

TRIBUNE

CEYLON NEWS REVIEW

Vol 1 No. 3

COLOMBO, MAY 15, 1954

15 Cents.

INDO-CEYLON RIFT MUST BE STOPPED

The danger of a rift between India and Ceylon is daily growing greater. Already there is a great deal of tension. And what is most unfortunate is that a certain foreign agency, interested in "saving" Asians in spite of themselves, is busy accentuating these differences and inciting certain immature and irresponsible Ceylonese political circles to resort to more and more provocative action against India.

Apart from doing their best to commit Ceylon to a foreign policy diametrically opposed to that of India, these interested parties are endeavouring to exploit the so-called "Indian" problem in Ceylon to further their own ends. Their activities in high places have reduced the anaemic, badly drafted, and inconclusive Nehru-Kotelawela Agreement to a dangerous farce and they are even seeking to utilise some of its ill-considered provisions to widen the gulf between India and Ceylon.

Unless wiser and saner counsel prevail, a most unfortunate and unnecessary situation is bound to arise. The public must demand that Government takes immediate steps to resolve the difficulties with India by opening fresh negotiations.

No Solution

In the debate, in the House of Representatives on the Indo-Ceylon Agreement in the first week of March, many speakers stressed that the Agreement was so badly conceived that it would lead to more trouble than friendship.

Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaiyake, the Leader of the Opposition, very correctly and almost with prophetic vision, concluded his speech with these words. "In every way the Agreement is unsatisfactory. With all the strength I can command, and the sincerity I possess, I say that in this Agreement are seeds which will lead to future dissension, future trouble, future difficulties rather than it being one step, as Pandit Jawharlal Nehru says, towards a solution. It is not a step towards a solution; it is a step that would lead to future dissension and trouble."

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All Parties Discussions
Alone can save the
Situation . . .

Dissension

Dissension and trouble have already started. There is dissension about the stateless, about the T. R. P's and a great many other matters. And the "proposals" attributed to Government circles that were published in the local papers last Sunday indicate the extent of the possible rift.

There is consternation among all circles regarding these so-called "proposals." Responsible Ceylonese opinion feels that these "proposals" savour of election cries rather than an impartial and objective effort to resolve a difficult and delicate problem.

Plantation interests are horrified. They feel that the immediate

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THAT DAMNED LIE

Last Monday, the *Times of Ceylon* published the exclusive news of the offer of American economic aid if the Rubber-Rice Pact with China was broken. The *Ceylon Daily News* on Wednesday contradicted the news with an interview from the Prime Minister himself who had characterised the news a "damned lie".

The vocabulary was typical of the Prime Minister as was the inspiration typical of Lake House. If the *Times* told a "damned lie", the Premier told a "white lie" or a "White House lie".

One must remember that when the story of the impending military aid to Pakistan from the U. S. A. first appeared, Mohamed Ali hotly denied it in no uncertain terms. We have yet to wait and see whether the offer of American aid (with strings attached) was a myth invented by the *Times of Ceylon* or not.

Anybody who attended the Rubber Talks in Colombo will know that the offer of economic aid hovered thick over the air of the Conference. Although the amount was not mentioned, it was surmised that it would be a mere fraction of what America would gain by the reduction in the price of rubber.

Following the contradiction by the *Ceylon Daily News* of the report, the *Times* not only re-affirmed its story but went so far as to accuse Sir John Kotelawala himself of attempting to torpedo the China Pact at the expense of selling Ceylon into economic bondage to the U. S. A.

Scoop Trouble

The accusation ended with a small blurb: "The *Times of Ceylon*

has given the public a long series of scoops, the China Pact in its entirety down to the last full stop; the Salaries and Cadres Commission's Report; the decisions of the Asian Conference, for instance."

All that is true. But a newspaper cannot exist on a diet of scoops exactly as a man cannot on a diet of caviar. As to the day to day news, *Times* service is indifferent. The success of a newspaper depends not on its scoops, which are, after all, strokes of luck, but on the strength of its daily coverage.

The scoop of the Asian Premiers' Conference decisions was a piece of noteworthy work by the *Times*. But I am told that the Reporter who got the scoop, one Shelton Fernando, has been "reprimanded" by the News Editor for getting the scoop on his own! This sounds strange but on careful checking I found that this was in fact so. The News Editor himself had been at Kandy to get the scoop, but had failed whereas the young Reporter had beaten his own News Editor. A wiser man would have been happy that the junior man had this lucky break and that the paper had gained in prestige.

Turning Full Circle

The Editor of the *Ceylon Daily News* is now an Englishman, one Mr. Brown. It is the wheel turning the full circle. The *Times*, once the European's organ is now edited by a Ceylonese; the *Daily News* which has always claimed to be the voice of the Ceylonese is now edited by an Englishman. But things might have been worse. One must be thankful for small mercies. It might have been an American.

One thing the new Editor has done is to cut up the editorials

into little paragraphs. By this he imagines he has brightened up the paper. It really reveals his utter inability to realise what a paragraph is! Anyway, there has always been something of the undergraduate essay in the editorials of the *Ceylon Daily News*. This new paragraphing accentuates it instead of hiding it.

A Name to Watch

Janata, the afternoon Sinhalese paper of Lake House, was one year old on the 11th of May. It published a supplement with a very attractive cover to remind readers of the completion of twelve long months of its existence.

The coloured pictures usually printed by the roataries of Lake House are often frightening spectacles that seem nightmares of the 43 Group. This is evidently because those who select the pictures have no idea what can and cannot be done in the coarse screen in the way of coloured pictures on newsprint.

The coloured cover of the *Janata's* first anniversary supplement shows what can be achieved if flat colours are selected and if overprinting is avoided in the selection of pictures.

The cover is signed "Harishchandra". Here is a name to watch in the world of commercial art. Evidently he is a man who knows not only his own medium but also the technical snags of coarse screen blocks printed on newsprint.

THE NAVARRE PLAN

The fall of Dien Bien Phu brings into sharp focus the ill-fated Navarre Plan.

Our Staff Correspondent examines the strategy embodied in this Franco-American plan for the reconquest of Indo-China.

