

TRIBUNE

Crooked Racing

why it flourishes?

Following the rumpus about the running of Briggs in the Queens Cup, "Tribune" called upon its Special Investigator to get to the bottom of the racing business in Ceylon. As long as it is permitted, racing is a matter of the greatest public concern for the simple reason that literally lakhs of rupees switch around on the betting and the least the public can expect is that it does not degenerate into a wholesale swindle. The preliminary report of the Special Investigator published below is most revealing.

The first question is whether the racing business is clean in Ceylon. The answer is No. It is a dirty racket in which bookies, newspaper tipsters, trainers, jockeys and other "responsible" persons connected with racing are in a grand conspira-

cy to cheat the gambling public (and also cheat each other when they can do so.) This fact has been repeated *ad nauseam* by several critics that racing is dirty business in Sri Lanka and instances can be quoted about doped horses (some to run faster and others to go slower), jockeys who ride to lose, horses that won't start and the like.

Question

But the question for which I wanted an answer was why was this business so dirty in this country. Persons who know assure me that things are not like this in India which is our closest racing neighbour. My investigations point to the fact that it is the big off-the-course betting indulged in by owners of horses with bookies that provides the key to the whole problem. Take the case of Briggs. Some connection of Briggs had placed a Rs. 10,000 bet 3 to 1 with a bookie. If Briggs won this bookie would have lost Rs 40, 00 in this one bet alone. And with every newspaper tipster shouting himself hoarse about Briggs, the betting public would have invested thousands on this horse. So, one or more bookies would have been interested



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in securing the defeat of Briggs. The ways a horse can lose are many and it is not necessary to go into that in this report. The point I wish to stress is that the motive force for crookedness in racing starts with the big off-the-course bets placed by owners with bookies. It takes a day or two to fix a horse and a bookie will not be moved to act unless the stakes are high, and high betting is not indulged in by members of the public who place bets with bookies. My investigations in regard to a number of recent suspicious "failures" of favourites show that certain bookies stood to lose big money if the horses won.

It is useless preaching sermons on ethics to bookies, but owners who are members of the Turf Club can help to root out the evil if they desist from placing large bets in advance with bookies. Why should they not bet only on the Turf Club tote? They grumble that the Club is not doing well but they do everything to make the Club a loser. Long before legislation is introduced to legalise the bookies, the Turf Club should introduce a rule that any owner who indulges in off-the-course betting should be removed from the roll of members. I am convinced that if owners cease betting with bookies a great many of the evils that now make racing a scandal will disappear.

Once the temptation for bookies to go crooked as a result of large off-the-course betting is removed the need to dope horses, bribe jockeys, grease newspaper tipsters and the like will disappear. If owners and others closely connected cannot discipline themselves to stop betting with bookies they have only themselves to blame if racing is reduced to a scandal.

TRIBUNE

CEYLON NEWS REVIEW
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FILMS

HELL'S ISLAND

(John Payne and Mary Murphy)
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As soon as this film started — we had to survive two very silly cartoons, a Government film unit news, a Pathe news and that deadly interval — before it actually did, a friend sitting next to me said that he had seen it before. So had I. Not once, but a dozen times. You know the familiar pattern of the quest of the Red Ruby or the Green Emerald or the Pink Diamond. You may be sure that the precious bauble would be discovered in the most unexpected place and all the doubtful looking characters who had passed the elusive buck from one to the other in the course of the story, would by lying on their backs with fatal injuries received from bullets or stilettos. And the heroine who has died a thousand deaths and has miraculously survived the most brutal inroads upon her

honour and virtue, would mock through it all with the Union Jack or the Stars and Stripes, as the case may be, flying, and leap into the arms of the conquering hero. And everybody would be happy ever afterwards. The old-familiar formula, with perhaps a twist here and a twist there. Nowadays it would appear that a change of locale is very necessary to maintain the interest. The quest of the Red Ruby could be much more colourful and exciting in Rio de Rozario, or Terra del Fuego or Madagascar. A few glimpses of quaint old native customs, odd native types, corybantic dances, all help to while away the time.

Red Ruby

And so we go in search of the red ruby in this film in South America. An ex District Attorney, now a chucker out in a night club, is engaged by a certain mysterious gentleman to retrieve a ruby which has disappeared in a plane crash. The mysterious gentleman thinks that the ex D. A. has excellent credentials for the job, because he happens to be the ex fiance of the wife of the owner of the plane. That is thought to be a sufficient

excuse for the ex D. A. to delve into the lady's boudoir. And this he does, in due course, in no uncertain fashion. The commission is accepted. And then the fun starts. Incidentally the lady's husband is conveniently out of the way serving a life sentence on Devil's Island. (Well, now you know why the film is called by that name). Of course he (the husband) has been falsely implicated by his dear wife, in quest of the ruby herself, and unjustly convicted. But in the short glimpses which we are given of his soul destroying captivity, he appeared to be enjoying the comforts of a rest cure in which we would have readily joined. However a few red herrings are trailed across our path. We are taken to a village cockpit (in which much to my disappointment the actual cock fighting wasn't shown). And as you may have guessed all those good people who could have given us all the clues we wanted in a jiffy, are conveniently bumped off, as soon as the hero catches up with them. Halfway through we know who the culprit is. It is the ex fiance of the ex D. A. And when she is led away in a Black Maria at the end of it all, we cannot help feeling sorry for the nice girl who has fallen amongst thieves. But what about the ruby? Well it is found at last lodged in the middle of a piece of bric a brac which crashes to the floor at the point when the ex D. A. and his ex fiance are about to crash on to a divan, which was very rude of the ruby.

Full marks to Mary Murphy. It is not an easy matter to get away with murder. But she does and John Payne, if you like the husky American Type, is easy on the eye and what was quite surprising, easy on the ear too.

But really must we have those dreadfully silly cartoons inflicted upon us without warning? Cannot managers of cinemas adopt the continuous system, indicating, as they do in other countries, the times of the "shorts" and the main film. So that we can pick what we like and skip the rest.

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NATIONALISATION ESSENTIAL

One of the main planks of the MEP election platform which has been lost sight of temporarily is the nationalisation of Insurance Companies. Admittedly the nationalisation of transport will take some time; but insurance companies can be tackled without any such delay.

