganathan, the existence of foreign institutions such as bases would, in the present context of the Island's

politics, act as a "moral check" on Sinhalese imperialism.

Left-wing opinion, which is sceptical of the value of the new Agreement, has been astounded by the views of Dr. Naganathan which have been given some prominence abroad. According to such circles, Colonel Blimp assumes many shapes and speaks through diverse tongues to sustain an empire, and that Dr. Naganathan has even found a strangely unique meaning for the *Imperialism* to hit at his political opponents.

Food Minister

Food Minister Philip Gunawardena went on the air on Friday July 6 evening at 9.30 p.m. and in a talk entitled *he Food Situation* lashed out at the Communist Party and the Nava Lanka Samaja Party (and the United National Party too). The apparent provocation for the tirade against other political parties was the Harbour dispute in which the Union bossed by the Philip Gunawardene was one of the participants.

continued on page 138

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We commend the July issue of *Jana*, the Lake House publication, to our readers. The leading note in this number is about Ceylon and is entitled *Secret Societies*. Though the title is somewhat misleading, the article is really a first rate exposure of the interference by foreign sources in the internal affairs of Ceylon. What is particularly significant is that *Jana*, which is the ideological journal reflecting the political philosophy currently dominating Lake House, should have adopted an analysis of events in Ceylon, in Asia and the world which *Tribune* has valiantly endeavoured to bring before the public of Ceylon.

The *Jana* article is really an amplification of one which appeared in the *Silumina* of June 17 to which reference was made in this paper about two weeks ago. Whilst it is significant that the English language (and Tamil) papers of Lake House have so far made no reference to or published the *Silumina* article, *Jana* should take the lead in the matter. Is it because *Jana* is striving for an Afro-Asian circulation and that it has realised that it will not be heard or respected if it continued to echo (as in the past) the cold war theories and policies of the Dulles-Nixon school (after McCarthy went out of fashion)? Or it is that the presiding genius of Lake House has decided that the cold war is at an end and that the Dulles line can be written off as anachronism in the Asia that is growing?

Gratifying

Whatever the reason, it was extremely gratifying to read in the columns of *Jana* the kind of material which *Tribune* would have been pleased to publish. We are not so foolish as to think that *Tribune* has brought about any material change in the political attitudes of Lake House, but we can say this that *Tribune* has been nearer reality in the sphere of international affairs (as in local affairs) than the pundits of Lake House. What is happening now is that Lake House has decided to recognise reality as it

exists without continuing its efforts to stem the tide of history and fashion a world inspired by the impossible Dullesian world of massive retaliation and military pacts.

The *Jana* article takes its cue from the speech Nehru delivered at Rohtak on foreign interference in India and other Asiatic countries under the pretext of language (*Tribune* reproduced the relevant extracts from this speech in its issue of June 30). "In terms of Ceylon the objectives of the foreign sources operating in this island are two fold", according to the *Jana* article. The first is said to be the creation of "a ear of conquest by neighbouring India among the Ceylonese peoples....." This fear is being induced by exploiting the growing discontent among the Sinhalese masses by raising anti-Indian and anti-Tamil slogans. For this purpose certain secret societies (and some not so secret) are flourishing and *Jana* refers to the *Silumina* article to cite instances of recently impecunious individuals who suddenly seem to have a great deal of money to spend on themselves and on racist propaganda.

The second aim of these foreign sources seem to be, according to *Jana*, "is to encourage separatist groups among the Tamils who would in the process look to the rich Western countries to support with money the new state they hope to form". *Jana* makes a special point that among the Sinhalese the line of propaganda by these foreign sources is that the Sinhalese "will deem it prudent to ask the West to use bases here as our best protection against imperialistic India": among the Tamils the line seems to be to insist that such bases like Trincomalee should be in the Tamil State as a protection against "Sinhalese Imperialism".

Foreign Policy

After mentioning that visiting Professors from America had hinted that separation was the only way out for the communal problem in the country so far as the Tamils were concerned, the *Jana* adopts the thesis *Tribune* has

been emphasising ever since it came into existence over two years ago.