The plan of General Navarre, the French C-in-C, for the reconquest of Northern Indo-China must be considered part of American intervention in the French "dirty war."

It was worked out with American advisers, approved by Washington and given great publicity build-up by the American Press agencies.

General Navarre followed in the sorry footsteps of General Salan, the previous French C-in-C, who followed General Chansons, who followed General de Lattre, and so on right back to General Le Clerc, who first commanded the French Expeditionary Corps to crush the people's power in Indo-China.

The "dirty" war has not only been the burial ground for the annual output of French officers from St. Cyr Academy, but also for the careers of the cream of France's top-ranking generals, just as Korea was for the Mac Arthurs and Van Fleets of the American Army.

Four points

The much-publicised Navarre plan, which was to crush the people's resistance within two years, consisted of four main points.

One was to regroup the French forces and create mobile reserves. Two to take the initiative with the mobile reserves to break through the People's Army line of resistance to the rear areas. Three to pacify the rear areas of the occupied zones: and four, to build up puppet troops.

The last was the pet of all the American schemes.

General Navarre was appointed in the summer of 1953 after the spring offensive of the Viet Nam's People's Army had liberated Son La Province in the western region

of North Viet Nam and Laos. The Lao Liberation Army freed the adjoining province of Sam Neua in Laos.

The balance sheet of Navarre's activities, as shown in the inexorable red and blue flags on military maps, is that he succeeded in reoccupying over 2,000 square miles in the operation called "Atlanta," south central Viet Nam.

Pinned down

In the same period the Viet Nam People's Army and Lao Liberation Army in co-ordinated offensives drove Navarre's troops out of over 35,000 square miles of territory and attached it to the already firmly liberated areas.

They extended guerilla bases and zones in scores of thousands more square miles.

Instead of building up "mobile reserves" Navarre's forces were pinned down in isolated posts. In order to regroup and create these reserves, Navarre started by evacuating some isolated posts and transferring troops to the Red River delta region for initiatives elsewhere.

He had 20 battalions in the delta at the time. But now even after voluntarily abandoning important posts, he only has 17 battalions in the delta region.

The Viet Nam People's Army's initiative has forced him to immobilise his reserves elsewhere.

In operation "Mouette," Navarre struck out from the western edge of the Red River delta towards an important Vietnamese base and communications centre.

Pulled back

Using some of his newly acquired reserves he managed to reach the centre, burn a few hundred

houses, but within three weeks after the operation started he was forced to pull his forces back.

The Viet Nam People's Army did not allow the operation to upset their schedule for an offensive. They dispersed supplies from the centre and used only regional troops and guerillas to harass Navarre's troops, inflicting over 2,000 casualties.

Vietnamese offensives against Laichau Province took place on time. They occupied the province and the capital which had been in French hands for seven years, wiping out 2,500 French troops in the process.

Navarre tried to save the situation at Lai Chau by dropping 15 battalions of troops by parachute into Dien Bien Phu. He hoped to protect not only Laichau but Phongsaly, capital of the province of the same name across the border in Lao.

Out-maneuvred

He hoped to make Dien Bien Phu the centre for supply operations of the commandos he was dropping into the extreme north west of Viet Nam.

He was quickly out manoeuvred. In lightning thrusts the Viet Nam People's Army encircled Dien Bien Phu. Within two months the Lao Liberation Army had captured Phongsaly and cleared the whole province as well as a large part of the neighbouring province of French troops.

While 15 battalions of Navarre's "mobile reserves" were immobilised in the 70-square-mile pocket of Dien Bien Phu, Viet Nam and Laos forces liberated over 14,000 square miles of adjoining territory.

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*Notes from
New Delhi*

MEANS NOTHING

— **FAZLUL HUQ.**

DULLES, ALI AND MALAN

As I threw the shutters open in the morning I saw half a dozen children brawling. The eldest among them shouted at the top of his voice—let me be Ho Chi-Minh. The youngest raised his fist and piped—Don't be selfish; I am Ho Chi-Minh. I have kicked the French out Dien Bien Phu.

Shadow of Dulles

The ugly British press reports of John Foster Dulles' browbeating tactics at Geneva, his abrupt mid talks departure for Washington, Churchill's refusal to supply cannon fodder for Indo-China, America's new move to break through South East Asia beginning with a "declaration of intent", Eden's stock suddenly rising high in Western Europe and the Viet Minh victory at Dien Bien Phu strengthen the logic inherent in the Indo-China proposals made by India's Jawharlal Nehru who has now been dubbed by Karachi's pro-Government daily *Dawn* as "an Agent of Moscow".

That Karachi is in mortal funk and she is desperately running into blind man's bluff by raising all sorts of bogies including that of Kashmir is evident from the latest hysteric ballyhoo over imaginary wrongs done to her by India.

Political Observers in New Delhi believe that Kashmir is just a peg to hang Karachi's internal failings while East Pakistan is almost on the verge of slipping out of the moorings now precariously held under what is popularly called in Dacca as the Dulles-Ali Sell Pakistan Pact.

One India

The die seems to have been cast. East Pakistan's Chief Minister

Fazlul Huq whose party routed the Muslim League completely out of focus in the recent general election has set the ball rolling by declaring that he did not believe in the political division of a country and that "India exists as a whole" and that the very idea of Pakistan as a state was a hoax—"Pakistan really means nothing. It is a method of confusing ideas".

Fazlul Huq at a recent reception in Calcutta was visibly moved and tears freely flowed down his wrinkled cheeks while he ruminated over his sixty five long years of stay in Calcutta, his education there, his political initiation under leaders like Netaji Subhas Bose, C.R. Das, his successful legal career, and he broke down saying, "This is my home town, my beloved home; Dacca is a foreign city to me." Reviewing the scene around the world the veteran old philanthropic politician said to the pressmen most of whom were known to him by their first names, "There are two forces at work today; one for peace and prosperity and the other for disruption and chaos".