India has already given a splendid lead in the manner in which nationalisation of Insurance Companies can be done without any harm to the national economy. A Socialist programme demands immediate action, for the immense wealth controlled by vested interests in Insurance represents the savings of the people at large and the business community in particular. This vast wealth must not continue to be the source of diabolical power of individual company directors, but can and must be made to work for the people.

Moral

The moral issues in favour of nationalisation of Insurance Companies are alone weighty enough to warrant immediate action. Thousands of poor clerks, peons, labourers, middle-income group savers provide the basis of the wealth of Insurance company directors. The State provides security such as fire services, motor traffic controls etc to enable the Insurance companies to make money out of risks. The basis of such risk-taking is always in favour of the Insurance Companies. Actuarial calculation has made the taking of such risks a gilt-edged investment. The Insurance Companies never lose. Take a simple example. Every poor man who takes out an insurance policy pays more to the Insurance Company in instalments than he finally receives. In brief, his savings exceed his return. The proportion of risk taken by the Insurance Companies is finally far, far less than the actual number of casualties. Thus, in a few years, the Insurance Companies emerge in the role of big business, trying to control whole industries and even Governments.

Is it right and proper that insurance company directors should not be in such a powerful bargaining

We publish a vigorous plea for the immediate nationalisation of the insurance business in Ceylon. Nationalisation of insurance is one of the specific matters mentioned in the MEP election manifesto and is therefore likely that it will be one of the matters to be considered early. We invite comment from our readers.

position, on the savings of the people and on the security services provided by the common taxpayer? On the contrary, it is fundamental to any Socialist thinking and economic planning that the savings and other reserves of Insurance should be put to work for the nation's economic development work, for raising living standards of the masses — and not merely enable businessmen to link their *private* investment with the Insurance companies' weighty investment. From then on, it is a case of American limousines, luxury homes, trips to Europe, and infiltration into new fields of business

over which they soon gain a monopoly. In an under developed economy in which the spirit of patriotism is woefully lacking, the savings of the people are put to private use for personal aggrandisement. The national Press is silenced by large-scale advertising: and the exploitation of the people by unscrupulous individuals goes on unchecked.

Profits

The layman little realises the extent to which he is subtly exploited by Insurance Companies. Foreign companies as well as the new outcrop of Ceylonese Insurance Companies have made handsome profits out of the poor man's savings and motor insurance. The turnover per year totals over Rs. 300 million. Think of what this Capital might do towards developing the economy of Ceylon, instead of the present system of transfer of estates, speculation and personal profit. Having amassed wealth in this manner, the Insurance company directors start share-buying in key industries. Thus unscrupulous

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INSURANCE

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small men brow-beat Ministers and Government. Under the UNP, of course, the system was to equate the term 'Ceylonisation of trade' with creating a climate for the increase of wealth among Ministers' pals and their relations. Trade was indeed Ceylonised for the residents of particular streets in Colombo 7.

Some of these new-rich Ceylonese capitalists and political puppet-show organisers among Insurance tycoons may argue that some of their company investment has been in Government loans and securities. How handsome of them to assist to this extent in lifting the mud-hut economy of Ceylon! Will they also state how they have developed a strangle-hold on some industries, completely shutting out the small man and actually checking the expansion of employment. Whenever their inefficiency overtakes them, they shout for Ceylonisation of trade (i.e. their private interest, for aren't they Ceylonese) and be labour the foreign Insurance Companies. The latter let them into a section of the business; and all is well.

Immediate

The time has come to call off

the bluff. The MEP cannot afford a day's delay after the new Budget is presented, to address itself to this immediate problem. Insurance is a clear case for nationalisation without immediate compensation. The shareholders' interests can be safeguarded by payment of dividends only and payment for the share holdings Government acquires should be spread over 50 years. The necessary money can then be found out of profits. Since the situation is critical and the need for internal capital and the king of monopolies in new enterprise most urgent, the ill-gotten wealth of the nouveau-riche should be radically dealt with. It should be seized without any more ado. The Insurance Company directors will not starve as thousands who live on the land do. Government should by an enabling bill take over 75% of the capital of every Insurance Company in Ceylon; arrange to pay for it in 50 years; and appoint a Treasury representative and a Government Accountant to the boards of each firm; retain the company structure and the existing personnel; and finally run them as Government-owned companies. The success of the Bank of Ceylon is a fine exam-


ple of patriotic endeavour. Insurance, too, must be made to follow suit without any more delay.


Incidentally, the enabling bill should include provision for 20 years rigorous imprisonment against any director of an Insurance company or employee for any sabotage. This is a necessary safeguard after the corruption of UNP rule. On the other hand, those who work for the national welfare by developing government controlled Insurance Companies, and so providing some of the much needed capital for the nation's economic development should have the same terms of employment, bonuses etc. These measures may seem drastic, but they are needed to strengthen a People's Government.


Pandit Nehru found it necessary, in the context of the vast continent of India, to nationalise Insurance last year. The Premier has declared that he will follow India's sane and progressive example in socialistic development of the country. It is therefore to be hoped that a radical bill for the nationalisation of Insurance, if only to pay for the nationalisation of transport, will be on the Statute book before the present session of Parliament is over.


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MARK TWAIN

It's unusual, to say the least, when the name of a popular American writer figures in a major foreign policy speech of a country thousands of miles away. But on second view it is not so strange when the writer happens to be Mark Twain and the country in question is emerging from long centuries of colonial oppression into an independent nation.

When the newly-elected Prime Minister of Ceylon, S. Bandaranaike pledged that his country no longer would tolerate foreign domination or interference, he made special reference to England and the U.S. "But....." he said, "we are not anti-Western and we are not hostile to the U.S. How could I be hostile to a country that produced Mark Twain?"

With this rhetorical question he was paying great tribute not only to Mark Twain but to the best in the American democratic tradition which Twain represented in his writing.....

Patriot

IN MARK TWAIN, American democracy found a most powerful voice; he was a patriot in the finest sense of the world.

But his patriotism did not allow for a boisterous cheering of the Stars and Stripes, right or wrong; he insisted that the U.S. keep itself worth shouting for. The patriotism and loyalty to country, he defined in his Notebook as "loyalty to one's best self and principles, and this is often disloyalty to the general idols and festishes."

"You see my kind of loyalty was loyalty to one's country, not to its institutions or its office-holders," he wrote in *A Connecticut Yankee*. "The country is the real thing, the substantial thing, the eternal thing; it is the thing to watch over and care for and be loyal to; institutions are extraneous, they are its mere clothing, and clothing can wear out, become ragged, cease to be comfortable, cease to protect the body from winter, disease and death."