"Secret societies began to appear in the South, of Ceylon" states the "*Jana*, especially after this country began following an independent foreign policy. If this policy was not strictly neutral (as in the days of the UNP) it was too neutral for certain western powers which could think of Asia only as their satellites. In addition the neutral policy was strengthening India's own line on non-involvement in power blocs which the Americans particularly have been denouncing. The aim of these societies is primarily to stir up feeling against their Tamil compatriots. The societies have found a nutritious soil in Ceylonese society itself. The tensions which exists in an under-developed economy encourage their growth."

The *Jana* concludes by referring to a pamphlet issued by one of the secret societies which urged "if the British quit the war bases in Ceylon they should be loaned out to foreign powers until such time as the last Indian leaves this island." The pamphlet does not mention to which foreign power (s) these bases should be loaned, but nobody can be in doubt as to which country was meant. Concluding *Jana* stated: "these societies are pawns in the ambitions of certain foreign sources whose aims are global. They want (1) prevent Ceylon from maintaining friendly relations with India; (2) to show the world that India too has imperialistic ambitions; (3) discredit India's high moral standing among the nations of the world; (4) and build a suspicion of India among Asian countries so that they will in a climate of hostility take a position opposed to India on international issues through sheer spite".

What *Jana* forgot to add was that these foreign sources also hope to discredit the Bandaranaike Government, which is pursuing a independent foreign policy like that of Nehru's, by triggering communal clashes and racial riots.

Jaffna must be congratulated on throwing open four of its more important temples to the untouchables. That this should have come through a voluntary act rather than through legislative pressure is something Jaffna can be proud of. But it must be remembered that this should be only a beginning. Caste barriers cannot be broken down by admitting untouchables to temples alone. There is a temple in the North which traditionally permitted untouchables within its precincts, but that did not affect the caste taboos in any way.

Unless this symbolic opening of these Hindu temples is accompanied by a change of heart and mind in social relations the *status quo* will remain. Barriers in eating houses, public transport services, cemeteries and crematoria, wells and the like must also go. It is yet to be seen how soon the new revolution will make itself felt — for there is no doubt that what has happened is a revolution for Jaffna.

That the compelling factor, which has led to the opening of temples to untouchables, was the *Sinhala only Bill* is a tragic reminder of the discrimination against a section of the island's population which is inherent in the *Bill as it stands*. And the fact that caste-bound conservative Jaffna has thought it necessary to fight discrimination in its midst is indication enough of the depth of feeling against the *Sinhala Only bill*.

Christians

The British Government and the Christian missionaries, although they technically preached equality of man, did very little to shake the caste foundations of Jaffna. The Christians permitted "untouchable converts" into churches and a few other minor privileges, but went no further. The Jaffna Christian continued to be as much caste-bound as his Hindu brethren, and the danger arises that the latter might now take the cue from the former and go no further than admit the untouchables to the places of worship.

In fact, among a certain denomination in Jaffna, the caste problem has been 'settled' by having different

churches for the different castes in particular villages or a group of villages. Up to date, it can be said without exaggeration that in Jaffna the caste system had successfully submerged the Christian doctrine of equality of man.

Another curious result of the language bill is that a number of Christian padres, Protestant as well as Catholic, have now ventured out into the field of politics under the excuse of fighting for "language" and "self-determination". Undoubtedly, Christian missionaries are as much entitled to participate in the political life of the country as Buddhist priests, but if this trend goes on as vigorously as now, there should be an amendment in our election law which now penalises priestly interference.

Buddhist

One reason why Christian missionaries have suddenly found virtues in such questions like Fundamental Rights (in the days of the UNP, civil liberties, fundamental rights and self-determination were *Communist* propaganda to church dignitaries) is because of the anti-Christian campaign which is brewing in the South. One aspect of the anti-colonial feelings in this country has unfortunately taken the turn of being anti-Christian because this religion was long associated with the colonialism of the Portuguese, Dutch and British.