"Et tu Brutus?" Now indeed this is too much for Mohamed Ali whose latest is to order, free and gratis, the building of the new sumptuous multi-storied U.S. Chancellery in Karachi. What is he to do now? He is in an unhappy doldrum—that Moscow Agent Nehru and this his own Chief Minister of the richer and more populous wing of Pakistan! How is he going to explain to boss Dulles that Fazlul Huq is actually not an "Agent of Moscow"? One feels pity for the Pak Premier's misfortune whom Shaheed Suhawardy, one of the builders of the Muslim State of holy Pakistan, recently charged as an unholy "usurper".

Malan

Dr. Malan is at his game once again and he is being repeatedly joked about in the lobby talks here. He has found in Nehru a "hater of whitemen". The doctor's hatred of the blackmen is a virtue to him; but no, Nehru must not look askance against the "blackman's" ostracization and slavery; the Indian Premier must watch Malan, smile and bow low approving. If he doesn't, well, then he is an enemy of the whiteman.

Malan's recent outburst was provoked by the Russian Consulate's "mixed" reception at Capetown where non-whites including Indian and Pakistan settlers were not segregated from the white invitees. While the "white" South African government officials walked out of the Consulate in protest some expiating missionaries grasped the "black" hands murmuring "Hellow hellow" seemingly pleased at the opportunity of meeting people on Christian footing. Prompt banged Dr. Malan: "We will have to probe into the Soviet Embassy affairs here," he thumped, "they might be spying here as they did in Australia and Canada."

There was a pause. And then the martinet doctor remembered Nehru—Nehru is a pet obsession with him—oh, that's the man, catch him alive; "he is responsible for starting the defiance campaign in South Africa"—suppose Nehru did not talk of freedom's battle, the enslaved Africans wouldn't have known their birthright, there would be no Mau Mau, no Egypt, no Morocco, there would not be Tunisia, Kenya! This should sound

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THE CLERK, HIS PAY AND THE BANK



by RUPEE

Ceylonese Business, Ceylonese Industry, and Ceylonese Agriculture are in need of more capital, more loans, more overdraft and more temporary credit. Without these they cannot expand the economy of the nation. But, for these Ceylonese entrepreneurs to seek the money they need direct from the Ceylonese people by house to house canvassing for small short term loans would be expensive, impracticable and absurd. They therefore look to Ceylonese Bankers for the accomodation that they require.

But Ceylonese Bankers can provide finance to Ceylonese merchants and producers only to the extent that they hold Ceylonese banking deposits. To extent their present financing potential they must extend their deposit holdings. Persuading the Government of Ceylon to concentrate all its deposit funds within the vaults of one indigenous bank would be one way of extending their resources. The other way is to extend the banking habit to all strata of the Ceylonese people.

For Everybody

Banking facilities are said to one of the advantages which civilisation has developed for citizens of every rank and walk of life.

What is this advantage that the banker can offer to the people? What is the service with which bankers can induce coin and currency notes out of the peoples' pockets, out of the hidden drawer in the household almirah, out of the shopkeepers and the hotelkeepers tills, into current accounts in Ceylonese Banks?

The present constituents of all banks in Ceylon, drawn from the

big money merchants, broad acre landed proprietors and staff officer groups, know and use the privileges of banking. Few begrudge the nominal service charges made by the banks in the form of ledger fees and sundry commissions.

But the presumption is often made that those outside this numerically fractional grouping neither desire nor need such service. Those larger groups outside the pale include the clerk, the petty-trader, the mudalali, the paddy farmer, the village professional men, and the sarong-dressed worker.

Pay Day

Let us take for example the clerk, the nearest of the non-banking groups to the upper middles classes. Let us examine his financial transactions to see where banking service could assist him.

Let us start at the beginning of his monthly financial cycle, on Pay Day. The cycle starts with his employers payroll cheque which is cashed at bank. The clerk then receives his dues and signs his receipt. The money, which includes at least one crisp hundred rupee note is placed in his wallet, and then into his pocket. Until he has disposed of his pay to meet his various commitments (including, if he is lucky an instalment into a savings bank) he is not free from the dangers of theft.

Highway robbery (at least after the payroll distribution) is no longer a prevalent crime. But pickpocketing still is, especially

in the train tram or bus in which the clerk makes his journey home. So is petty burglary. And operators in both these branches of robbery are at their busiest in the few days after pay day.

The first problem will be to change the hundred rupee notes. This may be quite easy in the middle of the month, but at the beginning everybody has hundred rupee notes, and shopkeepers do not have sufficient change to meet the demands of all.

However this danger can be by passed with reasonable caution. So let us pass on the clerk's budget programs.

When the money is eventually changed the rent must be paid. Some landlords employ rent collectors, in which case the landlords accept the risks of transit and the risk in the messenger's integrity. In such cases the rent money must be kept at home ready and accessible for the rent collector when he turns up. All landlords do not send for their monthly dues, and few landlords live next door. So a special journey has to be made to hand it over and obtain a receipt.

Payments

Then come the other monthly payments. The monthly provision account with a nearby mudalali. Hire purchase instalments on cycles furniture and radios. Milk bills railway season tickets and bills for oil or electricity. And, a very common item these days, the insurance premium. All these payments require special journeys to hand over the money, or to purchase money orders and postal orders.

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HO CHI-MINH

On May 19, Ho Chi-Minh will be sixty three.

He still rides on horseback among his people learning of their troubles and inspiring them in their fight for independence.

A slight man, though tall among his people; his delicate wispy beard seems to portray the cloistered poet rather than the revolutionary.

* * *

A few cabin boys may in the past have become admirals, but Ho Chi Minh has the distinction of being a cabin boy who became a President.

His name means "He who enlightens" and indeed he and the Lao Dong (Labour) Party of Viet Nam, have brought enlightenment with them.

Ten times as many people—men, women and children—have learnt to read in the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam in the past nine years than in all the previous 70 years of French rule.

Coming from a part of Viet Nam where resistance to French conquest never died out he originally bore the name of Nguyen Ai Quoc—John the Patriot.

When he was 23 he left home and took the job of cabin boy on a French merchantman. He visited most of the main ports of the world. Now he speaks five languages, among them English.