"To be loyal to rags, to shout for rags, to worship rags, to die for rags — that is a loyalty of unreason,

it is pure animal, it belongs to monarchy; let monarchy keep it. I was from Connecticut, whose Constitution declares "that all political power is inherent in the people, and all free governments are founded on their authority and instituted for their benefit; and that they have at all times an undeniable and indefeasible right to alter their form of government in such a manner as they may think expedient."

"Under that gospel, the citizen who thinks he sees that the commonwealth's political clothes are worn out, and yet holds his peace and does not agitate for a new suit, is disloyal; he is a traitor. That he may be the only one who thinks he sees this decay, does not excuse him; it is his duty to agitate anyway, and it is the duty of the others to vote him down if they do not see the matter as he does....."

Agitator

MARK TWAIN was such an agitator, such a patriot. From lecture platforms all over the world through his participation in the Anti-Imperialist League, in his articles and essays, he bitterly denounced the changing tides in his America — now reaching out with grasping hands for new territories

With acknowledgements to the U.S. weekly *The Worker* of May 13, 1956 we reprint an article which appeared under the title AMERICAN SPOKESMAN WHO HAS THE EAR OF THE EAST. What Mark Twain wrote in *A Connecticut Yankee and Innocents Abroad*, if he lived to set them in the context of today, would be UN-AMERICAN in the eyes of McCarthy, Dulles and Nixon and he would not only have been deprived of his passport but also arraigned before a Senate sub-committee as well as a Grand Jury of the Supreme Court. The Dixie-rats would want to lynch Mark Twain for his *Huckleberry Finn*. But the days of Dulles and Nixon are numbered just as those of the Dixie-rats, and the whole world awaits the dawn of the day when the spirit of Mark Twain will once again prevail in the land of Lincoln, Jefferson and Roosevelt?

and new conquest with which to enrich itself.

"We are", he wrote in connection with the Philippine subjugation,

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MARK TWAIN

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"meddling where we have no business and no right; meddling with the private family matters of a sister nation; intruding upon her sacred right to do as she pleases with her own, unquestioned by anybody..."

Twain hated war as do the colonial peoples who have borne the brunt of them for so many years; he described with the keenest of insight the process by which the ruling class succeeded in preparing their wars on the ideological front. In *The Mysterious Stranger* he has Satan explain it, thusly:

"There has never been a just one (war), never an honorable one — on the part of the instigator of the war. I can see a million years ahead and this rule will never change in so many as half a dozen instances. The loud, little handful — as usual — will shout for the war... Then the handful will shout louder. A few fair men on the other side will argue and reason against the war with speech and pen, and at first will have a hearing and be applauded, but it will not last long. Those others will out-shout them, and presently the anti-war audiences will thin out and lose popularity. Before long you will see this curious thing; the speakers stoned from the platform, and free speech strangled by hordes of furious men who in



their secret hearts are still at one with those stoned speakers — as earlier — but do not dare say so "And now the whole nation — pulpit and all — will take up the war-cry and shout itself hoarse and mob any honest man who ventures to open his mouth, and presently such mouth will cease to open.

"Next the statesmen will invent cheap lies, putting the blame upon the nation that is attacked, and every man will be glad of those conscious soothing falsities and will diligently study them, and thus he will by and by convince himself that the war is just and will thank God for the better sleep he enjoys after this process of grotesque self-deception."

Humanism

It seems clear that S. Bandaranaike sees in Mark Twain a representative of democratic America in the fullest sense of the word. Twain is recognized the world over as an ardent anti-imperialist and is known for his loyalty to the principles of independence for all people.

In addition, his deep-seated humanism has endeared him to millions, and the penetrating humor for which he was so famous, was invariably directed against the privileged ("I have never tried to cultivate the cultivated," he wrote to a friend). In *A Connecticut Yankee* against monarchies and medievalism; in *Huckleberry Finn* against slavery and restraints of freedom; in *Innocents Abroad* against the arrogance of a rising American middle class; in *The Prince and Pauper* against unearned privilege and rank — to name but a few. It is little wonder that his writings have given him common sense with the plain people of the world and that they have taken him as their own.

He has summed up the best in the American tradition, and for this he is honoured by Ceylon's Prime Minister, representative of an oppressed people. Through him they see their common bond with the average American. Mark Twain is still defending democracy by helping to preserve a reservoir of friendship for the American people which will never run dry despite the misdeeds of the instigators of war.

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BETWEEN THE LINES

Wednesday July 25

COMMUNIST LITERATURE: "The Prime Minister declared in the House yesterday in an answer to Mr. Pieter Keuneman that all restrictions on the import of literature from Communist countries imposed by the former Government would be removed."

Shortly after the new Government came to power, Keuneman interviewed the Premier who promised to remove the ban and issued instructions accordingly. The directive was subverted by officials in the Ministry of Commerce dealing with imports on some technical quibble. The old ban therefore continued and had to await the Premier's return from London for the McCarthy-inspired officials to be told that the old days were really gone.

TAMIL TALKS: "Several Tamil leaders and politicians met in the house of C. Suntheralingam to discuss ways and means of resisting the Sinhala Only Bill."

This was an attempt by sections of the Ceylon Tamils to forge "unity" by drawing in the Ceylon Indians. In this they failed, for the Ceylon Democratic Congress declined to attend the talks on the ground that they stood for a united Ceylon and would not collaborate with groups which stood for separation — federal or otherwise, although the C. D. C. like the Left Parties insisted that Tamil should be one of the State languages of the country.

Thursday, July 26th

DEATH PENALTY: "Sir Ukwatte Jayasundera Q.C. issued a statement pointing out that the de facto suspension of the death penalty spelled the doom of the rule of law."

The House of Representatives passed a Bill to suspend the death penalty for three years. This Bill was thrown out by the Senate. Instead of making the Bill law by re-introducing it in the Senate according to the procedure laid down in the Constitution the Minister of Justice has recommended the commutation of every person condemned to death to life imprisonment. This

"use" of the prerogative of mercy has been characterised as a threat to the rule of law whereby statutory enactments can be subverted through administrative action.

FEDERAL PARTY: "At his weekly press conference yesterday, the Prime Minister stated that he had no doubts that neither the Government of India nor the Government of Madras will take sides on the language question in Ceylon."