Understandable though this may be, it is surprising how so many, who should know better, take refuge in this kind of propaganda. And the poison is being spread through the most unexpected media. I have just seen the latest copy of magazine called the *Law College Buddhist Annual*. The editorial is a revelation. It was entitled **WAKE UP BUDDHISTS**. A photostat of the Kandyan Convention is published, and the editorial that follows declares: "Ever since the signing of the Convention at Kandy Buddhism in Ceylon has had a chequered history. There has since been an ignoble conspiracy on the part of the Christian missionaries, with the active encouragement of the Colonial Of-

fice, to harass the Buddhists in this country and to undermine their religious liberties so as to bring about a conversion of the people to the faith of Christ. This unholy conspiracy has not been entirely without success for, today, the Buddhists in this land find themselves fettered and helpless in the face of a campaign of silent conversion that is being successfully conducted by the organised non-Buddhist institutions in the country....."

Asia Foundation

After referring to the Kandyan Convention, the editorial calls upon the Buddhists to fight the "organised cunning of the Christian missionaries and British imperialists" and warns them "that unless they take themselves in hand now, and fight for their rights, Buddhism and freedom of thought are in dire peril of being completely destroyed within a very short while". This is followed by a new interpretation of a famous Buddhist tenet. "*Time has come for immediate action. Buddhism counsels tolerance and non-violence true enough; but when tolerance itself is threatened to be replaced with intolerance and obscurantism, there is no virtue in flattering ourselves that we are tolerant and surrendering ourselves to the devil.* The Buddhists of this country must unite or else, the day will not be far off when intolerance, born of unreasoning faith, shall destroy the freedom of thought that Buddhism has secured for them for the last two thousand five hundred years".

The quotation speaks for itself. The magazine is an extremely well-printed *de luxe* affair. Surprisingly enough it was executed at the Saman Press (of Asia Foundation) — probably as a commercial job! Another interesting point is that a Parliamentary Secretary, who is a law student, showed up at the Law College (he has not been there since the new Parliament met) on the day this magazine was released — and the only reason which seemed to have brought him to Law College was this *magazine*.

Week by Week

continued from page 135

In the best soap box style of Price Park variety (Hyde Park in London), Philip Gunawardene painted a view of the incidents leading to the harbour dispute which has been described by Pieter Keuneman, Colvin R. de Silva and Sir Ukwatte Jayasundera as partisan and mischievous, apart from being a series of half truths conveying a totally wrong impression of the situation. In addition, Philip Gunawardene attempted to create religio-communal ill-feeling out of the harbour dispute.

The C.P., the N.L.S.S.P. and the U.N.P. sent immediate protests to the acting Head of the Cabinet, C.P. de Silva, who seemed unable to do anything in the matter and instructed the parties concerned to await the Premier's return. This radio speech is cited as another example of the way the Food Minister is said to be intimidating the Cabinet by his fascist jingoism on language and religion.

At the request of Pieter Keuneman, the Director General of Broadcasting has preserved the script as well as the tape-recording of the radio talk by the Food Minister. Interesting developments are expected as a result of the radio outburst by Philip Gunawardene.

Press

In his radio talk, the Food Minister not only attacked the other political parties (thus breaking the conventions which have so far governed Radio Ceylon) but also raved against what he called the *yellow press*. It is strange and significant that not one paper, except the *Morning Times*, has up to the time of writing these notes, condemned the Food Minister for violating the elementary conventions of political decency in the matter of using a State Radio.

The Lake House papers, in fact, seem to want to laugh the whole thing off and thus indirectly defend the indefensible acts of the Food Minister. The method adopted by Lake House for such side-tracking is the old dodge of raising a red herring across the trail. This time Collette, the cartoonist, has been used for the purpose. When public indignation was mounting against the Food Minister, Collette last Monday was responsible for a cartoon in which he gently suggest

ed that Philip Gunawardene could not be blamed for using the Radio Ceylon in the way he did because the "complainant", Pieter Keuneman, would have done just the same if he only had the chance. (Reds and ex-Reds are *bad* — shades of Lake House MacCarthyism !)