* * *

He was in France after the First World War and stalked in to the Palace of Versailles to demand the independence of his

country from Lloyd George, Woodrow Wilson and Georges Clemenceau. They would not listen.

In 1930 he was back in Indo-China and with other patriots founded the Communist Party.

In 1940, when Vichy France allowed the Japanese to occupy Indo-China the Communist Party began its armed resistance.

In 1941 with other organisations they formed the VietMinh the League of the Viet people. In association with groups of



By Courtesy : Shankar's Weekly

patriots in the associated countries of Laos and Cambodia they harassed the Japanese in the jungles in the towns and in the villages, ever gathering strength.

In 1945 Ho Chi-minh as the leader of the people of Viet Nam (the Viet country) proclaimed the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and in January 1946 after his country's first election was elected President.

* * *

At first recognised by France, for eight years now he has led his people against the French war of re-conquest.

Last December when two-thirds of his country was already free, he stated that, if the French Government was willing his Government was prepared to discuss an armistice.

Work, simplicity, justice and integrity are the four virtues he recommends to his people.

"Uncle Ho," he is called and "Father Ho."

They love him for his kindness and admire him for the way his eyes flash with fire when he speaks of the struggle against oppression and in justice to which he has dedicated his life.

* * *

For eight years now, France and U.S.A. have attempted to crush the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam (Minh). They have failed. With Dien Bien Phu, all their hopes have been dashed to the ground. The attempt to bamboozle sections of the Viet Nameese people to fight Ho Chi-Minh have also flopped. The imperialists now talk of foreign intervention.

But, Ho Chi-Minh cannot be ignored today. His Prime Minister is already in Geneva at the Conference of big powers. Ho Chi-Minh is the man of destiny in Asia this year. Not only has he won the love and support of his people but has also demonstrated the military superiority of an Asiatic people fighting for independence over arms of the mightiest nations of the West.

PRESS BLACKOUT MEETING

Sir John Kotelawala has denied with some heat the story published in the *Times of Ceylon* that U.S.A. has offered aid if Ceylon broke her Trade Agreement with China. The *Times* splashed this story on Monday evening, and followed it up on Tuesday with views from a wide and responsible section of the public on how unwise it would be for Ceylon to break her pact with China and seek aid from the U.S.A.

Sir John's denial came only on Wednesday morning after it was known that an important section within the Government Parliamentary Party and within groups which normally support the Government were against American aid. The significance of this has not been lost on the public, particularly when Sir John's record of public denials on many important issues is well-known. The most famous among such denials, one recalls, is what he had to say about the notorious "Premier Stakes" at different times in different places.

The public has not yet heard the last of this American aid business, but reactions indicate that there is a strong feeling in the country and within the U.N.P. itself that Ceylon must not subordinate herself to any power bloc.

Bevanite

The Diplomatic Correspondent of the *Ceylon Observer* revealed on Tuesday that there was a growing rift within the U. N. P. top circles on matters of policy. It is a most healthy sign that this difference of opinion centres around questions of policy and not personalities as was the case not very long ago.

The Diplomatic Correspondent compares this group within the U. N. P. to the Bevanite rebels. This comparison is correct in more than one sense. The questions on which this group seem opposed to the Premier's actions are both on foreign policy as well as dome-

***** by *****
* P E R T I N A X *

stic matters. On foreign policy the rebel U.N.P. group seem to have a policy almost identical with Bevan. Concretely, it would seem that they object to the permission granted to the Globemasters to land in Ceylon, thus aligning Ceylon with one of the power blocs. This group wants neutrality in deeds as well as words.

On domestic issues, this group is opposed to the curtailment of civil liberties under whatever pretext and have in fact opposed a move to utilise the Delimitation Commission to carve out pocket boroughs for certain politicians who are not very popular in the country today. With the budget proposals, the attitude of this group on other domestic issues will crystallise even more clearly.

The significance of the development of this group is very great. For one thing, politics in the country is beginning to move from personalities to policies. *For another, the popular idea that the whole of the U.N.P. is a reactionary mass, interested only in wasting the country's revenues in tamashas, will be scotched.*

Town Hall Meeting

Another indication that the country is beginning to look at issues from a political angle is the very largely attended "Hands off-Indo-China" public meeting at the Town Hall, last Saturday, which was sponsored by all political parties except the U. N. P. Independents like Mr. Suntharalingam and Mr. W. Dahanayake together with representatives from the S. L. F. P., N. L. S. S. P., C. P. and the C. D. C. participated in condemning French and American action in trying to suppress the nationalist movement in Indo-China. The meeting supported the

Nehru plan for a cease fire and objected most strenuously to the permission that had been granted to the Globemasters to land in Ceylon.

It is a pity that this meeting was almost blacked out in the local English language press. The Sunday papers had a couple of inches, and the *Daily News* on Monday dismissed it with a slightly longer account. Even if the papers are tied to the apron strings of the group in power, the least that can be done is to report fairly and fully meetings that have more than ordinary consequence.

Democratic Congress

For sometime recently, it was not quite clear where the Ceylon Indian Congress (now the Ceylon Democratic Congress) stood. It was alleged by many that it was a little too close to Mr. Desai and the Indian High Commission, but recent events have disproved this. Leaders of the C.D.C. have for some weeks now been strongly critical of Mr. Desai and these speeches again have not been fully reported in the English language papers, whilst longer references where available in the Tamil papers.

But, the speeches of the leaders, the resolutions passed, and the report presented at Gampola two weeks ago, indicate that the C.D.C. is beginning to assume an important and significant role. The change of name is only symbolic of changes of much deeper consequence. The C.D.C. now takes its place as one of the fully national organisations in the country with a definite programme and a substantial membership.

At Gampola, the C.D.C. has resolved unanimously to seek to form alliances with other groups and parties in the island to work for common objectives.

The Workers Congress, the trade union organisation associated

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The behaviour of the Government during the debate on the Globemaster issue last week betrays a total lack of elementary democratic practice. In the face of strong Opposition criticism against the permission granted to Yankee Globemasters to land at Katunayake, the Government, perhaps feeling that it could not meet the charges, sought refuge in the undemocratic dodge of using its majority to deplete the House so that there was no quorum. Three times, the bell was rung, but it was of no avail.