C. Vanniasingham, President of the Federal Party, had gone to Madras to attend a meeting organised by some persons there to protest against the Sinhala Only bill in Ceylon. This visit provoked a

Many readers complained that the *Diary of Ceylon events*, published last week, needed explanatory comments to make interesting reading. This suggestion was adopted as an excellent way of giving our readers the news behind the news in Ceylon.

great many questions, but the attitude of the Federal Party appears to be that it should canvas support in every quarter where sympathy and assistance was forthcoming. This attempt on the part of the Federal Party to tie-up with the language extremists in South India has not been viewed with enthusiasm by Left and progressive opinion in the south of Ceylon.

Friday July 27

MERCANTILE AWARD: "The award of the Industrial Court on the dispute between the Ceylon Mercantile Union and the Employers Federa-

tion was issued last night granting pay increases and other benefits to mercantile employees."

The Industrial Court was called upon to adjudicate on the dispute which had led to a strike in 41 commercial establishments in the city. The award of the Court has been welcomed by the Employers Federation as being eminently fair to both sides. The General Council of the C. M. U. was to meet shortly to discuss the award.

TAMIL TALKS: "Discussions between Tamil leaders ended without any definite decisions except to meet again in Jaffna on August 4."

The squabble for "leadership" was still too strong to result in any "unity." Even an Action Committee could not be formed owing to differences concerning its composition. An attempt was made to resolve this by "reserving" a number of places in the Action Committee for the C. D. C. which was not present and was unwilling to participate in the talks. The Federalists seem to view these talks as a subtle attempt on the part of G. G. Ponnambalam to get on the bandwagon of popularity in the Tamil areas which the Federalists now feel is their rightful monopoly. On the other hand, the Federalists do not want to be out of the talks lest they be accused of "disrupting unity." It is a game of the fox and the geese, and whilst this drama goes on the Ceylon Indians and the Tamil-speaking Muslims are drifting further and further away from the Ceylon Tamils.

Saturday July 28

HORROR COMICS: "The Children and Young Persons (Harmful)" continued on page 186



Colonel Nasser's action in nationalizing the Suez Canal has touched off an explosive political situation in the Middle East. The Western powers certainly seem to have been taken off their guard, and if they complain bitterly now it is they who have been responsible for provoking Colonel Nasser to take such a drastic course.

Last December, the U.S. and the U.K. offered a sum of \$70 millions to finance the Aswan Dam project. The total estimate for the project was \$1,300 to be spread over a period of ten years. Further assistance was promised by the World Bank and Egypt herself was prepared to contribute a substantial proportion of the estimated cost. All the preliminary work had been completed and the project was scheduled to be launched in July 1957.

It is natural that a project of this magnitude, as the Aswan Dam, should fire the imagination of the Egyptian people and increase the prestige and popularity of their president Colonel Nasser. But what the Western powers resent most is Nasser's independent policy of non-alignment with either power blocs. It is significant that the withdrawal of aid from Britain and the U.S. should coincide with the meeting of Pandit Nehru, Marshal Tito and Colonel Nasser in Yugoslavia, where these three leaders have reaffirmed their faith in the Bandung Principles! By withdrawing their promised financial aid, Britain and the U.S. hoped to undermine the popularity of Colonel Nasser and bring about his downfall. But Nasser has completely outwitted them and has taken the only course of action open to him.

Background

In 1856, a French engineer, Ferdinand de Lesseps, formed the Suez Canal Company and obtained the permission of Said Pasha to construct the Canal. Not only the land through which the Canal lies but also the stone quarries and practically all the labour force needed for its construction were given free by the Egyptian Government. Work began in 1859 and in the absence of

modern earth moving equipment it took nearly ten years for the Canal to be completed. The canal is 119 metres wide, 12.8 metres deep and 166 kilometres long. It is reported that in the course of its construction more than 120,000 Egyptian workers died of exhausting work and disease.

The nominal owner of the Suez Canal is Egypt but all its benefits accrue to the Suez Canal Company which holds a ninety nine year lease from the Egyptian Government. The lease is due to expire in 1969.

In 1865, the British Prime Minister, Benjamin Disraeli, brought off a clever coup by buying up at the ridiculously low price of £3,976,582 all the 176,602 shares owned by the insolvent Egyptian ruler Khedive Ismail. This enabled Britain to have a controlling interest in the Company as it now owned 44% of the shares. The Board of management consists of one American, one Dutch, five Egyptians, nine British and sixteen French directors.

The company charges 8 shillings for every ton of freight and for every passenger passing through the canal. The total revenue thus earned amounts to a tidy sum annually and most of it goes to Britain as she is the major shareholder. The cost of construction of the Canal was only a little over 400 million francs but between 1870 and 1930 alone the company's profits amounted to over 3,500 million francs. According to another source "by the end of 1949 Great Britain had received from the Suez Canal a profit of £63 million". Egypt's share of the profits is only 7 per cent.

In Ceylon

Whilst the Prime Minister has been cautious in stressing that peace must be saved at all costs,

public opinion in Ceylon has been strongly in favour of Nasser's action. Opposition leaders N. M. Perera, Pieter Keuneman and Colvin R. de Silva have conveyed to the Prime Minister that Ceylon should strongly support Egypt and throw its weight against the Western Powers trying to pressurise Nasser's government. The daily press too have taken up an unequivocal position. The *Daily News* was the first to set the pace. On Monday July 30, in a leading editorial entitled SUEZ: THERE WAS NO ALTERNATIVE stressed that the action of the USA and UK in withdrawing aid left no alternative to Egypt but to nationalise the canal if it did not want to depend too heavily on Russian aid to build the Aswan Dam which was symbolic of the country's effort at economic regeneration. The *Observer* followed up in the evening with a more vigorous editorial on the same lines and concluded saying "above all, the big powers should they recourse to the tactics of street thuggery in their attempts to stabilise relationships with Egypt will be guilty of acting contrary to the interests of peace which they publicly and repeatedly espouse." The *Times of Ceylon* which is sensitive to British opinion also pointed out in more guarded language that Egypt was within her legal rights in nationalising the canal. The *Morning Times* in an editorial on Tuesday July 31 pointed out that British papers had also raised a howl when Ceylon had wanted to "nationalise" Trincomalee and had suggested tough methods to maintain the *status quo*. It was time it stressed that the Western Powers began to get reconciled to the fact that they were no longer the overlords of the world.