This indirect attempt to defend the Food Minister, however, is understandable. Lake House, it is freely whispered in political circles still hopes to cause disruption in the MEP Cabinet; and what better than to pretend to defend the Food Minister! In support of this theory that Lake House is promoting disruption (under cover of language and religion), many point out that there was a secret conclave for over an hour on the morning of Friday July 6, (the day of the Radio talk) between the High Priest of Lake House and two important members of the Philip Gunawardene entourage. Of these two persons one was a Junior Minister and the other a University Don who recently attained great "fame" (thanks to Lake House again !). Speculation in informed circles centres round the question how far the High Priest of Lake House was in the know of what the Food Minister was to utter over the Radio that night. Did he give the okay and undertake that Lake House papers would not protest ?

One the other hand, friends of the Lake House chieftain state that these two persons called on him only to be able to tell others that they were getting support in high quarters. What did they discuss? Cricket? If so, why has Lake House not reacted against the Food Minister's high-handed action ?

Morning Times.

The editorial of the *Morning Times* on July 9 has received, from all accounts, the widest public approbation. After pointing out that the "conflict" between the Hon. Mr. Philip Gunawardene, the Food Minister, and Comrade Philip Gunawardene, the boss of one of the unions in the port, was creating delicate situations for the Government, the editorial emphasised that "his broadcast on Friday night has brought matters, to a head, and the Cabinet must now face the urgent question whether it is fair by the country to impose such a strain on an individual."

In no uncertain terms, the editorial condemned the radio talk which it described as "tirade of the sort one often hears at Price Park, quite unworthy of a responsible Cabinet Minister"; and stressed that it was "clearly wrong for a labour boss to have access to the microphone at Radio Ceylon to vent his spleen against his union rivals."

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Three Lines

The British Commonwealth Premier's Conference which concluded last week marks a new phase in the development of international affairs in that it has struck the last nail in the coffin of the US-sponsored cold war against the Soviet Union, Peoples China and the socialist countries.

The death of Stalin in March 1953 and the new Soviet line of peaceful and competitive co-existence first propounded by Malenkov and later developed by the Bulganin-Krushchev combine struck the first blow at the cold war of containment based on a world-wide system of military pacts and bases which Truman and the US State Department had launched soon after the death of Roosevelt.

The conciliatory peace policy followed by the Soviet Union and the *Panch Sila* policy of Nehru and a number of other countries have been responsible for lessening the tension that had been engendered by the irrepressible Dulles, who mounted on the NATO, SEATO, METO, and the ANZUS Pacts, had boasted of "brink of war" policies of "massive retaliation." Dulles confidently proclaimed these theories on the footing that the British Commonwealth countries (except for India) and all the Western European, Middle Eastern and Central and South American countries had been persuaded to believe in the Dullesian thesis that the Communist countries were a menace to mankind, that Communism was an international conspiracy which had to be wiped out through war, a hot war if the cold war did not succeed. For some years it appeared that Dulles had succeeded in stampeding and cajoling (through aid and military pacts) the so called "free world" into constituting a kind of *cordon sanitaire* around the socialist countries and that a hot war with atomic weapons was inevitable sooner or later.

But the "Panch Sila" which germinated in New Delhi, in the short

ARIEL, who was on holiday, resumes his weekly comments on international affairs. Though there is much happening in the world which is not given adequate coverage by our daily press, the space available to us at present only makes possible comment on the more significant trends.

spell of about two years, has almost banished war and has rendered the NATO, METO, and SEATO, just as valueless as the cold war of the State Department.

Communique

The rather carefully and elegantly worded communique issued at the end of the British Commonwealth Premiers Conference reflects the new situation with that restraint associated with tactful diplomacy of the Whitehall variety.

"This meeting has been held at a significant stage in the development of international relations. A new

element has been introduced by the growing recognition of the devastating power of thermo-nuclear weapons..... Other developments of importance have taken place in the world including changes in the Soviet Union."

After detailing some of the more important of these changes, the communique stated that the Premiers "welcomed these developments. A progressive improvement in the relations between the Soviet Union and the other great Powers would help to remove the fear of war and serve the interests of world peace."