The saddest part of this deplorable exhibition of making a farce of parliamentary democracy was that it was led and inspired by the Premier himself. He made no attempt to hide his part in this sorry business. The Lobby Correspondent of the *Ceylon Observer* states quite blandly thus: "the Prime Minister too seemed to revel in the situation". The Government, no doubt, succeeded in stifling the debate, but it has left a bitter taste in the mouths of even its most enthusiastic and vociferous supporters. If this kind of filibustering is democracy to Sir John Kotelawela, a great many people in this country, who have so far believed in the loud protestations of the laird of Kandawela about his faith in democracy and democratic institution, will become disillusioned.

Disillusionment is usually the beginning of the end. Many at present do not still want to see this Government come to an end, but if the Premier and his colleagues behave in this irresponsible and undemocratic manner, the end will not be far off.

Yankee Advice

It is openly alleged in governmental and other political circles that the Premier listens most to advice from Yankee sources. To obtain advice is a good thing, but one must be careful about acting

on advice which may lead to disastrous consequences in so far as Ceylon is concerned.

At the moment, American diplomacy demands the creation of a military pact and a war front against China in Asia. India has objected to any such pact. Burma and Indonesia will have none of it. Thailand is the only country which is willing to join in the American SEATO. Mohamed Ali of Pakistan seems anxious to commit his country to such a pact, but how far he will be able to do so in view of the internal developments is yet another matter.

In this context, America is doing its best to wean Ceylon away from India and China. Yankee advice to Ceylon politicians and propagandists seems to be that India, with a minority Indian population in the island, is Ceylon's greatest enemy, and that China, being a communist country, is a land with which Ceylon should have no trade dealings. It would serve Washington well if it succeeded in setting up Ceylon against India by bolstering up the bogey of an Indian menace, and also if Ceylon were made to break her pact with China.

Every sane person will realise that Ceylon need not and cannot afford to quarrel with her great neighbour India, and that the China Trade agreement is even now of the greatest benefit to Ceylon. In these circumstances, it will be suicidal for the Ceylon Government to be taken in by Yankee advice and start a major dispute with India or renounce the trade agreement with China. If it were done, Ceylon would be only handing herself over to the American State Department, bound hand and foot, without any friends in Asia.

American Aid

The bait with which the Americans are trying to bait Sir John Kotelawela and his Cabinet is the promise of aid. One does not know what this aid means in terms of money or goods, or

whether it will consist solely of arms. But, whatever form the aid takes, the recent history of such aid in all countries leaves no room for doubt that strings will be attached.

To put it bluntly, acceptance of such aid will amount to selling this country to American big money. Already before any aid has materialised, the Government has so humiliated itself that when the Globemasters were in the island, nationals of this country had to obtain a permit from the American Embassy to enter Katunayake.

Aid in the form of capital and capital goods will undoubtedly help under-developed countries to make progress, but such aid must be accepted only if no conditions are attached which will reduce the recipient to subjection. If such disinterested aid is not available, it is best that a country relies on its own resources however meagre they may be.

It is unfortunate that the Ceylon Government has not shown a proper appreciation of the situation by taking steps to cut out wasteful expenditure and in evolving a co-ordinated plan for the economic development of the island. Unless this is done, the Government does not even have an excuse for seeking aid.

The unnecessary tamashas, the extravagance in a large number of unproductive undertakings, and the high cost of administration owing to fantastic salaries at the top, are among items that need the immediate attention of the budget planners. For instance, the appointment of a Ceylonese Governor-General may be an appropriate occasion for a scaling down of the Rs. 10,000, tax free, paid as salary to the Head of the State. If Sir Oliver Goonetilleke will voluntarily announce a cut in his own salary it will be a patriotic gesture of the greatest significance.

JUST BRIEFLY
by
SERENDIB

Sir John Kotelawela

U. Nu. and C. C. Desai

Sir Tikkiri Banda Panabokke has resigned from the U.N.P. and thereby hangs a tale.

It will be recalled that some weeks ago it was mentioned in some of the local papers that Sir Tikkiri was to succeed Lord Soulbury as Governor General. This news item was no kite-flying by sensation-loving newsmen. It was a story "officially" told to journalists by a person or persons who had the authority to do so.

It is whispered in knowledgeable circles that together with Sir Tikkiri's resignation went in a four-page epistle to an important personage. It is said that in this letter he has reminded the big guns of the U.N.P. that he was summoned to Queens Hotel, Kandy, during the F.A.O. Conference in March and there he was offered the post of Governor-General. When he had protested that he was too old for onerous duties, Sir Tikkiri, it is learnt, had been "persuaded" into agreeing to take up the job. Once he accepted, details were discussed. Sir Tikkiri had, it is believed, stated that he had no love for the sherwani and had wanted to know whether he would have to wear that costume on all occasions. A Governor-General had freedom to wear what clothes he liked, he was told, but the sherwani he must for the country's (the U.N.P.'s) sake wear on important occasions. After other such important details were discussed, newsmen who were around were called in and told that Sir Tikkiri was to be the next Governor General.

It is stated that Sir Tikkiri has drawn attention to all these facts in his letter. His grouse, and quite rightly too, is not that he has been deprived of being Governor General but that he was not even told that another was recommended to the Queen by the self-same persons who had offered the job to him. Why wasn't I informed that a change was contemplated? Why had I to learn it from the papers that

Sir Oliver was to be the Governor-General? And, why was the job offered to me at all? These are questions that Sir Tikkiri has the right to ask. What have the big guns of the U.N.P. got to say?

Don't you Know?

There is a current tale among diplomats in Colombo which reveals that our gallant Premier can become so worked up that he loses the power of explanation. It is said that during the discussions on communism during the S. E. Asian Premiers' Conference, Sir John went on for a very long time waxing eloquent on the evils of what he termed "international communism". He was full of it and seemed to enjoy the thunder of his words.

After he had gone on for quite some time, it is stated, that Mr. Nehru quietly asked him: "Just what do you mean by 'international communism'?"