The enormous profits earned by the Suez Canal Company can be gauged from the following figures of revenue, expenditure and net income for the past four years:

Year	Revenue	Expenditure	Profits
1951	Fr. 27,633,623,806	Fr. 12,821,158,910	Fr. 13,659,852,813
1952	Fr. 28,379,491,562	Fr. 13,542,892,209	Fr. 13,651,097,228
1953	Fr. 32,465,700,791	Fr. 15,122,860,163	Fr. 15,593,811,114
1954	Fr. 30,858,630,514	Fr. 13,986,305,004	Fr. 15,447,093,252

A great revolution seems to have taken place within the precincts of Lake House. Since there were no external changes it is only fair to infer that there has been a change of heart and mind. Like the Krushchev re-appraisal of Stalin, there seems to have been an even more agonising re-evaluation in the ideological philosophies of Lake House.

The first glimmer that the public had of this was when, after a period of stepping down on the cold war line of Dulles-Nixon which Lake House had faithfully followed ever since 1951, it greeted editorially in the *Daily News* the recent disarmament proposals of the USSR. This is the first time since 1951 (and probably the first time in the history of *Daily News*) in which any action of the USSR was welcomed by Lake House and on this occasion it also pointed out that the Western Powers were standing in the way of world disarmament. This was followed up by Lake House support for Shepilov's offer to stop all Russian atom and hydrogen bomb tests if other Powers would do likewise.

Student of Politics

It is one thing to be fair-minded about international affairs, but it is quite another thing to follow similar policies in domestic matters. But Lake House seems to have decided to effect a complete change of policy on local affairs too. The *Silumina* started it off with an article on "Secret Societies" which were being backed by a foreign power in Ceylon (the only foreign power to fit the role being the USA). This was followed up with the leading note in the *Jana* of July with an even more devastating exposure of American intrigue in Ceylon.

Pleading for non-interference from foreign powers at a time when the monopoly of the influence which the US has exercised over Ceylon since 1950 was passing away could not by itself be taken as a fundamental change, particularly when it could be interpreted to mean that all that Lake House wanted was a situation that the new Powers which would shortly have embassies in Ceylon — Russia and China, in particular — should not be in a

position to do what the American have been doing in Ceylon. However, doubts as to what the Lake House was really up to were to some extent resolved with an outstanding series of articles by a writer using the pseudonym "Student of Politics".

If my memory is correct a person using the same pseudonym wrote a couple of articles in the *Daily News* in 1952 or 1953 in which he outlined the MacCarthy - Dulles - Nixon line on international and national affairs and the way Ceylon should adopt it. What it amounted to was that everyone who differed from the UNP should be branded a "Commie" and a "Red", and every such person should be dealt with as a foreign agent of "international Communism". It was an argument to identify patriotism with UNPism. Economically, the benefits of a welfare state of free enterprise (shades of Wall Street) were held up as the goal one should strive for.

If the person who wrote the "Student of Politics" articles in 1952/53 and the articles a fortnight ago is one and the same person (I have a shrewd suspicion it is), I must say that he has undergone as much change as the henchmen of Stalin have done in their assessment of various matters.

Lobby Correspondent

Another writer drew attention to the significance of these articles in the *Tribune* last week (and his comments are also found this week). A Communist Member of Parliament, P. Kandiah, in his Budget speech last Monday also referred in glowing terms to these articles. Whilst undoubtedly there is a great deal which a Marxist will find exhilarating in the articles, I must say that I was disappointed in that the "Student of Politics" does not suggest any concrete steps as a way out of the stagnant economy of Ceylon. The analysis of the situation is excellent but beyond saying that Ceylon should follow Nehru's economic policies the articles provide no clue as to what might be done. Is it that the solutions which naturally flow from the analysis made by the "Student

of Politics" would be similar to the programme of the NLSSP and the CP? I will not speculate on this, but I must record another remarkable change in Lake House, the new Lobby Correspondent of the *Daily News*.

From the days of the old State Council, Lake House had inflicted on its readers the views and distortions of a gentleman who acted as the Lobby and Political Correspondent of the *Daily News*. He represented everything that was reactionary and rotten in this country and his Saturday morning outpourings of libel and invective reduced the *Daily News* to the level of the yellow press. With the defeat of the UNP this gentleman ceased being the Political Correspondent, (and the Lobby Correspondent), and his place was taken by a cloth and banian version of the same kind of politics. His Lobby Notes were facetious and were total distortions of what happened in Parliament. His Saturday morning sermons were a hangover from the past.

A new Lobby Correspondent, however, has written the notes for *Daily News* from the Budget sessions of the House. I must say that his reportage is excellent and his Lobby notes constitute some of the finest writing that has so far appeared in any newspaper in Ceylon within living memory. Every morning I now read these notes with unbounded admiration, and I must confess that I do know as a journalist that the work of a Lobby Correspondent is one of the most exacting that any writer can be called upon to perform. I wish the same writer takes over the Saturday morning Political Correspondent column of the *Daily News*.

I have been among the bitterest critics of Lake House, and I must say that I am filled with a sense of satisfaction and gratification that the change in Lake House has been in the direction I have always wished for (and not the other way about). My pet aversions in policies and personalities in Lake House seem to be disappearing. I am indeed happy.

BETWEEN the LINES

continued from page 183

Publications) Bill intended to prevent the sale or circulation of horror Comics was approved by the House of Representatives, but sent to a Special Committee of the House for further consideration."

It was *Tribune* which first took up the matter of horror comics in Ceylon over two years ago and carried a campaign to secure this ban. The Special Issue and Supplement on Horror Comics published by *Tribune* went a long way towards making the authorities conscious of the problem. In the debate in the House the Prime Minister as well as Dr. Colvin R. de Silva did not seem to know what horror comics really were. They seemed to think that present day horror comics were like the innocent Buffalo Bill yarns of the days when they were at school. It was a fear that the Bill might be used to restrict harmless publications that led to its being sent before a Special Committee to consider ways and means of preventing abuse of this legislation.