The meaning is quite clear. In a very cautious manner the Commonwealth Premiers have indicated to the USA that it is time that she dropped her cold war policies.

Shelvankar, the correspondent of the *Madras Hindu* in a despatch from London dated July 7 stated: "It is felt that, however guarded the language may be, the official statement issued last night represents in

continued on page 140

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WORLD AFFAIRS

Continued from page 139

many respects an advance on the position to which the Commonwealth countries would have been willing to subscribe even a year or 18 months ago..... It is pointed out here that such sentiments (as friendship with the Soviet Union) are far removed from those which used to be expressed formerly. They are interpreted to mean that generally speaking Commonwealth countries are now committed to a course away from the cold war leading towards an increasing normalisation of the relations between East and West."

Washington

Even on the question of China, Shelvankar comments: "it is understood that although the wording of the communique is vague on this point all the Prime Ministers agreed that the continued non-recognition of China had become absurd. If a free vote, so to speak, were permitted in the United Nations the Commonwealth countries would probably all support the admission of the Peoples Republic. However the American attitude is one that cannot be ignored and out of deference to it, it seems unlikely that any definite move will be made in this matter until next year". It would appear that certain Commonwealth countries, whilst favouring friendly contacts with socialist countries, did not want to embarrass the USA prematurely in an election year.

Many commentators see in this communique a triumph for Nehru in that the Commonwealth Premiers have accepted the "Panch Sila" in a modified form as a first step towards a break with the cold war policies, which all of them except India had followed so far.

Whatever the deference the Commonwealth Premiers have tended to show the USA, there is no doubt that Washington too realises that the era of the cold war has begun to disappear. The *New York Times* in its weekly edition of Sunday June 24, almost a fortnight before the Premiers' Conference communique was issued, assessed the new international situation that has arisen as a result of the current "Russian Line".

"The wide-ranging effects of the new Soviet line asserted themselves,"

it stated, "with extraordinary force last week — in the Communist world, in the West and in the Middle East". In the *Communist world*, "Tito and the Russians sealed a new accord that wrote off as bygone the ideological war that Stalin declared on Yugoslavia in 1948 and seemed to open a new era in relations among countries in the Marxist camp".

Two Schools

In the *West*, "there was new evidence of discord over of how to respond to the new Russian line". The paper noted that Prime Minister Anthony Eden had said that "the world seemed to be moving from a cold war to a tepid peace": that Pineau in Washington had urged Washington "to try the experiment of responding more freely" to the Soviet overtures. In the US itself, whilst Eisenhower sent Air Force Chief Twining to Moscow for the Air Display, Dulles had continued with his tirades against "neutralism" and against Russia itself.

In the *Middle East*, according to the *New York Times*, the new Russian line has won tremendous successes. "Probably nowhere in the world has the new Soviet line found a more receptive target than in Egypt. The Kremlin's policy of extending the hand of trade and aid without political strings has had a most dramatic impact. The Alexandria docks are piled high with products from the Eastern bloc delivered in exchange for cotton....."

The paper sums up the reactions in Washington in the following terms: "Actually, the conflicting pressures have been operating within Washington itself. It is acknowledged that the Russian line has been effective in the West generally (barring the US and West Germany). It is also argued also that the Russians are also paying a large price for this result, in the damage inflicted upon the world Communist movement by the destruction of the Stalin myth.

"But on the question of what the West should do, two schools of thought are operating. One school, holds to the Adenauer belief that the new Russian line is more dangerous than the old and that the West should concern itself primarily with maintaining its defences: that fraternisation between the free and communist worlds would further soften the West and demoralize the captive peoples behind the Iron Curtain.

"The second school holds to the Pineau belief that the West should jump at the opportunity to compete with communism; that the propaganda of freedom through increased contacts, would prove more effective than that of communism; that our friends behind the Iron Curtain would be encouraged rather than demoralized.

"Between these two points of view, the US has not yet taken a firm official line. President Eisenhower is believed to lean toward the second school, though not so emphatically as M. Pineau. Secretary Dulles is regarded as in the first school, though not as emphatically as Dr. Adenauer....."