Sir John, the story goes, was exasperated. For a man like Nehru not to know what international communism was something he hadn't bargained for! "Don't you know, Nehru? Don't know what international communism means?" And Sir John went on to explain by vigorously drawing circles in front of him with his right hand to illustrate international communism.

Nehru was silenced. He was speechless. He listened patiently to Sir John's thesis. Occasionally, it is maliciously whispered, that Nehru, Sastroamid'oyo and even U Nu exchanged knowing looks with a merry twinkle in their eyes.

Blackmail

Less amusing than this episode is the story of how Yankee pressure was applied on Burma's U Nu to wean him away from Nehru. Certain quarters in Ceylon speak gleefully now of how U Nu was "independent" and how he did not line up with Nehru. This was attributed to U Nu's inherent wisdom.

There is no doubt that U Nu knows the art of tight rope walking. In Colombo, and even before he came here, he had been told that if he did not play ball with Pakistan and Ceylon on the communism resolution, the Kuomintang troops in Burma (not yet evacuated by the Yankee puppet Chiang Kai Shek, in spite of a UN resolution) would be used to throw out the U Nu government. With this threat hanging over his head, U Nu did the best he could by lending support to the anti-communist resolution in a conditional sort of way without actually breaking away from Nehru.

India

Another story current in diplomatic circles is that Nehru had been badly let down by His High Commissioner here. It would appear that Mr. Desai had painted a totally different picture of Sir John Kotelawela's attitudes to vital questions like Pakistan, U.S. aid and the like.

Mr. Desai is well known as a friend of Sir John, and for this reason he is very unpopular with large sections of the U.N.P. who are not hot favourites of the Premier. And, the story now goes, that the Indian High Commissioner was so obsessed with his friendship for Sir John that that his reports to New Delhi had little in common with reality. Up to the Colombo Conference, it would appear, that he had successfully "sold" Sir John to New Delhi.

Mr. Nehru is now said to be sadder but wiser man, so far as his High Commissioner is concerned. Mr. Desai was a civil servant and he cannot be blamed for his lack of knowledge about international politics.

When Mr. Dudley Senanayake was still in the saddle, Mr. Desai is said to have assured him that Mohamed Ali of Pakistan, who had just then come to power, was not a Yankee puppet.

PRESS BLACKOUT MEETING

Continued from page 7

with the C. D. C., also resolved to make efforts to secure trade union unity.

The attitude of the other parties to the C. D. C. has not yet emerged. How will the U. N. P. react? The views of one section of the U. N. P., the Kotelawela section, may be inferred from an article in last week's issue of the *U. N. P. Journal*. Stanley Morrison a regular propagandist writing in Sir John Kotelawela's paper, the *U. N. P. Journal*, brands the new C. D. C. thus: "the so-called Ceylon Democratic Congress passes resolutions which belie its change of name and proclaims it to be, to all intents and purposes, the spear-head of the new colonialism of an Asian power which claims specific privileges for its emigrants abroad."

Racial Chauvinism

Stanley Morrison, thereafter, goes on to indulge in the most chauvinistic sentiments which have no relation to reality. He states that "Indians officially tend to interpret the Indo-Ceylon Agreement as the thin end of the wedge of a movement to make Ceylon a little bit of India".

He gives the show away, however, when he states: "Thus, India, beset by her own political

and economic disunities, throws upon a small country like Ceylon a fantastic burden of unwanted immigrants who unhinge every economic plan the Ceylon Government can think of."

Morrison put his finger on the right spot when he says that the Ceylon Government is unable to evolve a plan, but not for the reason he alleges. According to him, the plan has not materialised because of the Indian immigrants. Even a child will not believe this. The Ceylon Indians at the moment are responsible for the production of 80% of the country's wealth. In that sense they are *not unwanted immigrants*. But men of Stanley Morrison's way of thinking seek to make excuses for the deficiencies of the Kotelawela Government by heaping the blame the Indian minority here.

This is an old dodge which will not take in anybody except the most illiterate. But it is surprising that the *U. N. P. Journal* should publicise views of this kind, particularly at a time when Sir John Kotelawela professes the most intense friendship for India.

Other sections of U. N. P. opinion have still not indicated their attitude to the C. D. C. Nor have the other parties done so. In the coming weeks this will be known.

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MAN AND HIS DOG

The day ended too briefly for Mohideen.

It was his last day at the rice mill. To go away from here and never return. It was impossible, inconceivable. Fifteen years of his young life had been counted away by the turn of the wheel. The handle on the turning wheel had been wasted by the touch of his hand.

He came to the mill when he was twelve. Since then, the mill was his world and work his life.

With regret he turned his back on the mill. The open road lay before him, without a morrow, without a future. As he joined the seething crowd, Mohideen suddenly felt that he had lost caste with them. The familiar scene was a desert to him now.

Many an old memory flitted across his mind.

He thought of the officer at the Passport Office. A dark heavily built man with a bull neck. He resembled a wild creature caught in a mesh. The day he went to the Passport Office to renew his TRP this officer growled at him. Mohideen gave his papers and waited:

"Your T. R. P. cannot be renewed," grunted the Bull Neck.

"Sir, what happens if it can't be done?"

"You must get out of the Island."

"Where am I to go, Sir? I was born in Ceylon. I've lived here always. I speak Sinhalese. All my friends are here. I've been to India only once. That was after my mother's death. On a pilgrimage to Nagore. Plenty of people go there. I also wanted to see the place from where great grandfather came....."

"Now, stop that tall tale. I've no time for it," shouted the Bull Neck.

***** by *****
* WAYFARER *

"But sir," pleaded Mohideen, "I only went to India for a pilgrimage. With others. For just twenty days. I was told I had to get permission from the Indian High Commissioner to go to India. He gave me this Pass Port with my picture in it. And now, you tell me that I've to quit my home. I was born here. My father too. And my mother....."

"Yes, thundered the Bull Neck, every beggar is a Ceylonese now. Get out! Get out! Before I've you thrown out. And in three months you must be out of the island. Otherwise you'll find yourself in gaol. And now, get out.