UNITED NATIONAL PARTY:
"The draft report of the Special Committee of the UNP on reform and reorganisation was completed yesterday" and extensive extracts were published in the 'Observer'

This was a post-mortem report which combined everything that everybody has said about the cause of the downfall of the UNP. It blamed everybody and everything for the debacle: Buddhist priests, the daily and periodical press, the "communist cells" in the Public Service, the bad nominations, the lack of the party journals, the inadequate use of the party secretariat, the indiscriminate grant of honours, unemployment, R. G. Senanayake, and party propaganda. It chastised "Cabinet Ministers who were too aloof from party rank and file" and bemoaned the legend that the UNP had millions in the party coffers and "in all electorates a great many workers were led to believe that each candidate had Rs. 50,000 to spend and thus waited for the money before they did their part." Finally it regretted that "for many years the Government Information Department was not used for its legitimate purpose of telling the public what was being done with their money." If this had been done the UNP would have been thrown out sooner. The proposals for re-organisation had all the flavour of wishful Resolutions of a

cripple who wanted to train for the track events in the Olympics.

Sunday July 29

ELECTORAL REGISTERS: "The Minister of Home Affairs has ordered an investigation into the suspicious increase in the number of voters in certain wards of the Colombo Municipal Council."

In an interview the Minister stated that Mr. Pieter Keuneman had brought to his notice of unbelievable increase in the voters in a number of wards. In the Kochikade ward, for instance, the natural increase would have been 300, but the voters list had 900 more names, and in one of the houses which was the office of the local UNP branch, where there were 11 voters in 1954 there were 63 in 1955. These lists were compiled in the day of the UNP and it is believed that fictitious names had been added to swell the lists in certain wards for the 1956 Municipal Elections.

Monday July 30

METTANANDA: "L. H. Mettananda released a lengthy statement accusing the Prime Minister of not implementing the recommendations of the unofficial (Mettananda) Buddhist Commission."

Mettananda has raised the jingo Buddhist cry once again and accused Bandaranaike of the "crime" of appeasing Catholics, Communists and Indians. MaCarthy in the USA, following Hitler, resorted to red-baiting by invoking the bogey of "International Communism" to advance the cause of reactionary Cadillac monopolists. Mettananda

and his religious and racial fanatics have three frankensteins to invoke: Catholics, Communists and Indians (alternating with Tamils). There is speculation as to why Mettananda chose this particular moment to start this campaign.

Tuesday July 31

SUEZ NATIONALISATION:
"The Prime Minister speaking on adjournment motion yesterday in the House of Representatives said that whilst he sympathised with the desire of other countries to preserve their sovereignty stressed that the greatest need of the hour was the preservation of peace."

Opposition leaders, N. M. Perera, Pieter Keuneman and Dr. Colvin R. de Silva emphasised that the Prime Minister should make it clear that Ceylon supported the right of the Egyptian people to nationalise the Suez Canal. All newspapers in Ceylon have come out very strongly in favour of Egypt's action and her right to nationalise.

METTANANDA ANSWERED:
"It is not necessary to adopt fascist methods in order to promote Buddhism", says Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike in a reply to an open letter issued by Mr. L. H. Mettananda yesterday.

The Premier dealt with every point taken up by Mettananda and he too wonders why Mettananda should have thought it necessary to launch this attack at this stage. Is it the beginning of the campaign for *Buddhism Only* and is Mettananda's letter only the opening salvo?

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N. U. Jayawardena

Last week, I indicated that the series of articles in the *Daily News* by a writer hiding his light behind the pseudonym *Student of Politics* was remarkable for its realistic and objective analysis of the political situation in Ceylon. Fearlessly, the writer wrote off all that the UNP had stood for and also pointed out that the MEP in its budget had not gone much further than the UNP.

Before I proceed to examine the solution advocated by the *Student of Politics*, it is necessary to draw attention to a series of articles which appeared in the *Times of Ceylon* between the 1st of May and the 27th of May. These articles were by Mr. N. U. Jayawardena.

First

It must be said to the credit of Mr. Jayawardena that he was the first economist of any standing in this country to provide the public with an analysis of the situation which had arisen by the defeat of the UNP. The fact that Mr. Jayawardena was one of those who had suffered the fate of a scapegoat owing to the activities of the Big Fish of the UNP added poignancy to his articles, but it must be said that whatever he had undergone he approached the entire problem with a degree of impersonal objectivity which calls for admiration and respect.

"With the defeat of the United National Party at the recent elections", Mr. Jayawardena stated, "which has reduced the erstwhile great political party to a mere rump, there has literally been swept into office a Peoples' United Front, the Mahajana Eksath Peramuna, professing policies of a more radical character than the party in power previously". Very aptly he declared: "It behoves all serious students of economics and political affairs of the country to ponder over the profound changes which the elections have brought about in the fortunes of the contending political parties, and endeavour, to the best of one's ability, to translate into policy and programme what is implied by these changes".

Realistic

Mr. Jayawardena in his series of articles (which deserve to appear in book form though I disagree with many of his conclusions and solutions) brought before the public an analysis of the situation with truly realistic insight. The *Student of Politics* has now performed a similar task in the *Daily News* by his articles which appeared in the third week of July. Whilst Mr. Jayawardena looked at the problems of national production and increase of wealth from a strict economist's point of view (pleading that the local and foreign capital should be neutral on major political issues and not be tied up with any political party), the *Lake House Student of Politics* was more interested in the political aspects of the problem and used the background of economics to draw inferences in support of his political arguments.

Before going more deeply into the relative merits of the way Mr. N. U. Jayawardena and the *Student of Politics* have approached the problem, it is necessary to point out that both writers are agreed on the reasons for the defeat of the UNP. In last week's article, I drew attention to the reasons attributed for the defeat of the UNP by the *Student of Politics*. He went to some length and into many details to show why the defeat of the UNP was inevitable in that it had failed and was totally unable to provide a solution to the crisis of a stagnant economy of an under-developed country.

The sum and total of Mr. Jayawardena's argument is that the UNP was "swept out of office because of failure to solve the pressing problems of the day."

He referred to two instances where the UNP had failed. . . . "the fundamental problem of providing an educational ladder to fit the youth to secure gainful employment remained unsolved and neither were opportunities for employment offered. The emotion-evoking question of State language is merely one manifestation of this unsolved

Pertinax embarked on the task of evaluating the series by the *Student of Politics* in the *Daily News* and proposed to do so in two articles. In the process of writing his attention was drawn to N. U. Jayawardena's articles in the *Times of Ceylon*. In two further articles, *Pertinax* will complete his brief analysis and comment on the articles by these two writers. *Tribune* welcomes the views of our readers on the problems dealt with by N. U. Jayawardena and the *Student of Politics*.

problem." The other instance of UNP failure was that "the compelling task of reforming an antiquated tenurial system which reduced the cultivating tenant to a mere share-cropper and denied him every incentive to increase productivity, was virtually neglected."