Pagan

In the meantime, Nehru who had postponed his scheduled visit to USA because Eisenhower was not yet well enough for long discussions (and probably because he did not see any point in talks with Dulles) came out very strongly against the Dulles-Nixon thesis on the cold war and "neutralism" at a Press Conference he held in London last week end at the conclusion of the Premiers Conference.

Stating that in a nuclear age a major war was out of the question, he emphasised "the cold war approach has no particular meaning if you rule out a hot war approach". Nehru thereupon referred to Dulles' recent declaration that countries which were neutral were "verging on immorality", and stated that he would not venture to call anyone immoral, even if the person concerned was totally opposed to India's policy. "I am a pagan," Nehru added, "and rejoice in being a pagan. Paganism's chief virtue is tolerance. To that extent it is very democratic outlook."

Nehru also drew attention to the fact that whilst Eisenhower had declared that there was much to be said for countries which were following "neutralist" policies, Dulles thought otherwise, and commented: "One does not quite know which opinion may be said to be the present official opinion of the United States."

This is the same question which the *New York Times* has posed. It is the same question for which the world is waiting for an answer.

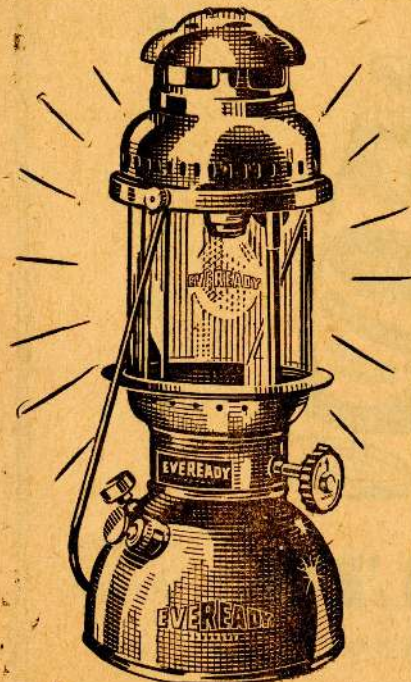
M. E. P. & Public

Before the M. E. P. Government or the so called Peoples' Government came to power there were various election promises they gave to the rate payers, but as far as the general public is aware of, from work done up to date, very little has been done to do work in line with their election promises.

The first thing the M. E. P. Government had to do when it came to power was the formation of the Cabinet. The Mahajana Eksath Peramuna in its party manifesto stated that it would reduce the number of Cabinet Ministerial posts. But now we can see that there has been a new deal on this question though one can say that they formed new Ministeries (well it is the rate payer's money that ultimately go in to pay these New Ministers), their Permanent and Private Secretaries and so on.

Ministers

Another fact that struck me was that the politicians particularly from the South, stressed that point that when the U.N.P. (the autocratic Government as they say) was in power the salaries of the Ministers should be immediately reduced.



The question has been altogether suppressed when the new Government came to power and we hope that this question will be seriously dealt with because so many thousands of rupees can be saved if the salaries of the Ministers are reduced and this can be used for other important work for the welfare of the people.

The M.E.P. Election manifesto stressed the point that the postal rates and railway fares, which were increased by the "capitalist" U.N.P. Government, should be reduced for the good of the rate payer. But as yet, though the first question has been casually considered the latter has been totally ignored. We sincerely hope that for the welfare of the thousands who daily travel in the railway, fares too will be reduced to a maximum as soon as possible. It would be far more advisable for the G. M. R. and Hon. Minister of Transport to reduce the railway fares to attract more travellers rather than the luxury travelling which they hope to introduce.

Children

Up till now no definite decision has been taken in connection with the mid-day meal to school children. Though the M. E. P. Government drastically criticised their predecessors for doing away with mid-day meals, yet they were unable to bring it back though a considerable time has lapsed.

In connection with the *Sinhala Only Bill* I would like to say that the greatest thing for the Government to do is to show that they are 100% Sinhala, is not to change the name boards into Sinhalese (causing greater inconvenience to non-Sinhalese) or to have their letter heads, franks, etc printed in Sinhalese, or to send a letter to a Tamil in Sinhalese but to see that the real policy of the Government is carried out with due recognition given to the minority interests.