"Get out" reflected Mohideen. Why were these officers so nasty he thought.

* * *

The scene shifted.

He re-called his mother. He remembered the last day of her life. How he had cried till his eyes ran dry. Even as she laboured to breathe, she spoke to him. In her usual way.

"Mohideen, my son. Don't worry about me. You're too young to worry so. Your uncle will look after you."

"I'll always be with you." She had continued. "Look after yourself and Whitee. Your father brought her into this house."

And today, Whitee was something more than the mother's parting gift. Since her death Whitee had been knitted in his life.

Now that he had to leave home, he had decided to give away Whitee to Perera, the mill watcher. When he hinted that Perera wanted the dog, the aunt

did not say anything. She did not like dogs.

When he reached home everything was in readiness for his departure.

"Mohideen said his uncle," it is very hard. But there is no choice. If you don't go, they'll put you and me into gaol. I signed the bond for your T.R.P. I've collected a little money to start you there. I've written to the priest at Nagore mosque. He's the only man I know in India. I met him when I went on that pilgrimage years ago. He came to Ceylon once. He'll help you. Allah will help you."

When the time for parting came, Mohideen collected his belongings and gathered Whitee in his arms and took leave in silence.

Whitee kept close to him. From time to time she smelt his face. He hugged her. This was their last journey together.

Perera awaited his arrival. Perera was his best friend. They had been playmates in the same tenements. They had joined the mill together. There was not much time for talking.

"I shall lock her up in the little room" said Perera pointing to a small room behind the kitchen. "I'll look after her."

Whitee clung to Mohideen. He put her down on the ground and called her in to the room. She refused to move. Perera took her and tried to push her through the door. Whitee darted back. The two men looked at each other without a word. The little dog was between them piteously looking at their face.

Mohideen took Whitee in his arms. She shivered.

As if he dealt a blow on himself, Mohideen picked up Whitee and threw her into the room

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MAN AND HIS DOG

Continued from Page 11

and snapped the door. The little creature scratched desperately at the door and moaned. The two men hurried through the fields. Darkness was gathering fast. And the moaning of Whitee came across from the distance and faded away like the cry of a child in the night.

At the railway station there was the usual clamour. The last bell. "Get in Mohideen. It's late," said Perera. "I'll come and see you in India. Maybe you'll come back. It cannot be like this. Always"

The train started and rumbled on. Perera lingered on the platform. Mohideen kept looking at him. There were tears in Perera's eyes.

* * *

Next morning Whitee was back at the house where Mohideen had lived.

"Look at the wretched thing" shouted Mohideen's aunt. The dog ran into the house.

"Get out!" came the hard harsh voice.

The dog sat on a side with outstretched paws and waited.

The morning advanced. The people in the neighbourhood came for their noon day meal. Whitee sat in the compound looking at the road. Mohideen's uncle came. The dog whined and looked at his face. He had not even a smile for Whitee. He too did not like dogs.

Afternoon. Evening. It began to grow dark. Whitee sat in the compound looking at the road for Mohideen.

He never came.

She did not understand.

But who will ever understand the ways of beast and man?

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COSTLY UGLY

BULKY INCONGRUOUS

THE BATH TUB

by ARUNA

Among the items of English household equipment that have crept into our Ceylonese homes is the zinc bathtub. It came with English sanitation first into the homes of imperialist representatives. To our imitative upper classes the bathtub was inseparable from the general virtues of piped water and sanitary drainage. And now its status value has brought it into the bathroom equipment of practically every upper middle class home in Ceylon.

Perhaps the upper middle class can afford to pay for "bathtub" prestige. But at a time when the rest of the middle classes are the worst hit in the housing problem (of high building costs and consequent housing shortage, black market rents and key money) the clamour for tokens of affluence is such that the bath-tub threatens to enter smaller type-plan middle class houses.

Snob Value

Why has the bath-tub aquired such snob-value in a land flowing with running water habits?

Perhaps we should first go back to the land from which it was introduced to Ceylon. England, except on chance summer days, is a cool country. As a protection against chill, and as a necessary agent for the removal of dirt, hot water is a hygienic necessity. But it also involves the costly process of heating, whether by coal, gas, or electricity. Since English houses, unlike most on the continent, are rarely built on the central heating principle water must be heated on each occasion that a bath is required. These occasions are limited by pecuniary necessity among the middle classes to once or twice a week at the most. Even so

there is a budget limitation, as to the quantity of water that can be heated.

Expensive

That is where the bathtub comes in. It retains just the quantity of hot water within which each bather can soak out the dirt from cool closed pores. The bath tub ensures saving in water (quite often the same hot water is used for successive bathers in the family) and thereby a saving in the cost of fuel.

Our women's editor, Aruna, thinks that we should equip our houses with fittings that reflect our environment and our customs. This week she writes about bathtubs as she and other women see them. She will welcome views from women readers (and from men too for that matter) on the ideas that she expresses, and on all household problems.

In England it is the shower-rose equipment that commands greater prestige because it implies greater affluence to meet the fuel bills for an unrestricted flow of warm water. But of course the shower-bath is more modern, and has penetrated middle class homes only in new houses built since the 1930's.

Ceylon, in its imitative trend, is always a decade or so behind

the times. So that in the 1950s the import figures for bath-tubs begin to show a spread towards island-wide installation. And neither architects, building contractors, house owners or tenants seem to have sufficient imagination to arrest this expensive trend.

Never In It

What is the house-wife's position in a bath-tub fitted home. The ugliness she may pass over in view of its prestige. But of course, she never uses it as a bath-tub by getting inside. Like every body else in the family she fills the tub and pours copious tins of cooling cleansing water over her head. Most people in Ceylon find the very idea of lying in one's own (let alone anybody else's) dirty soapy water extremely repugnant.

But still she has to get it cleaned. Of all the evil gadgets that require the cleansing supervision of a house-wife, the bath tub is the worst, because it is so prone to aquire stains. It is the devil's work to remove such stains from the inside. But the outside and underside is worse. None of the assortment of brooms and brushes wheeled round the streets by itinerant hawkers will reach all the nooks and crannies beneath a bath-tub. Yet it is underneath that all the dirt and dust and cobwebs gather.