The *Student of Politics* manifestly familiar with Marxist logic and argumentations attempted to explain away the failure of the UNP on the basis of historical and economic grounds; Mr. N. U. Jayawardena, who is still obviously fond of Keynesian economics, was tempted to attribute the decline and fall of the UNP to the foibles of individuals unworthy of the task which history had entrusted them with. "The founder leaders of the UNP were estimable men, moved by the highest concepts of character and conduct." But others had led the UNP to "misrule" the country, Mr. Jayawardena alleged. Nevertheless, he does not lose sight of the fact that the fundamental cause for the defeat of the UNP was because it was unable to solve the problem of increased production.

In two succeeding articles I shall endeavour to examine the solutions suggested by these two writers for the currently urgent problems facing the country today.

QUESTION TIME

By MERLIN

"A delegation from Ceylon will leave for New Delhi by plane today to negotiate with the Indian Government for full traffic rights at Bombay for the International Service of Air Ceylon."

—Daily News, 25/7

Why hang on to the faraway KLM? Why not a tie-up with Air India International? Or why not revive old suggestion of a South East Asian Air Corporation — Indian, Pakistan, Indonesian (Garuda) and Ceylon Airways — on the lines of the Scandinavian SAS to build an Asian airline that can stand up to the giants in aviation?

★

"The Prime Minister yesterday ordered that work on the Colombo South Water Scheme be stopped and appointed a Cabinet Sub-Committee to investigate the circumstances in which the last Government had awarded the contract for this scheme to a firm without tenders being called."

—Morning Times, 26/7

Why not investigate all the contracts (with and without tenders) awarded to this firm? Is this French firm really a firm of engineers? Were not its Ceylon agents adversely reported on by the Public Accounts Committee in respect of their work on another Government scheme?

★

"Following on Brigg's disappointing run in the Queen's Cup race last Saturday, where he went out a very hot favourite but finished off the board, his owner Maj. T. F. Jayawardene, has taken out his entire string of eight horses from trainer Renga Selvaratnam and given them over to Dunstan de Alwis."

—Times of Ceylon, 25/7

Why didn't Maj. Jayawardena change his Party when he was trounced at the Colombo South Elections last April? He too went out a hot favourite.

★

"The Minister of Labour, Mr. T. B. Illangaratne stated in Parliament yesterday that a preliminary inquiry by his Permanent Secretary had revealed that the American firm advertising jobs abroad for three dollars was a bogus institution."

—Observer, 26/7

Why this fuss about a bogus employment exchange offering a chance to see the world? Why not do something about the unemployment problem? And what about the "bogus" insurance companies run by Ceylonese unhindered by an Insurance Act? How many thousands are being robbed of millions by such companies?

★

"It (nationalisation of Suez by Egypt) came in direct reply to the Anglo-American refusal to help build the billion dollar Aswan Dam. It hit France and Britain in their pride and pocketbooks."

—Reuter, 28/7

Why did Britain so vigorously follow Du'les-Nixon in pressuring Egypt for participating in the Brioni talks and for her independent foreign policy? Isn't it time Britain realised that to safeguard her pocketbook she should discard the pride of the white man's burden? Wouldn't it have been better for Britain to have made profit financing the Aswan Dam and supplying it with material and equipment rather than be kicked out of Suez? Why kill the goose that lays golden eggs?

Parker

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Christian Missionaries

This letter was sent to us with the challenge "I hope you have no objection to presenting to your readers these views though they may be essentially opposed to yours." The views the writer refers to are those of our columnist *Serendib*, but *Tribune* has never hesitated to publish even views highly critical of policies editorially advocated by us. We publish a note from *Serendib* about Mr. Rajasingham's comments.

—Editor

Sir,

I find that the "Tribune" continues to rail against Christian Missionaries in Ceylon accusing them of supposed instances of "interference" in the political life of the country. It is somewhat unfortunate that at a critical period in the island's history, an innocent group of people should be used as scapegoats for all the political ills of the land.

The references particularly in the issue of the Tribune of July 14 to "Christian Missionaries" and "the Jaffna Christian" in the first column of the article entitled "Religion" (page 137) are incorrect and unkind. Jaffna College at Vaddukoddai (founded 1872) was the first institution to admit students of the so called "untouchable" class, though the opposition then was so formidable that another institution might have succumbed to it. This school is a Missionary institution. It was soon followed by other missionary schools in Jaffna. In this Boarding Department of all the Mission schools (this Department is always the mainstay of the school) all children are given equality of status and opportunities. Even the domestic staff consists largely of the people of the so called untouchable 'class'. Again, today in the Government service of the country, if there are people from the untouchable class, it is largely due to Christian Missionary institutions. It is a travesty of facts to say that the Christian Missionaries "did little to shake the caste foundations of Jaffna." If they did not, who did?

The comments on "the Jaffna Christian" are unkind in many respects. Hindus in Ceylon are not divided into Jaffna Hindus, Colombo Hindus and Trincomalee Hindus nor are Buddhists divided into Colombo Buddhists and Jaffna Buddhists. The term 'Jaffna Christian' is an innuendo which the writer could well have avoided as there is no such class. Besides, recent events, of which perhaps the writer is not aware, have made conversation between Jaffna Christians and the Christians of the South, possible to a degree than ever before.

The writer's main point in the first column that throwing open the Hindu temples to the untouchables is not alone enough, can be appreciated. But no one would appreciate the writer bringing in "The Jaffna Christian" at this stage and insinuating that the Jaffna Christian might exert an adverse influence on his Hindu brother in the matter of "a change of heart and mind." When the Christian Churches were thrown open to the untouchables a generation ago, the Hindu brethren for reasons of their own, did not take the cue. So why be worried about it now? Even if they do, why harp on hypothetical possibilities and make a point of it.

Mr. Rajasingham seems to have worked himself into a fever to assume the garb of Don Quixote to fight the dragons. All that I said in my note on RELIGION in the issue of July 14 was summed up thus: "that 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" In spite of all his circumlocutory logic and jesuit-like casuistry, Mr. Rajasingham does not meet the main burden of my argument. Is the Jaffna Christian any less caste minded than his Hindu brethren? The admission to schools and the boardings thereof are the "other minor privileges" I speak of, but can Mr. Rajasingham deny that caste plays as significant a role in the thinking and social life of Christians in Jaffna as the Hindus? The Negroes probably enjoy the same rights and privileges in Christian USA as the depressed caste Christians do in the Christendom of Jaffna, but have the foundations of colour segregation or the caste system been shaken? That is why I said that "the Christian doctrine of the equality of man stands submerged"—and this is so undoubtedly because missionaries have been and continue to be more interested in politics rather than in the teachings of the Christ.