We hope that this new Peoples Government will deal immediately with other national questions such as nationalisation of transport and plantations and most other questions and will contribute towards the welfare of the nation.

Gamini de Silva

Richmond College,
Galle.

Parker

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By S. E. A.

Capricornus (14th Jan. to 11th Feb.)

(Co-operation of friends and associates, improvement in occupation, success in educational undertakings, fulfilment of desires, and ill health in family circles.

Aquarius (12th Feb to 13th Mar)

(Good reputation, easing of difficulties in occupation, improvement in income, trouble from spouse's relatives.

Pisces (14th March to 12th April)

(Anxiety owing to enemies, assistance of friends success in investments, assistance from brothers and sisters, possibility of journeys.

Aries (13th April to 13th May)

(Relief from debts, pleasures, an-

xiety due to enemies, delay in enterprises, unexpected news of good fortune.

Taurus (14th May to 13th June)

(Trouble with regard to occupation, assistance from persons in authority, relief from debts, frequent journeys.

Gemini (14th June to 15th July)

(Hard work due to unexpected expenditure, possibility of journeys to distant places, disputes, help from superiors.

Cancer (16th July to 15th August)

(Success in occupation, good income, worries due to jealousy of others, a happy domestic event.

Leo (16th August to 15th Sep)

Loss of friends or employees,

good income, impatience, quarrels, social functions at home, journeys.

Virgo (16th Sep to 16th Oct)

Reputation will suffer, rise in occupation, attitude of many will change for the better, possibility of a journey over a new venture.

Libra (17th October to 15th Nov)

Expenditure exceeds income a change in the attitude of mind, help from neighbours, profit from land transactions, journeys.

Scorpio (16th Nov to 14th Dec)

Good income, happiness owing to children, help from women, profit from transactions relating to land or machinery.

Sagittarius (12th Dec to 13th Jan)

Charitable acts, fatigue and tiredness, an inclination to deceive others, success in most ventures.

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**HEADLINES
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DEADLINES**

BY PUCK

THE POLICE GIRLS MAY HAVE TO GO

Where? — Times, July 5

TEARFUL TELEPHONE GIRLS MEET MARIKKAR

And what happened? — Observer, July 4

DOWRY SYSTEM MUST GO — M.P.

Who'll foot election bills? — Daily News, July 6

HEALTH MINISTER BLAMES P.W.D.

Passing the baby, eh! — Morning Times, July 6

SLFP MEMBERS WILL TELL P.M.: DON'T TAKE UNP TURN-COATS

Political merry-go-round — Morning Times, July 5

BROADCAST BAN BOOSTS C.T.C. TAKINGS

Sting in horse's tail? — Times, July 9

(FOOD MINISTER'S) TAPE RECORD AND SCRIPT TO BE PRESERVED

(Philip) to dockside mud-slinging — Times July 9

M. P. GOVERNMENT SERVANTS BEWARE

We'll resign our seats and take your places — Times, July 9

TURN TO FARMING, TAMIL YOUTH TOLD

Landed Gentry — Times, July 9

PENITENT CO-OP MAN JAIL-ED

He learned to co-operate — Times, July 9

OLD CARS USED IN INSURANCE SWINDLE?

Wheels within wheels — Times, July 9

(GIRLS') FARM SCHOOL WILL NOT BE SCRAPPED

Wedded to the soil — Morning Times, July 10

HARBOUR MEN GET TASTIER MEALS

To be taken with a grain of salt — Morning Times, July 10

ELECTRICITY BILLS MUST BE PRESENTED WITHIN A YEAR

Shocks for those who don't! — Morning Times, July 10

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KINGSLEY PLAZA WEMBLEY AT WELLINGTON MODERN VIJAYA
KANDY JAFFNA BADULLA BATTICALOA

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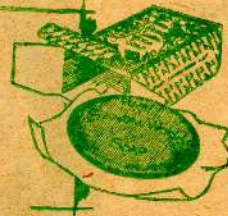
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