To Store

The only possible useful purpose to which a house-wife can put an English bath-tub is the storage of water during the dry season in certain outstation towns. But even for this purpose a square brick and concrete tank (tiled if

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THE NAVARRE PLAN

Continued from Page 3

And the 15 battalions, now cut off from anything but supplies dropped by air, were in a desperate position as a result of Navarre's military folly.

Another classic example of Navarre's strategy of "taking the initiative" to break through the Vietnamese line of resistance was enacted at Lang Son, near the Viet Nam-China border. He dropped about 2,000 paratroopers into Lang Son in July 1953.

The troops were supposed to gain a foothold there, to create a base while the force pushed in 50 miles to join them in largescale offensive operation. Paratroopers were dropped in the midafternoon, and by evening were in full flight.

Navarre learned the bitter lesson that paratroopers can only be successful in the Indo-China type of fighting if they fall among a friendly population.

And there's no corner of Indo-China where the population is friendly to the French invaders or their puppets.

The only other operation of General Navarre, apart from press ganging and pillaging raids, is "Operation Atlanta," which started in January 20 this year.

This is the leap-frogging operation along the coastal area from the port of Mui Varella on the southeast coast.

In over two month's fighting, resisted at every step of the way by local troops and guerillas and at a heavy cost, the French succeeded in reoccupying a strip of coast 70 miles long and averaging 20 miles wide except for a slightly wide bulge opposite Mui Varella.

The maximum occupied is less than 2,400 square miles.

The Balance

While the French were painfully edging their way forward in "Operation Atlanta," the Vietnamese liberated the entire province of Kontum, which adjoins the strip the French were trying to clear.

The Viet Nam People's Army and Lao Liberation Army now sit firmly astride all the French communications from the important ports in the coastal areas to central Viet Nam and Laos.

The overall balance of eight years of "dirty war" is that in Viet Nam liberated regions, guerilla bases and zones total 90 per cent of the country.

In Laos liberated zones and guerilla bases alone total one-third, with one million out three million population living under the stable administration of provisional Government. In the 89 districts of Camballa guerilla bases and zones are organised in 64.

THE CLERK, HIS PAY AND THE BANK

Continued from Page 5

And last of all the reserve is left, which must be guarded to meet cash needs throughout the ensuing month, and out of which something must be built into a stockpile to meet sudden emergencies.

Suppose on the other hand all clerks had bank accounts. The employer would be the first to gain. He could ask the bank to make salary transfers to the accounts of all his employees. The clerk could then make all his payments quite safely by cheque and through the post. His monthly requirements could be drawn from time to time by cashing small cheques either at the bank or at the known shop in his vicinity. And the surplus, less accessible than money at home, and therefore less tempting for exaggerated spending, would build up his contingency reserve. His current account would be safer than his wallet or his household cash box, but would be less inconvenient for withdrawal than a savings account.

And the Banks? Clerks deposits might each be small (not much smaller, though, than the balances of staff officers) but they would be many. And the bank would be relieved of the huge monthly drain on their resources caused by the cashing of payroll cheques.

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INDO-CEYLON RIFT

Continued from Page 1

Liquidation of about 5.5 lakhs of Ceylon Indians as envisaged in the "proposals" (if it were possible) will throw the entire plantation economy out of gear. And it must be remembered that Ceylon's revenue is largely dependent on plantation crops.

Let down

Indian business circles are gravely upset. They feel that the U.N.P. Government has let them down badly. They recall with chagrin that Indian businessmen contributed well over a million rupees to the U.N.P. election funds, and they did this in the hope that the Government would be fair to them.

A sense of frustration and anger is growing among the Indian plantation workers. They feel that they contribute a great deal to the island's prosperity and that they deserve a square deal, apart from other considerations.

What Indians in Ceylon want is that all these difficulties be resolved by mutual discussions among all parties and that a solution be found that does not impose unnecessary hardship on any particular section, whether of Indian origin or another community.

The "Indian" problem in Ceylon has to be solved immediately. It is clear that the present U.N.P. Government, left to itself, will not be able to solve it. Already, it has created a most disastrous situation. Its actions are leading to a head-on clash between India and Ceylon.

Ceylon cannot afford to quarrel with India, just as much as India too cannot do so. There is no need for such a quarrel. *If the present U. N. P. group is unable to effect such a settlement, it should invite all others who can help to bring about a settlement to participate in such discussions. Ex-Premier Dudley Senanyake, Leader of the Opposition S. W. R. D. Banaranaiyake, Ceylon Indian leaders, and leaders of other political parties and groups should be invited to help bring about settlement.*

More complicated international problems have been solved by discussions at conference tables. This problem too can be solved. But it is a matter in which all parties interested in the problem should have a hand. A solution arrived at by a gallant Premier and a go-getter of a High Commissioner is not an answer. And, above all, the foreign agency interested in dividing Asia must be kept out of the picture.

Dulles, Ali And Malan

Continued from Page 4

good Malanisque logic but only the gullible people think it is another way of insulting the good brave self-respecting Africans, of underestimating their quality, the love for their motherland.

There is an anecdote about the last Commonwealth Conference in London to which a Ceylonese named Dudley Senanayake was a witness. At their first meeting Dr. Malan proffered his patronizing paws to Mohamad Ali, but promptly he withheld himself as he saw Jawharlal Nehru approaching him smiling.

SHIBDAS BANERJI

The Bath Tub

Continued from page 13

you like) built in one corner of the bathroom would cost much less and present less problems of space and cleanliness.

Those of us who are still searching high and low for houses hope that Sir Kanthiah will bear this point in mind in his "houses for all" plans. In place of an English Zinc Bath-tub we would wish for a built-in shower bath with tap at shoulder height to maintain our well-side custom of bathing in clean flowing water. And if we want a little luxury in our bathrooms we would beg for an additional knee height tap to fill our buckets and wash our feet, without the necessity for gymnastics and splashing our saris or frocks.

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