—Serendib



In making a special plea to the Hindu for a change of heart and mind in social relations towards the untouchables, the argument that the Christian is equally caste minded is, to say the least, irrelevant and unfair. If the writer is however serious in his view that the Christian's outlook and conduct do matter in all crucial situations in Ceylon, then he is really paying a compliment to the Christians which he does not intend.

The "Tribune" we know, has always stood for justice. It is not fair, Sir, that any group of people should be made the target of continued onslaughts, without any provocation. Christians are also men who influence and are influenced by, social situations.

Union College, C. E. Rajasingam
Tellippalai. 20.7.56

**HEADLINES
&
DEADLINES**

BY PUCK

ACCUSED OF STEALING
WIFE'S JEWELLERY.

Morning Times, 27/7

*Serves him right for leaving the
heart alone!*

★

SIX MONTHS JAIL FOR KISS-
ING GIRL

Daily News, 27/7

Learning it the hard way

★

VILLAGERS TREATED LIKE
CINDERELLAS (SAYS R. E.

JAYATILLEKE) Times, 23/7

*Where's the missing s'ipper, Prince
Charming?*

★

MUSLIMS HAVE GOT BACK
THEIR EYES — MP (SIR
RAZIK FAREED)

Daily News, 28/7

*Won't be difficult to get into the
Cabinet, now!*

★

RED BOOKS WON'T BE BANN-
ED Times, 27/7

What about burning?

★

BACHELOR MINISTER FEELS
FOR MARRIED TEACHERS
Times, 27/7

What kind of feeling?

★

MATRON, TWO NURSES ON
THE MAT Daily News, 28/7

What for?

★

LAKHS WILL BE WRITTEN
OFF. Morning Times 28/7
National Pastime

★

BAN THAT UNCIVILISED
LORRY. Observer, 25/7

Transport without culture!

★

PHILIP ASKS FOR CHEAPER
HOTEL MEALS Observer 27/7
To reduce food prices!

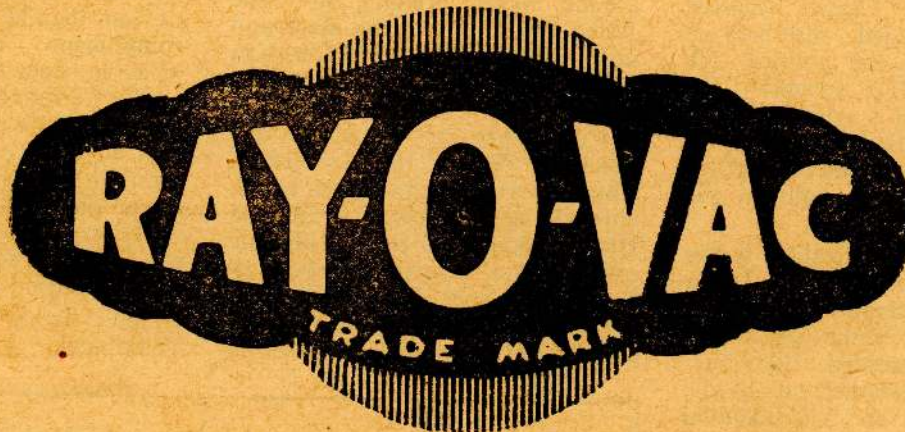
★

EVEN VILLAGE BEAUTIES USE
COSMETICS (M. P. de SOYZA)

Morning Times, 25/7

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ROBERTS CUP DAY

An attractive card of eight races will open the August meeting and provided the blue pencil is used sparingly there should be good fields, but I fear the scratchings will be heavy as there are no signs of rain and the going will be very hard.

In the race for horses in Class I the Channer Cup it looks as if it is a gift for Sir Chittambaiam Gardiner's recent purchase *Belle of Enterprise* and provided he gets a level break at the barrier this horse should bring home the bacon with *Westor Ross* and *Victor Ludorum* fighting it out for places.

The Lawyers Cup for horses in Class II should be an open race as *Court of Claims* could not be at his best just yet, but his undoubted class should just about win him this race, half fit as he must be, from *Drakes Drum* and the improving, but not quite this class *Summer Gold*.

The Colombo Bank Shroffs Cup over 11/4 miles should provide *Pearl of the East* with three wins in a row and the ones to trouble him most should be the unlucky but consistent *Brockdale* provided *Arthur Stead* does not ask too much from this horse by keeping him too far behind and *Arc de Triomphe* should also be there at the finish.

By

S. M. K. S.

The Puttlam Plate Division I a five furlong scramble should lie between *Royal Coronet*, *The Cicada* and *Coin Lover* in the order that I have mentioned but if *Star of Love* hits the front at the barrier, he is home and dried as this horse will not race from behind and will only win races when out in front from the jump off.

In the second division of the Puttlam Plate I have a sneaking feeling that *Happy Slipper* will just about land the goods from the improving *Mahal Trust* and *Contessa'*

The C. A. Laing Cup over 6 furlongs for Arabs in Class II should provide *Ghazal Al Thanaya* the chance of showing how good he is and from reports this pony appears to be masquerading in this class. For the minor places I fancy *Rawnaq* and old *Janin* to run well.

The Dumbara Plate over one and a quarter miles should given *Golden Sun* a chance of winning. This pony is a very slow beginner and has been fancied on numerous occasions over a mile but owing to his slow beginning he always leaves himself with too much to do at the finish but this distance should suit him admirably and provided he is well handled I make him the best things of the day - *Sarem* and *Juburiyah* should trouble him most as I have always felt that *Juburiyah* has been raced out of his distance and as this is the first time he goes over a distance it will be interesting to see how he fares and I only hope that the boy who rides him will be able to hold him as this pony is a really hard puller.

As I have already dealt with the Roberts Cup last week I shall confine myself to reiterating *Taimour* as the winner from *Hopefull Pearl* and *Mansur Qassim* with *Little Babu* to provide the upset as I hear that the Arab maestro *Jack Raffaele* will be riding this pony.

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